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THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JANUARY, 1898.

ARTICLE I.

MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

By Rev. W. E. Parson, D. D.

Spiritualism has recently been celebrating its jubilee, and more recently has been holding its annual convention in the Capital of the Nation. Our city papers constantly contain notices of meetings, very similar in import to the church notices, and all signs point to a revival of interest on this much criticised subject. We may be excused, therefore, if we devote a few pages of the Review to this modern delusion.

The best method of dealing with most errors is not to attack them directly. The positive presentation of Christ's truth ought to be sufficient to overcome all heresies. By a direct assault we sometimes dignify the error, fix it as an ism, and thus help to the creation of a schism. Notwithstanding this difficulty which we experience in attempting to argue down a delusion, there are times when it is almost necessary to give a strong and positive rebuke to some busy, pernicious error that the truth may not suffer. Such a time is the present, in connection with the subject of Modern Spiritualism. Washington might be denominated the storm center of Spiritualism. The National Headquarters of the Spiritualists are but a few squares from the National Capitol. Spiritualism is to all intents and purposes a re-

ligion. Its chief doctrine is not that there is a future life; for every phase of Christian teaching holds to that truth.

But the peculiar claim of Spiritualism is that there is a communication possible between the spirits of the departed and those who still live in the body. Spiritualists contend that they have proof that such communication has taken place, and that it is now a daily experience which, under right conditions, may be verified.

In order to examine this claim and test it, as we should do, in the light of reason and Scripture, it may be well to go back a little in the history of the matter.

Spiritualism is usually referred to under the phrase "Modern Spiritualism." It is quite recent, the creators of it being still alive; and, in the case of one or two of them, they are now repudiating their offspring.

In 1848, two children, Kate Fox and Margaretta Fox, in Rochester, N. Y., originated Modern Spiritualism. They created an alphabet of spiritual telegraphy, and established communication with the invisible world. That, in a sentence, is the whole history of the matter. From such a beginning—childish beginning—has come about all the development of Spiritualism. We can hardly treat the matter seriously—especially in the light of all the fraud, and trickery that have had their outgrowth from those two girls, who now confess in their old age that they concocted the whole matter in their fertile brains, and worked it out by means of their agile ankles.

Every circumstance connected with the rappings of the Fox sisters is suggestive of deception. As far back as 1851 an investigating committee at Rochester was much puzzled by the raps, but in Buffalo a more careful committee explained that the noises were made by a movement of the joints of the knee, and other joints of the foot or ankle.

Now note that after forty years have gone by Margaretta Fox and her sister unite in confessing that they have been guilty of delusion and fraud. Margaretta Fox, now Mrs. Elisha Kent Kane, wife of the well known Arctic explorer, describes how the raps were made, exactly as the investigating committee had

said. She even produced the famous rappings so that they could be heard plainly by the large audience throughout the hall in which she spoke, and said that the noise was made by the movement of her big toe joint. This exposure bears on its face the marks of truth. It is a document evidently spoken out of a soul that had tired of deceit, and was nauseated with deception.

We can not do better than to give a little of the exact language of this curious confession: "I think," she says, "that it is about time that the truth of this miserable subject (Spiritualism) should be brought out. It is now wide-spread all over the world, and unless it is put down soon it will do great evil. I was the first in the field and I have the right to expose it."

We might quote at great length from this confession of one of the founders of Modern Spiritualism The substance of it is that Margaretta and Kate Fox, in a childish spirit of mischief began the noises which terrified their mother. She called in the neighbors, and they were all puzzled and frightened together. The children, only eight and ten years old, were themselves frightened at the excitement they had created, and set about finding some way to keep up the mystery.

"No one suspected us of any trick because we were such young children. We were led on by my mother unintentionally. We often heard her say: 'Is this a disembodied spirit that has taken possession of my dear children?'" Listen further to the pathos and evident truthfulness of the story: "I am the widow of Dr. Kane, the Arctic explorer, and I say to you now, as I hold his memory dear and would call him to me were it possible, I know that there is no such thing as the departed returning to this life. * * When Dr. Kane met me I told him that I hated this thing, that I had been pushed into it. I explained to him that it was a trick, that I had been forced into it, and did not want to go on with it. I think now that if my brain had not been very sound I should have been a maniac. Spiritualists say that I am mad now; that if I attempt to expose these tricks I am mad. I have had a life of sorrow, I have been poor and ill, but I consider it my duty, a sacred thing, a

holy mission, to expose it. I want to see the day that it is entirely done away with."

And there was that poor scared woman, afraid of her own mother, a dupe to the tricks of darkness, unable to reason or judge for herself.

That is the pathetic outcry of a woman who wants to make amends for a life of fraud. She is sixty years old, and can not carry this matter with her into the grave.

So she goes on, giving always the same painful evidence of sincerity, and ends her confession with this language: "I trust that this statement, coming solemnly from me, the first and most successful in this deception, will break the force of the rapid growth of Spiritualism and prove that it is all a fraud, a hypocrisy, and a delusion."

Now, we must note that those are the words of a founder—coinciding exactly with the conclusions of an investigating committee of intelligent men, like Professor Flint of Buffalo, who reported to the same effect thirty-five years before. It is as though Martin Luther had said, near the end of his life;—"I recant. I believe in the Pope. I do not believe in the doctrine of salvation by faith."

We are treating the matter in a way that ought to be fair, taking the testimony of friends, and judging by the fruits of the system, in accordance with the just rule of our Saviour—"By their fruits ye shall know them."

The writer talked the other day with a poor, distracted nervous soul who had been completely unsettled by the tricks of a dark room. She was made to believe that her own mother had written her a message. She said: "I could actually hear the writing."

"Did you see it?" we asked.

"Oh, no! I could not see anything," she answered.

"Why not?" we said.

"Because it was dark; pitch dark"—she replied.

"But why was it so dark?" we asked, as if ignorant of their devices.

"Oh, you know, the spirits will not respond in the light."

What kind of a conversion is that! From day to night. From light to darkness. From the certain words of Jesus Christ to the rappings and writings of any chance table-tipper.

We can see, as a matter of common sense, that there is no possible reason why the sense of hearing should go on without interruption, while the sense of sight should make spiritual manifestation impossible. Why should seeing interfere with the spirits while hearing was no bar? There is only one possible explanation—and that is the very obvious one, that seeing is a bar to successful juggling. The darkness makes an easy condition for deceiving those who go prepared to be deceived.

The Spiritualists of the United States held an annual convention in Washington, D. C., recently, and the presiding officer, in his report, painted a strong picture of various frauds practiced by mediums, some of which he said were so loathsome that he could not name them in words. That sounds very much like the language of the Bible: "It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret."

He said further in his annual address that many Spiritualists who would laugh at the story of Jonah and the whale would accept the most absurd fraudulent shows as a truth. The marvel is that any persons with intelligence can be so readily caught in the snares of the designing. They walk into the dark room, resign the ordinary powers of discernment, and say meekly: "What I cannot see I believe." It recalls to us the saying of Pascal: "It is the incredulous who are most credulous; the skeptical who are most surely and easily duped."

But, let us recall another celebrated episode in the history of Spiritualism. About twenty years ago a man gave himself to a very careful observation of the claims, and so called facts of Spiritualism. He was a trained observer, something of a scientific man, had been a member of Congress, was seemingly qualified to render an honest verdict. He wrote "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World"—and had been dealing in such subjects for some years. We refer to Robert Dale Owen, to whom it was proposed to erect a statue in the Smithsonian Grounds, at the expense of the United States; not for any great

light he brought to the world in connection with Spiritualism; but because he introduced into Congress the Bill founding the Smithsonian Institute.

During the Summer of 1874 Mr. Owen entered upon an elaborate investigation of the subject of Spiritualism, in the City of Philadelphia, Pa. He was publishing the results of his study in the current numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, where they can now be consulted by the curious. Mr. Owen made everything secure from deception. The doors were locked, the cabinet examined by himself and friends. There was no possibility of fraud. There was no false door, no other way to get in or out but that examined and guarded by Mr. Owen and the observers with him. Under these conditions, with absolute guarantee against any kind of deception, Mr. Owen witnessed for a long series of interviews the materialization of the spirits. The entries in the journal of this careful observer are of exceeding interest, in the light of the sequel.

Mr. Owen starts out in his first article by remarking that men who think themselves wise declare that only superstitious ignorance believes in ghosts.

He once did not believe in them, but now has reached "evidence, palpable to the senses, of a higher life to come." Then Mr. Owen describes at length all the precautions he took to render deception impossible. "Every imaginable ground for suspecting deception was removed" he declares several times. There was no possibility of any confederate. Forty memorable sittings followed. All through the months of June and July, 1874, this wide-awake man, with more experience of men, and more ability to detect fraud than the average observer has at his command, was in almost daily communication with the materialized forms of the departed, as he supposed. His entries in his journal—(which may be found in full in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January 1875)—read like this: "The hand, beautifully formed, was like that of a mortal woman, nearly of the same temperature as my own, and slightly moist." In the light of the fact that it was the hand of a mortal woman, which he was taking for the hand of a materialized spirit, his record becomes

almost too ludicrous to be seriously quoted; especially as we remember the words of the book which says: "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.

He speaks at another time of "a hushed reverence such as is not often found, even in church." What sacrilege it is—to use prayer and singing of holy hymns in such association! Counting the effect they produce sacred, when it is mockery of God, and his Christ, despising the revelation he has made by his Son, counting the rappings of some medium a more certain proof of immortality than the fact that Jesus Christ is risen from the dead.

At another time Mr. Owen was presented with a ringlet from the head of the spirit. Writing his magazine article later he says: "After four months it has not melted away, and it is not distinguishable from human hair, though one seldom sees any so beautiful. To the touch, her garments and her person were exactly like those of an earthly creature. I questioned my consciousness. Had I held familiar converse with a creature who had already, perhaps, returned to her fellow-denizens of the skies?"

Oh, no! Mr. Owen, you had only been looking on the confederate you failed to locate in your careful inspection of the room, and surroundings. You have taught us a good deal that is of value in Spiritualism—which is that you can not believe the evidence of your own senses—especially when the sense of sight brings no evidence at all, and all the other senses are working under a strain of expectancy which prepares the mind to be the easy dupe of the clever.

So this humiliating tale goes on. So humiliating was the disclosure of its ridiculous cheatery that Mr. Owen went into retirement forever, chagrined that he could not recall his magazine article; mortified by the ridicule of the press and public, ending his days in a lunatic asylum. And he was the scientific observer, the literary spiritualist. When he was so easily deceived, so completely befooled, what advantage will we have over him in the race with swift-footed delusion?

This is the famous Katy King case in the barest outline.

Spiritualists talk much of tests. It seems that here was a very good test case for Spiritualism. The case was made by a friend. The conditions were not determined by enemies. There was no atmosphere of skeptical hostility, of which Spiritualists often complain, to interfere with the free working of the entire spiritual machinery.

Mr. Owen's extraordinary care has been of immense advantage to humanity. He ought to have a monument. The bill introduced in the United States Senate to appropriate $20,000 for a monument to him as the practical founder and Chairman of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men" never became a law, and is never likely to; but he ought to have a monument for the good he has done in connection with this one incident. He has saved thousands from the folly into which he fell with his eyes wide open. If Congress is ungrateful, then the great army of men who want to see the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" ought to erect such a monument to the memory of the ablest investigator Spiritualism ever had. We would suggest as a suitable inscription for that monument the following: "To the memory of a great man in legislation, in science, and original investigation who forgot the Bible injunction about 'intruding into those things which he hath not seen.' "

It is not generally known that the National Spiritualist Association advertises in our city papers warning us against themselves? This is their exact language: "Investigators of Spiritualism and Spiritualists are warned to beware of the many frauds and fakirs who pretend to be mediums and advertise as such. It is surprising how many apparently intelligent people allow themselves to be duped and robbed by this class of charlatans." Truly it is surprising! There needs no ghost come from the dead to tell us this. The most surprising thing is that the National Spiritualist Association should consent to tell the public, in a paid advertisement, all about it.

It would require a volume to unfold the delusions that have been attempted in the name of this new ism—which seems so

closely allied to the Black Art that the public must be warned against its agents by Spiritualists themselves.

There was an exposure not long since in Boston that must have been mortifying to honest Spiritualists. And we assume that some who hold to Spiritualism are honest. For we have two classes in Spiritualism—those who are knowingly deceiving others. Those who are unknowingly deceived by others. One class advertises against the other.

Those who are exposed are the dishonest ones. If the rest were as carefully looked into may be the list of exposures would swell to greater proportions.

There was another exposure in Cincinnati a few weeks ago. Another not long since in Covington, Ky.

We remember asking a friend in Boston several years ago if he could recommend some high class, genuine, honest Spiritualist that we might look into the matter for our own satisfaction. Our friend said: "There is a most marvelous exhibition now going on at Onset Bay—which is well worth your time to go down to see." Then he proceeded to tell us what this marvelous performance was. We do not recall the details of his description, after this interval. But this we do recall. As we left our friend we bought a copy of one of the Boston Evening papers—and there on the first page in bold head-lines we read: "Great Spiritualistic Exposure at Onset Bay," and on reading the account we found it was the identical person and performance our friend had recommended. It is needless to say that we did not waste any time or money in going to the Spiritualistic camp meeting at Onset Bay.

It is the same dreary story from beginning to end. God knows it is the thing we might want to be true! Why should we fight against it, if it could be shown, without dispute or suspicion, that our loved ones could communicate with us after they have gone out of the mortal body?

And we will make this for a standing challenge—that if any such proof can be brought to us at any time—that will satisfy the writer, and two of his church officers whom he will select

to accompany him, under conditions which have no suspicion of trickery or possibility of deception, then he will agree to announce on the following Sunday from his pulpit that in his judgment Spiritualism is not one of the unfruitful works of darkness which it is his duty as a minister of Jesus Christ to reprove.

But some one will ask: Why is Spiritualism antagonistic to Christianity? Can one not be a consistent Christian and a follower of Spiritualism? We answer; It is impossible! And for this reason—it is a substitute for Christ.

Spiritualism says, in effect, that Christ's revelation of the future life is inadequate. Something more is wanted. Instead of the old doctrine in which our good mothers and fathers lived and died—that the Saviour brought life and immortality to light, we have the pitiable spectacle of a group of men and women met in a dark room, to bring immortality to light by means of some modern methods, and so they proceed to call up the spirit of a sainted mother. She does not come to one directly—as we might expect—but comes through some unknown third party—through lips that are not always hallowed—quoting Scripture incorrectly, and performing curious antics. See then what we are getting. Instead of the old faith, in which our fathers and mothers believed and in hope of which they passed away from earth, we are asking them to come to us with proofs *they* did not have; and by so much casting discredit upon their faith.

Christ is not enough. Each believer must have one rise from the dead; and the miracle of the resurrection be perpetually repeated.

A very intelligent friend, a graduate of West Point, a New England man, a little inclined to Spiritualism as New England people, some of them, seem to be, told the writer that he followed up his communications with his deceased father until they had the old gentleman dancing on the head of a drum. Then he could stand it no longer and gave it up. His testimony was that he never got one scintilla of information of any kind, except such as was already in his own mind. No answer ever

came to anything the subject matter of which was unknown to himself.

There is no use trying to use light and darkness at the same time. What fellowship hath light with darkness?

The Spiritualists are not in our churches. They have no use for them. If their praying and singing in the circle is worth anything why should they not join the larger circle of the great Church of Jesus Christ which is singing and praying with such mighty volume in all the world? No! It is another gospel, not always preached by an angel from heaven.

We might also make some reference to another very complete investigation into Spiritualism made a few years ago by the Seybert Commission. A wealthy gentleman in Philadelphia, Mr. Henry Seybert, left by will $60,000 to the University of Pennsylvania, founding a chair of philosophy upon condition that the University should create a Commission to investigate Spiritualism and kindred subjects. That commission has made one very full report of its work. It was made up of the ablest men in medicine and science; men like Dr. Pepper, Dr. Leidy, Dr. Weir Mitchell, and others equally competent. The best mediums and the best slate writers came before the commission; among them Mrs. Kane, to whom reference has already been made, Keeler, Slade, and many others. For all their pains they got no valuable results, except this—that no medium and no slate writer could meet their conditions. The language of the report is quite significant. "As a rule mediums assert that they invite investigation. Our experience has been that as soon as an investigation, worthy of the name, begins, all manifestations of Spiritualist power cease."

In regard to Mr. Keeler, the slate writer, they say: "The conditions which this medium demanded would have made any attempt at investigation a mere waste of time, and his terms of remuneration were, in addition, prohibitory," in other words it would have been a waste of money also.

Here was an honest attempt to come at facts. Men of ability, who had other work for every hour in the day, sit down patiently to wait through a whole evening for some kind of evi-

dence that will enable them to make a conscientious report; and they wind up their long account of their fruitless labors by saying: "We regret that thus far we have not been cheered in our investigations by the discovery of a single novel fact."

We reach, therefore, the following general conclusions:

1. Spiritualism is incorrectly named. It is not a spiritual science. It does not deal in spiritual matters. It is most material—reducing all that belongs to the spiritual world to a material basis. Its demand for given conditions—always material—is absurd on the face of it. The product of the seance is always material—sounds, knocks, taps, music, messages, materializations so-called, these things are all of the solid earth, and render the name Spiritualism a misnomer. Their conditions are material—their results material. It is against all the natural order of things to expect the unseen world to be opened to us in any such fashion. "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard" Paul declares, in other words, spiritual things are not discovered by material organs.

2. But granting for a moment the possibility of communication with those who are gone hence, does it not seem reasonable to think that they would make themselves known to us in more familiar ways, in well-known places, under conditions more conducive to belief in their reality? Shall the souls of those who no longer walk with us in this life be at the beck and call of any chance stranger, whilst we who knew them best are dependent upon others for messages, for any knowledge of them who once came to us directly?

3. The Spiritualist contends that he makes a demonstration of the future life. On the other hand he casts discredit upon the doctrine, making it less certain in the end. For, when once and again these deceptions are detected, as they will be, or have been in every case that has been carefully investigated, then the soul that was resting in such proofs is put to confusion. If the immortal life is to be proved by Spiritualism it ought to be a method of proof that is open to all. But it is not so! They go from one abandoned position to another: from one exposure to another, always declaring that the proof lies in the thing

which has not been fully investigated, and therefore not yet exposed. They give up Robert dale Owen. They give up Mrs. Fox Kane. They join with us in calling the exposed ones frauds and fakirs; and for the rest set down impossible conditions. "If they believe not Moses and the prophets they will not believe though one rose from the dead."

4. Spiritualism has been at work for fifty years, and if it had a valid basis for its claims it should by this time be bringing us something of real worth to men. There ought to be the revelation of something, the unfolding of some great truth, the declaration of some wonderful fact, that is to transpire within some reasonable time. Let that become the test. But, Spiritualism is wise after the fact.

Crossing the Pacific Ocean some years ago on a steamer that was much delayed we finally reached San Francisco, to the relief of the anxiety of friends. One man came to us in San Francisco declaring that his faith in Spiritualism was much strengthened, for he had gone to a medium to inquire about our steamer, and had been informed that the steamer would arrive in a few days. That kind of proof is too easy. We ought to be getting something worth while. Is the invisible world to be in travail to transmit a message of drivel from Henry VIII; to make the great poets send back to us samples of idiotic bathos; to make bishops repudiate their churches; Martin Luther give in his allegiance to the Pope; Lindley Murray talk bad grammar; and in every way disprove their contention that the future life is a matter of progress and development.

Spiritualism has it in its power to prove its truth if it is a truth. Let it begin by being rational, consistent, prophetic, and beneficial. Until then we shall go on designating it as one of the "unfruitful works of darkness."

5. Spiritualism is a very dangerous element in our social life, in this—that with its large claim as to knowledge of unseen and unknown things it has the power to fasten a blight of scandal or infamy upon any one to whom it may point. This is a dangerous possibility. That door had better remain closed. The Lord has most wisely closed it. It is closely allied in this

respect to the old witchcraft—which pointed its finger at one and he was thereby marked for destruction.

One may say that this is a cruel supposition, that no one would be guilty of so devilish an act. We never can tell! It was for this reason, probably, that the Old Testament forbids consulting a familiar spirit. The real reason for the prohibition still remains, and in New Testament language is, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness."

6. Furthermore, why should we expect to use a method in the spiritual world which is not to be applied universally. God is a spirit. Shall we expect to come to a better knowledge of his Being through the senses? Can we form a circle in expectation of getting some material representation of him? What folly to suggest such a thing as seeing or hearing God who is a spirit. We leave it rather where the Bible puts it. "No man hath seen God at any time"—only adding as the same Scripture does—"The only-begotten Son which dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." He is known to the devout soul; not by the eye or the ear; but his revelation is spiritual. And surely Spiritualism, (which seems content with a spiritual conception of God, never attempting to materialize him who dwells in temples not made with hands), might likewise deal with the spirits of the departed. Say they are with us, like God himself 'not far from every one of us,' as ministering spirits, as guardian angels, if they will; but not to be laid hold of with violence; not to be dealt with irreverently; not to be apprehended in any coarse, gross and material fashion miscalled spiritual.

The genius of the Bible is against such a notion. The direct teachings of the word of God are in conflict with the ideas of this modern ism; all we can learn of unseen things makes us better content to leave it just where the word of God leaves it: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him; but God hath revealed them unto us by his spirit."

7. We conclude, therefore, with a declaration of the sufficiency of the revelation we have by the Spirit of God. There

is no doubt hanging about the future life if we accept Jesus Christ. Our dead are safe with God. They are in Christ's keeping, and we shall come together in a little while in our Father's house. We must not take the kingdom of heaven by violence, nor make any carnal interpretation of things which God himself has said are to be discerned spiritually. The Spiritualist is the real materialist—for he is not content with our Scripture declaration that God hath revealed these things unto us by his Spirit.

More and better than all the pretended revelations of the dark seance is this one word of our Lord: "In my Father's house are many mansions,—I go to prepare a place for you."

ARTICLE II.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, OR THE WORKINGMAN'S KINGDOM.

By Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph. D., D. D.

"Laborare est orare."

Christianity is the religion of industry, clearly and unmistakably a gospel of work. "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," said he, whose long toil at the carpenter's bench had prepared him for that higher kind of Messianic work, the healing of the sick and the raising of the dead. "*We* must work the works of him that sent me," said he, putting himself with his disciples, who were not loungers on the wharfs of Capernaum, nor beggars in the fish-markets of Bethsaida. He, the great Overseer, is always coming with his wages in his hands, "to render unto every man according as his *work* is," and the man that buried his talent in a napkin, and had to be bound in fetters, and cast into outer darkness, was the morally lazy man, who blamed his indolence on God.

All this rests on the incontestable proposition, that the highest destiny of man is to be of use. Perhaps there is no more profoundly altruistic word in our language than "use"—none whose root strikes down so deep into the soil of the divine. Suppose we had an inventory of all the honest and honorable uses to which men may be applied, they are all divine—the dig-

ging of ditches, serving at tables, running an engine, driving the pen—because they are links in a chain of beneficence that carries our mortal toil out into the infinite. Christianity is the religion of the vocation, because it makes every man a priest in the place where he stands, to administer the kingdom, and be himself a reflection of the kingdom, in the work he does. There can be no mistaking it, this great gospel is the gospel, not of the poor, but of the poor who work, and fill up their labor with the intelligent renunciation of self. But here is a kind of character who will not work—the pauper and the tramp—if there be not the excuse of hereditary degeneracy, they make up a class who are of no use on the earth, and it would seem, the great working God could have no use for them in the world to come. Heaven might well be constituted of the industrious poor, but there are no beggars there, except of the kinsmen of Lazarus, none most certainly of that class who have withheld their hand from self-sacrificing labor in heaping up the generous uses of this life, when the ability was not wanting, and a thousand favoring opportunities were crowding in their way. Neither here nor there, is there a place in the kingdom for the indolent man.

FUNCTION OF WORK.

Our task is to determine the function of honest labor in the order of spiritual life, its office to one who is striving to enter into the kingdom of heaven, and its efficacy as a restorative agency in the social disorders of the times in which we live. Work in itself considered, that is in its purely physiological aspects, has no moral quality at all. It is simply the movement, perhaps the strained activity, of the muscle or the brain; and whether pleasant or painful, skilled or unskilled, there is no morality nor religion in the contractile or nervous energy of the head and hands. The kingdom of heaven is the workingman's kingdom not simply because he works,—he may work as a machine works—but because every turn of his hand, and every thrill of his brain, may look to some good beyond himself, and the neighbor may consciously become the altruistic destination of all he says and does.

Honest labor is not righteousness, but on the other hand, we must drop the idea that labor is in any way associated with what we designate the primal curse. Possibly that notion was never seriously entertained. Certainly the Eden episode in the Mosaic cosmogony had to be grossly misinterpreted to give it the shadow of a chance. The idea that the offended Jehovah drove our first parents from the Eden they had cultivated—their celestial-terrestrial farm, so to speak, over which they had groaned many a day in hoeing without hoes, and pruning without pruning knives—into a wilderness, where the special punishment pronounced upon them was, that they must go to work—I say the narrative gives no countenance to this strange notion that links labor with the primal curse. The ground was cursed for the sake of the offending one, and it was said he must eat his bread in the sweat of his face, but there was in all this only an awful metaphor expressive of the tendency of sin, henceforth, to distort and pervert all the forces of nature, as they might come, one after another, under the workingman's control. Adam was not cursed by being made a farmer; he was a farmer before he was cursed. There was no curse on toil, but possibly some evil necessity came in upon the powers of the workman, because of the disabling effect of sin. And so, therefore, work, on the very lowest plane on which we can place it, whilst not a curse, and not righteousness, has nevertheless within it such an infinite capacity for righteousness, that we may venture to put it down as the very soil in which righteousness grows. We repeat, the kingdom of heaven is the workingman's kingdom, not because he works, but because he cannot get into it unless he works.

THE INDUSTRIAL HERESY.

But if we are going to elevate labor to the dignity of religion, we must have some other conception of it than that which is popularly entertained. There is a kind of labor that enslaves, and any kind of labor may be carried on in the miasma of spiritual death. The indolent man and the ungospeled rich take all, and give none; and practically, the industrious man,

who works only for a livelihood, does the same. This notion of labor, as simply the means to a livelihood, is the great industrial heresy of our time. Labor has a commercial value, it is true. It can be bought and sold, and the man carries his wages home as the means of supplying for himself and family the needments, and possibly the luxuries of life. But work, in this way of thinking—if that be all there is of it—is only a drudging necessity, the man grinding in the pits of appetite only because he must. This of course is servitude, worse than that of Hebrew Nazarite, sweating like a horse in Philistine mills. It is not work as expounded in the Sermon on the Mount. The insuperable objection to it is, that it degrades the man to the level of a machine.

How loud and confident our economic philosophers are, in their new gospel of the apotheosis of labor as the means to a livelihood—of skilled labor as exalting values, and augmenting the quantity and quality of the material resources of our country and of the world—not suspecting that labor, thus limited to the hard utilities of mere worldly thrust and thrift, disqualifies for the enjoyment of the very good thing it was thought to create. There is no logic, nor common sense, in professing to see an inherent dignity in that which is, at best, a painful necessity, a means submitted to, of course reluctantly, for a livelihood, the bread and butter which is the real goddess of the evening meal. Suppose the livelihood is already on hand by hereditary entail; or, what is a frequent phenomenon of our times, vast fortunes through the exploitation of thievish ingenuity and subtle fraud—then the fortunate, or supposed fortunate one, need not work, because, forsooth, there is never any moral obligation on any man to work. On this subject the reigning school of economists and our Christian reformers are the world's diameter apart. Here is something that these practical philosophers have not considered, or have conveniently ignored: There is a ground in the constitution of things for work. The normal man, in his well moments, revolts at inertia, and for pure self-satisfaction must be at work, is miserable if compelled by accident or disabling disease to lie on his oars. Therefore indolence

is always reckoned down to its victim as either a defect or a vice—a vice always where responsibility attaches, for there is no reason in nature why an able-bodied man should not want to work.

GRINDING IN PHILISTINE MILLS.

But are there not kinds of toil which are drudgery and no mistake, grimy, dangerous, hostile to life and limb, and poorly paid—to which the indigent man is compelled to resort simply for the purpose of keeping the wolf from the door—men and women, thus, under the whip of necessity all their life long, doing work that they do not love to do, work which it would be unkind to think of in connection with the glowing ideals of the Sermon on the Mount? To which we make answer, that there is, of course, a hierarchy of toil, gradations of dignity and responsibility, according as brains and character are required to enter, in greater or less measure, into the finished result—the extremes representing, often, the whole vast interval there is between mind and brute force. And yet the toil of that lowest man, the section hand on the railroad, for example, whose work has to be organized and energized by the mind and will of the stronger man who is over him, may be wholly honorable, and as open to the embrace of the kingdom, as are the more intricate and responsible duties of the railroad superintendent, who sits in his office, and does not so much as lift up a pen.

We have to consent, however, that the introduction of automatic machinery into all branches of the industrial arts, has tended, too often, to degrade the laborer by reducing him to the level of the machine he serves. A girl, in the bloom of maidenhood, must sit all day long in a dingy paper mill, receiving from the last revolving wheel of the intricate machinery the finished sheet of paper, and guiding it carefully to its place. Over and over again, it is the same dull round of mechanical routine, catching the released paper and dropping it to its place—the long exacting tyranny of the wonderful machinery that itself seems the unfeeling master over this its female slave. It will not do to say, the girl has gone to that business of her own accord, and it is quite up to the measure of the capacity we know

her to possess. The wrong is, a human being has been put to a kind of work that is too nearly akin to the blind driven momentum of the wheels—a slave to routine, a bond-servant to the lifting and dropping of the hand. This is work that kills. And if the inventor is human, and has any notion of inviting the kingdom of heaven into his mill, he will extend his automatic devices, and have prehensiles of steel take the place of the woman's fingers, which will do more deftly, and without weariness, what the woman's fingers were never made to do.

Then what? Have we not added another one to the great army of the unemployed? This woman was contented with that kind of labor, and was willing to be sister to the wheels, because she had need of the wages it brought. She had an infirm mother to support, and there were younger children in the family that were crying for bread. Now, what shall she do? Well, there is a Providence in the world; and this discussion of mine assumes that our toiling woman is working her way into the kingdom of heaven. If so, she rises in the morning with the sweet evangel ringing in her ears: "Behold the fowls of the air; they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns, and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they?"

In our large packing houses, through the device of an endless chain, the animal is slaughtered, and cleaned, and dissected, and made ready for the market, with very little intervention from human hands. Steam and steel do the work. In fifteen minutes from the time the animal is butchered, the meat, thoroughly prepared for the shambles, is pushed into the cooling room, and another porker is fleeting its way around on the ringing grooves. In this way ten men accomplish what otherwise one hundred swift experts could scarcely bring to pass. But these men are simply the feelers, so to speak, of the monstrous impersonal force that rolls on mightily in its harness of steel—excepting, of course, the inventor, and the brain in the engine-room that sends out this force and calls it back. The men are brought in where the steam and steel manipulation was not quite facile

enough to do the whole work—the finger-tips and finer eyesight of the stupendous machine.

There is something humiliating in this wholesale subordination of the human to the crushing tyranny of an impersonal force. It were, indeed, a glory to be coveted, to be the head of that monster, but by no means to be its tail. One man there is in that company, who is to be specially commended or pitied, according as we fix upon the moral valuation of the work he does. The machinery seizes the animal in the pen, and drags it upward to a platform on which the man stands, its throat exposed to receive the gleaming edges of his deadly knife. Instantly and skilfully he plunges the knife into the heart of the beast, and the bloody effusion rushes amain—and again, and again, and again, all day long, in quick succession, the ghastly act is repeated, the entering of the blade, and the rushing of bloody currents into bloody buckets—until one would think the butcher must go mad in this eternally recurring vision of blood. Verily this man is both a hero and a slave. The wrong is, that he is made fast to the rigging of that slaughter-house, by a blood covenant, that binds his manly prerogatives in unmanly servitude to the cruel exactions of the unthinking wheels. There are no intervals of playful relaxation, wherein the butcher might mollify the savage aspects of his occupation, and reassure himself that he is a man. And so in all cases. Wherever a man is so fixed that he holds himself, and is held by his employers, as a mere adjunct to the machinery he serves, he ceases to be a man, and has sunk into the category of chattels and things.

THE CAPITALISTS AND THE KINGDOM.

Back of the machinery there is the business corporation, among whom, too often, the kingdom of heaven is an unknown quantity, and who have no higher valuation of the labor of their employees than the efficiency with which it fills up the money bags that are crowding their vaults. The workingman's kingdom! the religion of industry!—they never heard of that. Too often they are high-priests of Mammon, serving at iron altars, and offering up their human victims to the god of gold. In the

poet Spenser's picture of the Inferno of Mammon, there is but a step between the "House of Riches" and the "Mouth of Hell." But, most certainly, it is not the wealth of the corporation, nor its enterprise, nor the rigidity with which it organizes its service to the end which it has in view, that can reasonably be charged with enslaving the poor. The corporation is but labor in a collective form, with exactly the same rights, and immeasurably greater responsibility than rests upon the shoulders of independent toil. And then the machinery they use is but a collective tool.

The men who endow and manage our great factories, and the enormous railway enterprises of our country and the world—creating and maintaining a community of civilized interest all round the globe—are not a cabal of loungers, a clique of idlers, associated for the purpose of robbing the poor, and living in luxury without the drudgery of work. They could not be indolent if they would; their capital, their complex business cares, would drive them with a whip of cords. The capitalists, who are not hereditary spendthrifts, are never idle men. What we call their "ease and luxury" has always at the heart of it, the gnawings of anxiety and the tossings of sleepless nights.

MR. RUSKIN'S "FIERY FAMILIARS."

Incorporated industry is not a social fiend, and the machinery that brings into subjection to it the slumbering dynamics of earth and air, for speedy and multiplied production, according as the complex wants of our growing civilization may demand—these so-called labor-saving inventions, and the invested capital that keeps them in blast, are not "goblins" or "fiery familiars," or "iron devils," as Mr. Ruskin calls them, in the overflow of his wrath at what he conceives to be their utilitarian plundering of the primitive simplicities and beauty of life. The socialism of the distinguished aesthetic millionaire would have nothing to do with railroads and steam, nor with the subtle force just then beginning to run out in sub-marine conduits all round the world. In that ideal community which he founded, St. George's Guild, and which failed, he pitted himself against the growing com-

plexity of civilized life—against the laws of progress as imperious as those of the natural world—and actually proposed to revolutionize society by a system of coöperative farming as primitive almost as that of Adam and Eve. "We will try to make some small piece of English ground beautiful, peaceful, and fruitful. We will have no steam engines upon it, and no railroads"—forgetting that these mighty agencies had rushed from their hiding places, not at the bidding of human greed and caprice, but led out by the genius of progress, when some craving necessity of the social organism was crying for help.

Clearly the law of use and beneficence is inscribed on every roving force, and the subtlest of them, electricity for example, was no more made to skulk forever in the distant air and wandering cloud, than the succulent juices of the soil were made to run riot in "a garden full of weeds." It was a fundamental fallacy with Mr. Ruskin, that "no machines will increase the possibilities of life; they only increase the possibilities of idleness"—as if the savage who first invented an iron tool, had in no way stimulated an advance on the clumsy mechanics of the stone-age, nor enlarged the possibilities of life for his swarthy companions of the primeval woods. And then, also, it is a deeper fallacy, too liberally entertained by dreaming economists in our own day, that legitimate industry keeps its adherents in immediate contact with the soil, that the hands and heaving effort of the physical frame are, at least, the only accredited agents of genuine work.

PHALANSTERIAN VAGARIES.

All forms of communism have held this gross physical theory of work—the Enfantin and St. Simon schemes, those of Fourier and Robert Owen, even the St. George's Guild of Mr. Ruskin, and the famous Brook-Farm millennium of the Boston aesthetes—all, now, flitted away like the morning cloud. These were all looking to some *phalansterian* grouping of men in the field and the shop, such as would do away with the selfish competition of the rotten old mercenary fabric they would replace, and, by an equitable distribution of the burdens and profits of

labor, realize the ancient dream of a coöperative brotherhood on the earth. These great old socialistic leaders of France and England, and our own Newer World, had much philosophy with them, indeed; they had much to say of education and science, of literature and art; and for their full equipment, even religion, or some ethereal semblance of it, was always hovering near. Yet with them all, their basal conception of labor was ever prone to cling close to some form of physical strain. Where capital and wealth were concentrated, that hard necessity need not be endured, whilst the laboring-man, the man whose only capital was his calloused fingers and brawny right arm, must, in our broken order of things, become the footstool of the rich, or be tied, as aforesaid, to the tyrannous rolling of his iron wheels.

Even Hawthorne confesses that his motive for joining the Brook-Farm, was that he might secure "leisure"—mark well, "leisure"—"for writing (those immortal romances of his) by perhaps six hours of daily service (on the farm); but he found nearly sixteen needful." Daily service, that is, by his own account, sixteen hours pitching manure, planting potatoes and peas, and milking cows—this was to be set over against the scant *leisure*, that was to give birth to a literary product quite unsurpassed, in its way, among English-speaking people from that day to this. In the barnyard it was toil; at his desk, in the agony of invention, it was only a residue of "leisure," which it would be ridiculous to call work,—notwithstanding the physiologists have said, that close mental concentration will cut down more nervous tissue in three hours, than manual toil will in six.

BLITHEDALE ROMANCE.

In face of Hawthorne's protestation to the contrary, we cannot help thinking that the *Blithedale Romance* was intended as a covert thrust at the essential *quixotism* of every attempt to banish competition from this work-a-day world of ours. "It struck me as rather odd," says he, "that one of the first questions raised, after our separation from the greedy, struggling, self-seeking world, should relate to the possibility of getting the

advantage over the outside barbarians in their own field of labor. But to own the truth, I very soon became sensible that, as regarded society at large, we stood in a position of new hostility rather than new brotherhood." This was puffing the co-operative bauble into empty air; it was a coöperative system of *competition* after all "with outside barbarians in their own field," "a new hostility rather than a new brotherhood"—as must always turn out, when the great social currents are abandoned, and the dreaming waters flow into a little eddy by themselves.

But here was a fact which our wise economists would do well to note, the product of the highest value, there on that Brook-Farm, did not come out of the soil, and was not the joint creation of a community of hands, but dropped from the brain of a solitary worker, toiling out in his scant "leisure," the literary marvels of the "moonlight romance." Nevertheless granting a hierarchy of work, there should not be an antagonism of extremes. The foot should not ostracize the head, nor should the head affect to be able to get along well enough without the foot. The fable of old Menenius about the stomach and the limbs, which quelled the farmers' rebellion against the city of Rome, is still the best brief enunciation of the fundamental law of all economics, the free coöperation, and due subordination, of all the social forces to the public weal.

LION EATING LAMB.

But, meantime, we seem to be stopping our ears against the cry of the unemployed, the thousands who are willing to work, but can find nothing to do—who, possibly, have been human contingents to the money combinations and industrial monopolies of the rich, and, in the hour of depression, thrown off, as old worn-out gearing would be dumped into the ditch; or, if retained, at starvation wages, whereby the money power makes good its losses by stealing the poor man's bread. These great corporations, it is alleged, coin their wealth out of the unprotected brawn of the laborer, and are strong enough to circumvent and defeat all appeals to legislation for redress, by corrupt-

ing the very fountains of justice, and leading the obsequious courts at their will. The stupendous wrong, imbedded it is feared in the very fiber of our body politic, is the lion, capital, eating up the lamb, labor, because there is no other beast strong enough to rescue the lamb. In the emergency it is suggested that, somehow, the ferocity of the lion be injected into the lamb, and then it would be lion against lion, and—there would be no lamb in the case. This, alas, is the principle of anarchy, wrong against wrong, a thousand small wrongs uniting to take a colossal wrong by the throat.

Let us consider well what these industrial combinations, trusts, syndicates, are. They are organized labor furnishing some useful product to the legitimate markets of the world—unless where, under that name, they are a gang of money thieves and gamblers evading the law. But we should not confound legitimate trade with its criminal abuse; and society can never be so reconstructed as to shut the rascals out. The commandment inhibiting theft was written on a table of stone, to mean that it was to have a long lease of history before it, even so long as a temptation to steal might nestle in the hearts of men. But organized labor is not organized theft, and is no more exposed to that evil on its side, than organized poverty is to organized covetousness on its side. Capital duly harnessed is as much a laborer, as he who drives the engine, or polishes the rough product with his hand; and the utmost that can be said is, that organized labor is, in this way, clothed with an immense economic advantage as over against independent toil. None the less to both equally the workingman's kingdom is waiting to be applied.

EVOLUTIONARY STRIFE AND RELIGION.

The theory that society has evolved through the fierce rivalries of autonomic instincts, the stronger surviving, and the weaker succumbing, in the fateful struggle of the living organism with the environment in which it finds itself—individualistic, self-seeking, unethical—in all the animal and savage stages through which the course of human progress is directed, and modified only by the more and more enlarged operation, for the

civilized man, of the "ultra-rational" element of religion—rolling back a tide of altruism upon the inhering ferocities of the evolutionary strife—this theory errs in its fundamental postulate, that the interests of the individual, under the law of evolution, are at war with the interests of society at large. Society at large being but an aggregate of individuals, can have in it nothing more than what the individuals contribute. It is a specious abstraction that the whole can be at war with its parts, or that the public well-being can have in it elements which the private units will not supply. Perhaps the conflicting interests of the employer and the employee, in our large industrial corporations, may have suggested the misleading analogy—not recalling that the pathological condition of any business corporation is as the economic temper and aptitude of those, only, whose capital is thrown together in the concern.

The familiar and long retarding evil of advancing civilization is the war of the classes, the aristocratic orders combining, through a military organization, or other bond of union, to oppress and enslave the weak. History has the air of a long and unbroken rehearsal of this kind—caste, a privileged class, the nobility, the demagogue, seizing the reins of power and keeping the *demos* in check—the *demos* at the same time driven on by the same impulse to achieve its liberty, and get to be sovereign in its own name. As a matter of fact civilization has advanced in proportion as the issues of this long war have decided in favor of equal political and social privileges for all, and it is the fond dream of the nations that, when this goal is attained, the war will cease.

A DEAD HEAVEN.

But the point we make is, that this long war does not represent an inherent antagonism between the interests of the individual and those of the state—the public well-being setting up for itself a standard, for which the individual has no sanction except as he shall find it in the state. The elemental conflict does not lie between the individual and the state; the germ of it is found in the dual nature of the citizen himself. Man's training in this world is two-fold, through the animal man, with his ap-

petites and passions in vigorous reaction upon a world of sense, up to that higher human complement that opens out at the summit of his being, where the higher ethical ends and laws are asserting their supremacy over the animal impulses that, otherwise, were rampant and unbridled in the religion below. Lust of power, and insatiate greed for gain, are the ruling passions that absorb the animal man, going forth and clamoring for gratification in utter disregard of the rights of others, except as there may be mutterings and murmurings, more or less distinct, from the sluggish monitors of the upper mind. There is a dead or inchoate heaven on the horizon of every human soul, and in the ideal man it will be stirred into troubled activity, as it opens out its hundred gates, and lets down the heavenly powers upon the anarchy below. Religion, conscience, the ethical behest, God himself and all the eternal sanctities that inhere in that name, are lying dormant, or are struggling into activity, in that upper mind.

This leads us to note how government in this world is habitually misconceived as something artificial, as something set up with the deliberate view of enacting, by the social aggregate as a collective stronghold, restraining ordinances, to keep in check the fierce competitions of the evolutionary strife, and so keep itself long-lived while the individual antagonisms are being tamed, or otherwise rapidly dropped out. The political philosophy of our time suffers greatly from this inveterate fallacy, clinging to the heart of we know not how many idle schemes. Government is the instinctive acknowledgment, everywhere, of the right of the higher mind to rule, and religion comes in to the aid of that acknowledgment by adding sanctions which purport to be directly from the Ruler above.

The function of religion in the progress of civilization is, indeed, all that the new theorists have claimed for it—always supernatural—and rolling down a tide of altruism upon the internecine passions of men. But it must not be thought of as an injection *ab extra* into the social currents of human life—as coming to man in a wholesale descent from a world above him, and inclining him from an outside mandate to subordinate his con-

duct to the collective will. Religion is always the servitor, and opens the door outward to the right royal powers that are waiting within. These powers being let out and abroad in the affairs of this world—what will they do? They will calm the war of the passions; they will set up justice between man and man; they will install the golden rule; they will enact, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. But this is the workingman's kingdom; the kingdom of heaven "which cometh not with observation, but is within you"—definitely and specifically the rule of the higher mind.

GOVERNMENT AT ITS SOURCE.

Now, briefly, let us see how government, or the state, comes into operation as the exponent of the higher mind. Presumptively these higher impulses are more or less active in all the members of any community, however low down in the scale of humanity we may find them; and to the extent in which they are active, they are self-assertive of their unchallenged right to rule. Moreover, religion is everywhere, and at the heart of all religions there is essentially the ethics of the old Hebrew tables of stone, and man is man by virtue of the moral instinct in him, everywhere, demanding that the wrong shall be avoided, and the right shall prevail. But just as inevitably in every human bosom does wrong keep up its usurpations, and organize its revolts against the right, in spite of, and sometimes under cover of, an instinctive concession to the claims of right. That is to say, in every human being the higher and lower natures are at strife, with the tacit acknowledgment, always, that the higher nature ought to have command. There is nothing disinterested in the animal man, whereas the higher nature is constantly demanding that the whole man shall move on in the direction of the truth of things, and that the good to be done, whatever it may be, should be loved and pursued for its own sake.

Now in the social organism men move to their several places with this dual habit of mind, but with capacities and aptitudes endlessly diversified, fitting them for varying positions of responsibility and influence in the social scale. If there is a head

to the organism, a function of control and rule, as, in one form or another, is embodied in the idea of the state, those who are strong enough to pass into it, will be exposed to exactly the same evil besetment that waylays the humblest citizen of the land, namely, "sweet power for its own dear sake." We recall Shakespeare's apt saying about being "dressed in a little brief authority"—little and brief it might be, such as the leader of a beggar horde might exercise over his tribe of tatterdemalions, nevertheless, he can "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven, as make the angels weep." The lust of dominion—an animal passion—immediately perverts and poisons all government at its fountain head.

ROLLING THE HEAVENS AWAY.

Nevertheless we must go on to say, that, for the beggar and the king, for the ruler and the ruled, the moral contingency is one and the same, the lust of dominion is evermore prowling at their gates. Hence the cruelty of military rulers; the great Roman warriors feasting on blood; the imperial tyrants wishing that the wretched and restive people might have one neck, that the axe of the executioner might slash it to the ground—men imbruted and dehumanized by the lust of power, coming to be their govering passion, and raging in their bosom like a furnace of hell. The human animal, in that case—because the heaven of the upper mind was rolled away—becomes fiercer than the wild beast, inasmuch as the lust of power in the man will acknowledge no bounds. None the less the private citizen in his limited sphere, hears the same hell-hounds barking at his gates. Self-love, in any of its forms, wraps itself in the insignia of power, and we shall find the grooms in the stables of the great domineering over one another, in the same spirit in which the lords and ladies in marble palaces keep up their domestic feuds.

One can easily see what this passion is, in comparatively innocent manifestation, by watching a group of children on the school-ground at play. The burly boy, towering above the others in physical volume and force, all in a frolic, will bear

down on his smaller companions in contrived poundings and bruisings, and with such wanton cruelty as to suggest the survival of savage instincts in a child of highly civilized life. The boy is reveling in a sense of animal power. By and by he will learn that, if he lets this impulse go unchastened, it may unloose for him all the malignities of hell, and kindle round his pathway a consuming fire that he may never put out.

THE MONEY MANIA.

Passing, now, over into the realm of trade, where means and capital become the absorbing interest, we have the same thing to say. Here the money-greed waylays the natural man. Money is but a means to an end; but for human nature in its animal stages, where the monitions of the higher mind are muffled, nothing comes so inevitably to pass as the strong and impulsive clinging to the silver and gold as an end. This passion is cold, and hard, and unkind, and under its metallic grip neighborly loves comes to have no meaning for the calloused soul. Not avarice alone, but the love of money in any of the manifold forms it assumes among men—putting the means for the end—what we may fairly call the *money mania*—this is the comprehensive commercial evil of to-day, drawing, as it must, all other evils in its train.

Like the lust of power, this passion has the whole wide range of humanity for its possible plunder, the poor as well as the rich, the man who has no money, as well as the man who has. The niggardly rich man will always have the covetous, thieving proletariat storming at his doors. In commercial life all trafficking in risks, whether by millionaire gamblers on the board of trade, or in the obscure bucket-shops skulking in the slums, the evil is the same, the greed for money just for the money itself, or, if for anything beyond that, some beastly indulgence which is but the money curse blistering the flesh. The night marauder creeping in at the window when his well-to-do neighbor is asleep, and helping himself to whatever valuables his groping fingers may find, is plying his trade because he loves money and has it not, in exactly the same way as the great monopolies

are making their corners in values, having slathers of money but wanting more.

IAGO'S ECONOMICS.

Essentially, everywhere, with the rich and the poor, this passion expresses itself in the economics of Iago: "I say put money in thy purse"—first and last, whatever else you purpose to do—"put money in thy purse." It is conceivable that we may have come upon an age, when our stupendous industries and expanding commercial interests have caught the infection of this deadly disease, employer and employee, manufacturer and tradesman, merchant and banker, professional man and mechanic—all taken with the money fever, and we practically a nation of thieves. Social degeneracy, about which so much is said now-a-days, must have that breadth of implication, and nothing less—the rich and poor alike subject to it, the money curse poisoning the life of the nation down deep to its very core.

Without indulging so dark a picture, we must go on to concede, that there is a condition of things sufficiently alarming to arouse the spirit of reform. But the spirit of reform is not the spirit of indiscriminate rush upon an existing order, with the purpose to wipe it out, and so avenge the misery it has entailed. If the time has come when the tyranny of "the iron wheel and scepter of gold" is to be thrown off, we need to be admonished against the desperate attempt of massing some great evil against itself, and calling it reform. "Devil kill devil" is the policy of men in a wicked frenzy, who, like the Pharisees in the path of Jesus, have lost all conception of the kingdom of heaven among the affairs of this world. See, now, they say, we are oppressed. There are a thousand of us grinding night and day in the mills of the rich, poorly paid, our surplus labor going into the groaning coffers of the indolent capitalists, who roll in luxury, and sneer at us as they pass. Their incomes are enormous; ours a pittance—all from the labor of these rough hands of ours, and these bodies of ours bent into contortions under heavy loads. Our families are in squalor; theirs are dressed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day. We have, therefore, a system of socialism, which bids us organize well, and in

one great convulsive movement turn this whole order of things upside down, putting the producer into a position where he can fully and equitably enjoy the labor of his own hands. The thieves must go.

But all this is suddenly let up by the inquiry, Who is the producer? and might it not be that, the capitalist thieves having been successfully routed, there would be no material left you on which to expend your productive toil? Or, if by revolution you have scattered the robber syndicates to the winds, and taken into your own possession and management the treasure they abandoned, would not that be "Satan casting out Satan," or the old serpent of Eden swallowing himself by the tail? Suppose that those coming up from poverty had no higher motive than those dislodged, and, what is likely, the peculiar kind of faculty and business qualification required in the management of the plundered capital, were no where to be found—your socialism, in that case, has broken down at every point of the compass, and the hounds of anarchy are baying the moon.

DEMOCRACY AND THE KINGDOM.

The great cry, now, is for the reformation of society through forces that are inherent in itself—oppressed society redeeming itself from the corrupt syndicates, and rings, and monopolies, that have it in a vise—failing to measure the full ethical import of the epithet "corrupt." Who is corrupt? The fallacy is always pleading in this way: Society is lying below, made up of honest laborers who are being robbed of their toil. Above are greedy plutocrats, who are not society but rather its leeches, because they love only themselves and their money, and have no concern for the public weal. Let society rise up and beat down the usurpers, and take the powerful economic agencies they have debased into its own control, then corruption will be impossible, for it will be society administering in its own behoof. But how comes it that the honest laborer has this large inheritance to himself—society his own—and what warrant would there be for the unbroken exercise of the cardinal virtues when society should get on top?

All these schemes take up their line of march in their own name. They assume that society is inherently honest, and the individual is not; that there is a guaranty in the collective conscience, against the unchastened selfishness and inordinate greed of the single man or a clique; that society when duly secure in its own right can never go wrong. This is democracy, indeed, but democracy in a fever, and dreaming dreams. It is a fatal omission, that in this collective conscience of which they dream, there is no place for the kingdom of heaven.

The society they would reform has indeed in some dim way, recognized a parallel religious movement all along in history, a a movement piously called "the kingdom of heaven," but so far of *heaven*, they think, that it has proven powerless as against the cruel exigencies of the world that now is—against the oppressions and grindings of the rich. True, its Fisherman King was the avowed champion of the poor, and made it his special distinction that he preached his gospel to the poor—feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and opening prison doors and letting the enslaved go free—but, for some reason, that Messianic promise has not been made good. Moreover, did not the Founder of that kingdom aim to communicate its efficacy to the individual soul, to work on the social unit by a system of regenerative individualism, that would find its way into universality, by virtue of its having avoided any direct implication with the social problem itself—all things to all men—only leavening whatever social condition it might chance upon in its flight through the years? He, a King—did he not carefully refrain from all interference with the worldly kingdoms, the Roman rule, for example, against which his people had a two-fold grievance, first of profanation, and then of the iron heel? He might have met their invading fleets on the Phœnician coast, himself without an army, and by the simple waving of his right hand, whelmed their embattled ships in the depths of the sea. King of his kingdom, which was a spiritual kingdom, he was emphatic in resenting the charge on which he was arraigned before Pilate, as claiming to be a king with traitorous intent upon the reigning Cæsar—"my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my

officers fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence"—the same voice that, earlier in his career, had said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." His kingdom being a spiritual kingdom, with quite exclusive purpose of setting up its rule in the individual soul, why speak of it at all as having social adaptations, or as coming with anything like direct agency upon the social agitations of our own times?

COMING IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN.

Reasoning after this manner, we should have to say that "Christian Socialism" was a misnomer, a jumbling of incompatible terms—an impossible attitude—religion coming out of its sacred privacy to be jostled on the streets. But was not the Master himself jostled on the streets; and was not his crucifixion, even, a judicial murder in the eye of all the world? On this subject of the individualism of the religion of Jesus, and its alleged inability to take on any habit of socialism in solving the momentous problems of our time, it is to be feared, there is much misunderstanding and much darkness in the general mind.

It could hardly be that Christianity is so wholly individual, as to refuse to clothe itself in some sort of collective habit, and so be a social force. No, but that gives us on the stage of history the Church, "the communion of saints," a sacred society, standing by itself, and entering, as certain of our economists are determined to believe, only by insinuation from the outside, and by no inherent functionalizing, into the social organism, and so indirectly, only, influencing its public life. The Church, it is alleged, is limited in its ministry to the religion of the closet, and cannot, therefore, be a social force *in se*, but only a *quasi* social force—and this is maintained in spite of the Master's memorable witness before the imperial bar of the Cæsars: "Henceforth (*απο του νυν, from the time now*) ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven." The closet, indeed! with all that triumphal spectacle in the sky!

But, clearly, if there is to be Christian socialism at all, there

must be Christian society to give it form, and the wanted Christian society is none other than the Christian Church. But not certainly the Church lying in monastic seclusion, or sacerdotal isolation, on the outskirts of the secular struggle that is going on within. Our burning question can be clearly stated: How must the Church functionalize in the social organism, so as, in critical periods, like the present, to determine, to the full extent of the powers resident within it, the stupendous issues that are at stake?

KEY IN THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

Just as clearly may we find the key to the situation in the Sermon on the Mount. For all our social troubles we should not hesitate to make that momentous Scripture our final court of appeal. It is the *Magna Charta* of the kingdom of heaven —everything being there—consummately and comprehensively whatever we should ask to be embodied in constitution or creed. More than once have we heard it asserted that the spiritual standard of that gospel *prologue* is too high, too ideal, for this stern old business world of ours, and, therefore, to be construed as the early dream of the young Nazarene enthusiast, when on the threshold of a public career, the unappeasable antagonisms and tragic travail of which he could not foresee. "More than any other Scripture," said an eminent expounder, "does this discourse of our Lord require to be liberally construed"—construed, that is, away from anything like a literal enforcement of its tremendous spiritual demands.

In this temper our great theologians, too often, have taken up their line of march around and away from the Horns of Hatton, much as the Israelites fled from Sinai's thundering mount. "It is too high, I cannot attain to it"—therefore I reckon it a divine *ruse*, so to speak, in which the groping feet of the pilgrim are lured in the direction of a way that is not passable, in order that, in the vivid moment of his defeat, the true and only way might be thrust upon his view. Without controverting this sentiment in detail, and accepting, as we must, our Lord's inaugural as a serious pronunciamento of the principles of his kingdom, with the air of eternity blowing about them, no jot or tittle of their

demands to be abated, heaven and earth passing away sooner than that these should, in any the least moiety, relax their claim —we go on to say, that in this great document the collective function and social adaptations of the Christian Church are not difficult to find.

True, in this discourse of our Lord he makes no mention of the "Church," and, so far as appears, only twice in all his public discoursing does that word fall from his lips. But he had a great multitude about him, and the nucleus of his infant apostolic Church had already been formed. They were there at his feet, and evidently they heard these momentous opening words of his as representatives of all who, thereafter, in all ages of the world, should assemble together in his name. He was telling them of his kingdom, and the way into it, of which kingdom, however, they were, first and last, to hold him as the head, nay, more, as essentially and personally the kingdom itself, so that suffering for righteousness' sake, would always be suffering for him. And then, under this impulse, they were literally to *work* their way into a righteousness, that would exceed the sham righteousness of the hypocritical churchmen of their day, and which should be the spiritual fulfillment of the self-same ten great words inscribed aforetime on the tables of stone.

SALT OF THE EARTH, AND LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

Definitely this was the way. But how, now, was the Church to administer, when it should come into full organization, and should find itself entrusted with the responsible work of putting men in the way? Or, more explicitly, this kingdom having been planted in the person and teaching of the divine Son of Man, how was it to set about the conquest of society, if primarily its terms are to be addressed to the individual soul?

Let us read again the Sermon on the Mount. "Ye are the salt of the earth"—"ye are the light of the world"—tremendous sociological investiture—and your conserving influence is not to be closeted, and your light is to be like that of a city that is set upon a hill. City-like, or citizen-like, or civil, may it be? in any event down in the heart of the state. We cannot mistake

that here is a conserving and an enlightening agency, which has all the appearance of the church as a body functionalizing in the world at large—commissioned to inseminate the righteousness of the kingdom into the social life of the people, among whom the single disciple must every day live and move. The contingency is—and the hint of warning here is profoundly significant—that the salt may lose its savor, and the light may be practically extinguished by being hid away in ascetic crypts.

ECCLESIASTICALLY OR ETHICALLY.

The problem is to put the kingdom of righteousness well down into the ranks of men, to achieve it in the way of social application and insistence, and in that effort to push on the conquest of the world. Granting that the kingdom of heaven is to come on earth, as it is in heaven, it becomes a question of tremendous moment as to how that vast consummation is to be brought about. It may be attempted ecclesiastically. It may be attempted ethically.

Perhaps it would not be too much to say, that history has finally pronounced against all purely ecclesiastical methods for hopefully achieving the conquest of the world. Except, indeed, that these methods were provisionally all, and the best, that could be had in their day, it is, nevertheless, the unqualified verdict of the past, that the Church when it was entered as an institution into the embrace of the state, failed of the kind of conquest it was to achieve, and, in its turn, had the pitch of contamination clinging to its own skirts. Why? Because the lust of power is wholly incompatible with the least breath of spiritual life, and this is the contagion that infects all the high places of authority in the kingdoms of this world. "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you." The hierarchy came of this alliance, sacerdotalism, the spiritual Babylon, the insatiable fury of the religious wars, and the unrehearsable horrors of the Inquisition and the *auto de fe.*

Nor did Protestant Christianity wholly recover itself from the essential spirit of the false methods it aimed to overthrow. For

forthwith the sects arose, destined to increase in number as the new-born sense of liberty grew apace, and it was discovered that it was every man's right to get the truth of God for himself, provided only that he be duly earnest and devout in the search. Christendom henceforward exhibits the spectacle of the Church cut up into multitudinous groups, under the lead of some great reformer, or body of reformers, whose discoveries of truth were thought to be in advance of others—a new boon, therefore, to the unscholarly and unthinking mind.

But now we must observe that the new methods are none the less ecclesiastical, since they go upon the assumption that the Church is an *organon of truth* rather than of *good*, and gets its authority, always, through the superior soundness of the doctrinal system it has set up. If there be many of these sects, still the one must always answer back to the other, We have the superior claim, because we are, by divine favor, in custody of the system of faith that more nearly represents the truth of God. The claim is the same in all; and in all they must be credited with being equally sincere. In this way we are compelled to witness the boon of religious liberty turning upon itself, denominational zeal prompting to unbrotherly competition, even when it is only the shibboleth, or the name, that has kindled the fire. There may be no wrangling of voices as to what is the truth. All that may have subsided into the quiet and persistent application of business methods, and the stringency of organization toward denominational success. Numbers, social rank, and wealth—how inevitably these loom up, as promising to satisfy the spirit of competition when it runs wild in the churches.

Now, if there is one thing on which all true Christians must agree, it is that in the service of the Master the utmost disinterestedness is indispensable to give it character at all; and, therefore, churches in business rivalry of one another, albeit under the banner of devout loyalty to the truth, have forfeited their title to the name, and differ from commercial establishments only in this, that they have altars and sacramental solemnities where the tables of the money changers would have the better right to be. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon," is the in-

hibition of the Sermon on the Mount, because the Master must have foreseen the besetting danger of sect-competition in the churches, in which business methods and money might be admitted to take his place—mammon in the churches clogging the operation of the free Spirit of God.

CHRIST'S DECALOGUE SELF-INCLUSIVE IN WORK.

Certainly our times are crying out for a radical change of method, in this great matter of moving upon the world. The new venture must be ethically or Christo-ethically contrived, by making the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness the one specific test of discipleship, and the all-inclusive means of bringing about the social regeneration of the race. Let us make sure of the deeply ethical import of that primitive charge to the churches: "Ye are the salt of the earth, and the light of the world"—since these words get their meaning in the exhortation which follows: "Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

Unquestionably the light, which is to shine forth from the lives of his disciples, is the truth, but then it is the truth in act, rather than in asseveration or formula, that is to win the world for Christ—light at one with the "good works" that are to conquer the world. The righteousness of the kingdom—what is that but the truth in act, or truth taken out of its thought repository and put into the daily life, whither if it does not arrive, it is as empty as the idle wind. If the spirit of this great scripture is to be adopted, the hearing of the words of the Master is not enough, nor the saying of Lord, Lord, nor profession, nor devout attitude, nor loyalty to one's communion, nor unwearied industry and self-sacrifice in church work, but doing the words of the Master out on that secular arena where the world is. The "good works" which prevail with the world, and renew it, are works done on that level where they have their best chance to be altruistic,—the laying of our Lord's decalogue close to the line of our daily toil. The "good works" are not churchly good works, nor works of devout service in saintly sacrifice, nor

works of eleemosynary charity and tenderness, but the daily round of duties in the vocation, the kind of toil to which the Christian laborer goes forth in unwearied search for the beatitudes until the evening.

Let us cease to talk listlessly about truth conquering the world, imagining, O, how vainly, that this great work is to be accomplished by truth equipped as formula, and heralded with unction by those who have authority to preach. Not so in the Sermon on the Mount. Go and read again. Sum it up. It is the moral law with the person of Christ burning like a sun-globe at the heart of it, and so enforcing obedience, and lending a helping hand to that end in all the smallest detail of the daily toil. It is the Lord's decalogue, commissioned to carry his kingdom into the trades and professions of men, and so down into the social life of the peoples, bringing them out of their unneighborly hardness and brutality, into the beauty and kindness of the "golden rule."

Well, do not call it a golden rule. "All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them"—not the golden rule, but "the law and the prophets"—the consummate law of the kingdom—and manifestly of application only among the secularities and business interests of our work-a-day world. The Church is to work a revolution in human society, to reform its abuses, by the organized infusion of the New Testament decalogue of Jesus into the trades and professions of life—every one serving in his place the very best his hands or brain is able to supply, according to the aforesaid "golden rule" or rather law of the kingdom—good works that are wrought in God—these, and these only, surely bringing it to pass, that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ.

ARTICLE III.

SPECIOUS THEOLOGICAL PHRASEOLOGY.

By Prof. David H. Bauslin, D. D., Wittenberg Theological Seminary.

Clear ideas are always necessary to intelligent discussion. Clear ideas however are not always easily obtained and especially about the most familiar things. As a rule, what everybody is thought to know something about, very few are found to understand fully. Religion is one of the most familiar of things. It is a subject upon which men think, or hear, or speak, or read about every day of their lives. Many are instructed in its teachings every week of the year, and because it is the highest and best factor in their lives and has the most urgent claims upon their acceptance, men are unable to escape from religion. It is so indissolubly connected with the whole system of nature or order that it is impossible for man to be and yet to be without religion. But common and familiar as the subject is, it is hardly too much to say that upon no other subject has there been the variety, the contradiction, the confusion, the bewilderment in definition, and the perversion of terminology, that have marked the history of religious discussion, especially at the hands of the assailants of evangelicalism. Only that can be believed ardently which can be stated clearly. The Gospel of our Lord is capable of such statement. A sound Gospel will save this modern world as it saved the ancient, if only it be set forth in its amplitude, and in clear and unambiguous definitions, disentangled from the controversies of the past and from the ingenious hypotheses of the present. The Reformation vindicated for men their right of betaking themselves to God and to Christ directly, for forgiveness and for peace, without the interposition or hindrance of any one, but the way of access may be obstructed sometimes by hazy definitions and alien interpretations of current religious terms. In their unwillingness to accept a supernatural religion men may befog themselves with definitions that

do not define, and a self-contradictory philosophy that is not wisdom, but plain men of ordinary capacity will inevitably conclude that pure and undefiled religion should at least be capable of being expressed in clear and unambiguous theological phraseology. It is chiefly in definition or the lack of it that fallacies in argument lurk and misunderstandings between friendly opponents are born. Loosely thought out opinions pertinaciously held and defended, perversions of long current religious phrases and terminology, juggling with the most sacred words, these often build formidable barriers between such as really long to be at one. Manifestly there is a difference between the tone of thought to which we are accustomed in religious discussion and that to which our fathers were accustomed by experience and tradition. But certain conceptions and definitions of truth with which they were familiar have not been surpassed or outgrown by even our advanced generation. If what a recent liberal writer* says in speaking of creeds be true, viz., that "the terms have not a definite and uniform meaning, but meanings which vary in every age," then nothing in the sphere of man's beliefs on the loftiest of all themes, may be credited with the attribute of stability or consistency. Indeed a school has grown up in this country, known abroad from its most distinguished representative as Ritchlianism, and participated in, we may believe, by many who know but little or nothing of Albrecht Ritschl, which disavows definition altogether and desires to substitute for it mere feeling. It has been shown by such strenuous conservatives as Frank, Deickhoff and Luthardt that the theory of this vague theological school makes the questions what God, Christ, the resurrection are in themselves, a matter of indifference and only attaches importance to our judgment of their worth to ourselves.

It is not at all unlikely that the pronounced individualism so characteristic of our times has had no small influence in the cultivation of this current vagueness in much of the theological speech of our times. For ages the individual was merged in the family, the tribe and the nation, and it was only gradually

*Vide Frederic Palmers—"Studies in Theologic Definition."

that he acquired for all purposes a separate personality. In our American civilization especially the individual is a separate entity apart from any larger unity. The tendency accordingly is obvious: to look upon the Church, the state and I might almost say, the family as but aggregations of separate and distinct units combining voluntarily for desirable or necessary ends. It is not surprising that this individualism should manifest itself even in the estimates and definitions of religious truth; that it should fail to estimate at all the corporate character of truth and come to look upon the Church as standing for the conservation of heterogeneous beliefs, as a company of people united for religious purposes and without any such thing as a corporate basis of truth clearly set forth in such unambiguous phraseology as not to be susceptible of various and divergent interpretations and misinterpretations.

Such tendencies can only serve to cultivate that skepticism which stands poised between contrary and mutually destructive theories. The Church may have changed in some things. It has modified, enlarged, diminished and abandoned some things once held in repute as, at least, corollaries of the gospel, but it has never ceased to respond to the necessity for a fixed, definite, unambiguous interpretation of that faith which bridges the chasm that divides the eternal, self-existent Spirit from our finite and earth-bound souls. The gospel is not only for the affections but for the mind as well. The religious life of man is not only practical but also intellectual. His relations to his fellow men are important but his relations to the truth are vital for this life and for that which is to come. Considering the fact then that such grave subjects as the "infallible rule of faith and practice," the person of the Redeemer, and the accountability of man to his judgment throne, salvation by grace alone, and a spiritual kingdom on this earth in which men are brethren, and that finality of character which is the basis of God's moral government, considering the fact that these doctrines in some phase or another are in the arena of debate to-day, we shall serve our day and generation well if we shall define them sharply and hold them firmly. Notwithstanding incessant change there has been

a unity of definition as well as belief in all ages of the Church's history. There has been a "faith once for all delivered unto the saints" which has been ever the same. Men want no haziness, no perplexing ambiguity upon such grave themes as their conception of God our Father, Christ as the revealer of God and the Saviour of men, sin and the promise of deliverance from it through faith in Christ, man's accountability to God and the expectation of a difference vast and terrible, in the future life, between the condition of those who love God and those who love him not. The history of Rationalism shows that the rationalistic temper and method have been associated for a time with orthodox tenets—an unnatural union 'tis true and one that could not last, but one nevertheless at times not remote really existent. So likewise in our day, a pious and well-sounding phraseology has been wedded to fallacious theories about some of the most fundamental aspects of Christianity. The speech is that of the evangelical Canaan but the thing itself is of the rationalistic Philistia. It is well accordingly, in our induction, to go back of the pious and specious phraseology, and inquire about that which is really meant, and we may not be a little shocked to find that it stands for some tentative hypothesis, or some mere theory broached as being one of several explanations, or it may even represent only one stage of an investigation which is still in progress, and of which the final results may wholly alter the actual significance of the earlier assumption.

Examine for example the widely current and fine phrase, "Back to Christ." It has gained wide currency among a certain class of theologians and Bible exegetes. It sounds well. It is an attractive motto or watchword. Who can object to making Christ the center of everything that is good? Who can object to any one going back to Christ for all that is heavenly, and divine and lovely. But considering the fact that our age shows a pronounced tendency to separate the image of Jesus from the truths he taught, and to hold him up to men merely as an ideal of holiness and goodness, the phrase may be used in a purely *ad captandum* sense. It is used in much current religious discussion as if it meant nothing more than the graphic

description of our Lord's life as benign action and as the supreme type of virtue and love. It is used by those who would cast aside as idle and cumbersome rubbish those great doctrinal statements formulated by the Church in all her history, and even throw suspicion on the apostolic teachings, and take the words only of the Christ. Indeed some of the "re-constructionists" and "eliminators" have gone so far in their wholesale work as to reduce even the words of the Lord to the Sermon on the Mount, or to that superlative declaration in John 3 : 16. One of the leading advocates of "Back to Christ" has recently said, "Nothing in the New Testament that obscures or belittles Christ has any influence with me"—as if in the writings of the New Testament there is one word that obscures Christ, or, as if from the Acts of the Apostles to the last word of the apocalypse he was not exalted and crowned as the sole Lord and Redeemer of the world.

It is strange how the spiritual phenomena of the first century sometimes repeat themselves in the nineteenth. The multitudes our Lord fed were constantly attracted to him as one who might have provided them with bread on such easy terms, and the leaders, in the unrest of the time, exerted themselves to utilize his influence for political revolt. But assuredly such men did not have any just conception of who and what Christ was. They simply attached themselves to that phase of his teachings or actions which seemed to them to corroborate their own notions or wishes. To them the Lord from heaven was one who taught some things that they believed, and when it became evident that they had apprehended only a fragmentary part of his teaching or character, and that his full truth modified the doctrines in which they were at one with him, then they fell away and followed no more with him. So men now-a-days have a conception of Christ based upon the phases of his teaching and life which seem to be congenial to them. They frame out of the materials furnished in the gospels, an ideal Christ that accords with their notions, while they summarily discard all the knowledge we have of him which does not fit into the unique mosaic they have fashioned from only parts of the gospel narra-

tive. Even a writer of such charm and insight as the Rev. John Watson—Ian Maclaren—in his fine essay, "Jesus Our Supreme Teacher," appears to assume that the Sermon on the Mount contains all that is indispensable to the thought of Jesus. Thus sometimes one aspect of Christ's teaching is magnified out of all proportion to other teachings equally prominent in the inspired record. If men in going "back to Christ" are permitted to pick and choose out of the materials furnished us by the gospels, they are not going back to the Christ, but to their own notions corroborated, it may be, by some aspects of the divine life, back to individual preference rather than to the word and authority of the Son of Man and the Son of God. In order to go back to Christ, and to know him when back to him, requires that we take into the perspective the whole Bible, Old Testament and New.

When men, therefore, say with plausible unction "Back to Christ," we must ask, back to what Christ? back to a divided Christ or back to him who was and is and is to come? back to his person or back to his person *and* his truth? His great words were the authoritative revelation of unseen verities, and the character of Christ did not more certainly inspire and unite the lives of his followers than his doctrines illuminated and controlled their beliefs. Some men who have cried in the great schools of the world, "Back to Christ," have assured the world at the same time and without the least hesitation that the magi with their gifts were only Jewish peddlers; that the star which shone in the East was a comet or passing meteor; that the salutation of the angel was only a thought of gladness; that the dumbness of Zacharias was a stroke of paralysis; that the glory of the Lord shining on the shepherds was just the light of a lantern carried by a man who unexpectedly came over the hill; and that all the other startling and supernatural occurrences of the nativity are equally as trivial and even foolish. As one aptly characterizes the endeavors of the employers of this rationalistic method of specious religious terminology, they really invent exegetical miracles for the sake of getting rid of evangelical miracles. Nothing could sound better, nothing indeed

breathes more of compliance with the great commission than this from Willibald Hermann, the Marburg rationalist, "There is nothing so neccessary in Christendom as the preaching of Christ, for to learn to see him is the way of salvation for a Christian." But read on a few lines and the specious and totally unevangelical context nullifies the pious saying above, for this he says, "But we do not help men into the way of salvation if we tell them, on the strength of New Testament narratives and doctrines, that Jesus was born of a virgin as the Son of God; that he taught this and that; that he wrought many miracles and even raised the dead, and that he himself rose again, and now, having ascended to the Father, rules with almighty power; such a story is no gospel be it never so impressively told."* Accordingly when we are told that "back to Christ is the watchword of theology at the present time;" in order that all ambiguity may be avoided, we must ask of these teachers, who use pious and well sounding phraseology to nullify, ignore and reject the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith, What Christ? Is it the Christ of the Scriptures; the Christ who in the beginning was with God; who was incarnated; who died for the sins of the world; who was raised from the dead for our justification, and reigns forevermore? We must not delude ourselves with words. Only the Christ of the scriptures, the Christ who came from God, and who died and rose again could have brought us the salvation of the scriptures. The Christ whom St. Paul knew was, before all things, subsisting in the form of God; he was the Son of God; he was risen from the dead and is at the right hand of God; his death was for redemption and he saves us by his life; he was the Saviour of the world, his name above every name and his person the object of worship.

But according to the explanation of this watchword as used by one of the very latest of those who have undertaken to rally men about the standard of a new gospel, "back to Christ," means back to a slight and shadowy narrative bearing upon the life of one who must have been an extraordinary personality to have made such an amazing impression upon the world and its

*"Communion with God," pp. 65.

history. It means back to the gospels as revised by a criticism which begins by denying the supernatural, and by affirming that whatever is at variance with its postulates is to be rejected or explained away. It means the trimming of narratives with which the miraculous element is inextricably bound up. It sets before us the highest moral standard without anything to help towards its achievement. It assumes that the church departed from Christ when she formulated and followed the great historical creeds of Christendom.

By the year 325, A. D., all sorts of heresies had arisen in the church. The divinity of Jesus Christ was questioned and denied. Then the first ecumenical council, which was convened at Nicæa, made this statement regarding the Christ:

"We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God, begotten of the Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and was made man; he suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven; from thence he cometh to judge the quick and the dead."

Can any man be seduced by the specious cry, "No creed, but back to Christ," into the belief that this superb doctrinal statement which has maintained its supremacy among Greek, Roman and Protestant, and which Archdeacon Sinclair has recently called—"that lasting safeguard against all forms of speculation which call in question either the perfect manhood or the true Godhood of our blessed Lord," obscures and dishonors the Lord from heaven? When men tell us that "the structure of faith rests primarily upon Christ, and not upon the *scriptures* or any creed," in order to get us "back to Christ," then we can only respond that it is a very novel doctrine that we have a knowledge of Christ apart from and independent of scripture, and express our belief that the intangible figure their analysis leaves to us is not the kind of saviour that the world requires. Their specious phraseology leaves us in grave doubt whether

Christ, who is undoubtedly above the reason and the church and the Bible, has spoken infallibly through any of them.

Passing now to another aspect of our subject, it may be asserted that in recent years not a small amount of specious theological speech has been associated with the alleged superiority of right conduct to right belief. Frequently men have even ventured to take as their motto "Not dogma, but life and conduct is what men want." We have been assured many times that among other things that will mark the emancipated church of the future there will be a discarding of doctrine and a making of conduct the all and in all. A recent accomplished writer has reminded us, as if he had made a new discovery, of the difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed, with an adroit implication that the latter represents a falling away from the earlier Christian position. This spirit is distrustful of every effort to define truth and to state with precision the doctrinal presuppositions and contents of Christianity. It is never weary of indulging in modern cant about what it denominates the hair-splitting ingenuity of theologians and the unprofitableness of theological discussion. It has come to be something of a fad in these days to pronounce sweeping denunciations against doctrine, creed, "dogma," the latter word being used entirely in a bad sense. It is a very easy thing to show one's impatience of clearly defined truth, and at the same time one's latitudinarian indifference in specious railing and girding at the word that means in our English this—"What has been approved of; a decree, an edict, an ordinance, a tenet, a doctrine." The objection of men who thus do, says Dr. John Watson, in "The Cure of Souls," "is not that our science"—of theology—"does not deserve the name, but that everything like ordered thinking is a foe to spiritual life." Upon the man who still maintains a vigorous robustness in his religious beliefs, the latitudinarian now empties his critical Pandora's box, and consigns his teaching to the literary and theological limbo by valiantly asserting "That is mere intellectualism—mere dogmatism." It is an easy way to become famous and obtain the newspaper crown, if not that of eternal life. A man reads forsooth an article or two in

the magazines, hastily scans some popular religious discussion, gets a general notion that the times call for "advanced thought," hits upon a few catch words and effective phrases, and then feels himself fully prepared to discuss the whole history of Biblical criticism from Dionysius of Alexandria to Tischendorf, Kuenen and Gregory, and to drive from the field all the dogmaticians from Augustine and Aquinas to Frank, and Luthardt, Charles Hodge and William G. T. Shedd. Forthwith the newspaper coronation ensues and he is described as a theologian "fully abreast of the times" or perhaps "an up to date divine."

But all this is fallacious from beginning to end. It ignores both the statements of the New Testament and the facts of Church History. Christianity is truth as well as life, and as such addresses itself to the intelligence of men and has claims upon their belief as well as upon their obedience. What Christianity consists in is facts that are doctrines and doctrines that are facts. It is what men call doctrine or dogma which gives all their significance to facts. A fact without doctrine is simply a fact not understood. There lies at the basis of our holy religion not only a series of great redemptive facts, but an authoritative interpretation of those facts. The Bible is not only a manual of facts but of facts which have been understood and interpreted. All the facts given to us by the scripture are givem as "dogmas," that is, as facts that have a specific meaning for our souls. This then is the true order, the scientific order, doctrine precedes life, is the cause of the specific form which the religious life takes in Christianity. This fact is written large in the New Testament. Our Lord constantly insists upon faith in his own person and assent to the truth to which he bore witness, and it is hardly necessary to say that St. Paul invariably develops his theological positions first and bases his ethical teachings upon them. The transition to the practical ethical precepts of the twelfth chapter of Romans is typical of the Pauline method. And from St. Paul on there never was a time in the church when belief in the evangelical facts and their significance was not always required, and was the fundamental requirement. Ignatius at the beginning of the second century is no less dog-

matic against the misbelief than Athanasius was in the fourth century. At no time did the church teach men that it was a matter of indifference what they believed provided they conducted their lives according to the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Certain it is that at no time were men ever more thoroughly convinced that right belief was essential to right living than in the early Christian centuries. There could be no greater distortion of history than that which makes the earlier church solely or principally concerned with conduct, and the later with creeds and dogmas. Will any man presume to claim that the epistles of St. Paul are less dogmatic, even less "metaphysical" in passages relating to the same subjects than the Nicene Creed?

Not long ago there was not a little discussion of an "ethical creed," which had been associated with the name of a genial and brilliant English clergyman. It is delusive speech to speak of such a thing as an "ethical creed," for a code of ethics cannot be a creed any more than the statutes of the Ohio legislature or the national congress can be said to form a creed. A creed contains the principles on which rules of action are based, and in distinctively Christian ethics the rules of moral conduct would have no standing place apart from the acceptance of the Christian's creed. There is a fine passage in the Bampton lectures for 1895, on the subject in hand, and which expresses this relation: "It is on the basis of a new life introduced and active in the world that all Christian ethical theory is erected." Christ has come into the world bringing the new life with him, and it is to this he endeavors to draw attention. So his moral teaching is fullest in his earliest days, and it sifts out of the crowd those who are capable of moving further. So far from trying by degrees to get a wider audience for his words, as the preacher of a new theory might have done, he draws away, as we have noticed, from the crowds, and concentrates himself by degrees upon the education of the disciples; even with them he continually asserts the preliminary character of all he has to say, and points forward to a day when all that is obscure will be explained. His object is to let them see into the source and nature of his life. This view explains the fact, also, that the Apostles in their

Epistles lay emphasis not on the words of Christ's teaching—think how few the certain references to his words are—but are anxious about those points which most definitely give evidence to the entry of the new life and the abrogation of the old—the crucifixion and the resurrection."

That the Church has neglected "conduct" and made "dogma" the all and in all is confuted by the history of the Church from first to last, while the same history does show that the whole scheme of moral ideas it inculcated was in principle and essence the practical expression of theological ideas underlying it. And any specious sort of theological speech that alleges the exaltation of dogma at the expense of conduct, in the teaching of the Church, contemplates a divorcement that has no basis in theory or history, and the mental habit that induced the allegation needs revision according to the standards of both history and Christian ethics.

Several things, it seems to the writer, those who rail at dogma are constantly prone to forget. First of all they are prone to forget the dogmatism of liberalism. Since Ferdinand Christian Baur, for example, published his somewhat famous book in 1845, a long procession has followed, of writers who have presented the wondering world with their views of the New Testament. They have usually expressed themselves about Paul and Peter and John in a very dogmatic fashion and each of them has been very stubborn in the assumption that he had given the "final word" of wisdom on his chosen theme of discussion. Another thing they are prone to forget is this, that all scientific truth is dogmatic. Truth in every realm is dogmatic. The multiplication table is dogmatic. The statement that twelve times twelve are 144 is a dogma, but a very useful dogma. Euclid, of the school of Alexandria, was a terrible dogmatist from whose dogmatism the world will never escape, and shows very little disposition to escape. The barren old proposition, which has caused many a youth to cudgel his dull brain, that "the square of the hypothenuse of a right angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides," is more dogmatic than any proposition of the famous Franciscan, Duns

Scotus, the "subtle doctor." In fact, whenever the truth has been reached in science, mechanics, or in nature, such as gravitation, force, distance, or space, they do not shift about from point to point to gratify any alleged progressive spirit, but remains persistently and stubbornly dogmatic. That everything shall be settled in reference to material things, and everything left on a sliding scale in morals and religion is a sophism too superficial for candid consideration. The very foundation of religion is to believe something, and that so earnestly as to be willing to fight for it, suffer for it and die for it. I do not propose to define exactly what that minimum of truth is which will suffice for the development of a religious life. Some minds may find a basis for a religious life in a creed as short and indefinite as Mr. Matthew Arnold's formula of the "not ourselves that makes for righteousness." But whatever moral force there may be in even such a hazy creed as that, lies in what it affirms and not in what it denies or ignores. The men whose names are traced on the roll of honor of church history; the men who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens; the men who were "stoned," "were sawn asunder," "were tempted," "were slain with the sword," "of whom the world was not worthy"—these were not the heroes of latitudinarian indefiniteness but of distinct, sharply-cut doctrinal religion.

Say what men may please in deriding doctrine as contrasted with life, it is the dogmatic tendency which has bound the Christian Church together as a compact body; it has inspired missionary labors, and all sorts of philanthropic endeavor. The victories of Christianity, wherever they have been won, have been won by distinct doctrinal theology. A broad and undogmatic theology never fights with the old apostolic weapons, and is in consequence shorn of strength in the day of battle. No faith that has ever proceeded upon the assumption that men are to believe just as little as possible, and that all the robust articles

of faith are to be either cast away or modified, has been a conquering faith. It is the religions of most demands that have ruled the world. We need a virile gospel to bear witness for our Master now-a-days, and there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that, in such times as ours, men want to have Christian truth made slight and easy for them by pruning it of its characteristic features of strength and assertiveness. If ever the gray gloom of an eclipse, blackened into threatening night for the Church of Christ in America, comes it will be when men in the Church, in large number give heed to the specious cry that "what the world needs is not dogma but conduct," and that "the times demand not doctrine but life." Such a position simply ignores the mind in religion and is too loose and easy to be either satisfactory or true. It would make all rational preaching and defence of Christianity impossible. As has been well said in the "Stone Lectures," for 1896*—"Christian life without Christian doctrine has never yet appeared. Those who claim to show it in Christian lands are simply cuckoos in nests of doctrine which they built not, but whose warm environment makes them what they are."

Another illustration of this ambiguous use of theological speech may be found in the use of one of the most important and expressive words of the Christian vocabulary, viz., the word "spirituality." The danger is that when men get away from reality in the use of such a great word as this, that simulation and cant make their appearance. There is a sort of well-sounding religious jargon which is itself an evidence of a lack of real spirituality, for glib talk of spiritual things, let it be remembered, is no real evidence of a spirit in full accord with the beauty of holiness. Much of pretended soul elevation, of which one hears, instead of constituting a true spirituality, is really at variance with it. In the use of no single word has there been a larger amount of vague and unsatisfactory thought and speech. Spirituality has frequently been spoken of as if it consisted in a peculiar temperament, the constitutional possession of but a few,

*"Nicene Theology," Scott, p. 364.

or as if it were a special and supernaturally imparted gift. It is sometimes made the equivalent of ecstacy, a sort of breaking through of the limits of conscious personality, a sort of contemplative absorption in which the reason is benumbed or paralyzed. It is sometimes made to consist in that mysticism which is a sort of pantheistic transformation or New Testament Christianity. Instead of standing for that mental and moral habit which is to be carefully distinguished from ecstacy or from emotional excitement, having its rational ground in the clear discernment of what God and man are in their essential nature and in their mutual relations, the word spirituality is made to mean a certain longing for and dreaming of heaven, pious introspection or contemplation, religious musing, something of the order of "Hervey's Meditations among the Tombs." Accordingly when there is for example complaint of the "lack of spirituality," it is well to understand what is meant thereby, so that the requirements of that splendid, but much perverted, word may be satisfied.

In the carefully selected phraseology of St. Paul spirituality means one thing, the *φρόνημα του πνευματος*—the mind of the spirit. The spiritual man is he who has the mind the *φρονημα* of the spirit, who cherishes the thoughts, the desires and the aims of the spirit, who views all things in God, and who always adopts the divine estimates and purposes. This is to speak of the absolute thing, that which is always charged with energy, swift, eager, straight-flying and intelligently directed to results. God does not confer upon us the gift of the spirit to make us feel happy—but to give us force and direction and determination in his service.

Would time and space permit, I might go on and show in a similar manner the specious use and perverted applications of such important words as "consecration," "holiness" and "sanctification," but both are exhausted, and I shall close with an historical illustration of the fact that even a pious life is no warrant that the religious speech is necessarily correct. No better illustration of that fact can be given than the case of Semler, "the father of modern destructive criticism." Reared in the lap of

the sternest pietism, he was a man of great acuteness and unwearied industry and of wide but unregulated learning and withal of great devoutness and piety. It has well been said of him: "True to his tenet that a man's public teachings need not influence his personal living he was at once a teacher of skepticism and an example of piety." He was a man of prayer, and nothing could surpass in tenderness and Christian submission his utterances, which breathe a spirit of faith and hope, on the death of his gifted daughter. His was a pure and devoted life, but he placed a wide gulf between private faith and public instruction. Few men have shown greater boldness in assaulting the Christian faith than Semler. It was he, let it be remembered, who drew a subtle distinction between theology and religion. He was the author of the famous accommodation theory which meant that Christ and his apostles taught such doctrines and by such methods as were compatible with the peculiarities of their position and condition. He reduced our Lord's utterances to so many accommodations to prevailing errors. He is one of the enigmas of human biography. He could use the language of the evangelical Mt. Zion on occasion, but his theories were of the unevangelical Ashdod, and they found their legitimate outcome in the teachings of Edelmann and Bahrdt whose careers brought discredit on private virtue and public morality.

It is a great gain when God and the great doctrines of his word become real to a man. Because of the vastness of this gain and the primacy of these doctrines, it is of incalculable importance that they be defined accurately and luminously and pass current in unambiguous phraseology.

ARTICLE IV.

ON HISTORIC GROUND.

By Rev. R. B. Peery, Ph. D.

People who are acquainted with the history of Christianity in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will remember Shimabara as the scene of the final overthrow of the Christians. There is no spot in Japan of more peculiar interest than this, and none more hallowed by the blood of martyrs.

I have long desired to visit this town, and taking advantage of a present opportunity I came here yesterday from Saga. Arriving late, I was unable to see anything of the place until this morning.

This is a lovely day. The clouds that deluged us with rain yesterday all vanished with the night, and the sun now shines warm and bright in a cloudless sky. No more suitable day could have been found for a ramble over historic ground.

My companion and I arose early and, without breakfast, wound our way through the long narrow streets to the hill back of the town, which is the site of the famous old castle. From here a magnificent scene spreads out before us. Behind us rise abruptly the cliffs of Mt. Onzen to a height of five thousand feet. Before us lies the beautiful Shimabara bay, still and tranquil, dotted here and there by little islands which were tumbled from the huge mountain by an earthquake several hundred years ago. Below us on the plain that slopes gently down to the sea is the town itself, surrounded by fertile fields glistening in the morning sun.

But the object of supreme interest is the ruins of the old castle at our feet. There is nothing left of it now but the walls and moat. These enclose a space of four or five acres. The stone walls, fifty feet high, look huge and formidable. At present they are almost concealed by a thick mass of ivy. A moat, very deep and wide, entirely surrounds them. The walls and moat combined make the place almost impregnable.

As I sit and gaze on these ruins the awful scenes here enacted more than two centuries ago come before my mind with startling vividness. It was on this spot that the Christians of Japan in the seventeenth century made their last stand—and fell.

Driven to desperate deeds by more than twenty years of as cruel and heartless persecution as was ever visited upon disciples of Jesus in any land, they had at last risen in rebellion. For some time they were able to resist the large number of imperial troops sent against them; but prolonged fighting gradually exhausted their resources and reduced their numbers. They were forced to retire, giving up stronghold after stronghold, and thousands of them were captured and slain.

At that time almost the whole population of Shimabara was Christian, and the remnant of the Christian army retreated into the Shimabara Castle, with their wives and children. More than thirty thousand of them are said to have gathered here. One hundred thousand trained soldiers soon laid siege to the castle, but they found its capture no easy matter. The Christians had thoroughly fortified the place and were able to offer a stubborn resistance. Time and again did they sally forth, and drive back the enemy from the broad plains to my left with great slaughter. But they were gradually shut in on all sides, and their communications cut off. The castle was besieged, both by land and water. It is reported that the gunboats of the Hollanders in Nagasaki assisted in the attack, but we do not like to believe that Protestant Christians really turned their heavy guns upon the native Catholics and assisted in their destruction. After a stubborn resistance of three months, the castle was at last carried by storm. The defenders fought until overpowered. Many thousands of them poured out their life blood on the hills at my feet. The recorded descriptions of the scene are horrible. All the Christians who had not fallen in the fight were put to death in the most cruel ways conceivable. Three thousand of them were slain and buried together on the large island lying in the bay there before us, and their graves can be seen to this day. Many of the poor Christians were thrown from the cliffs into the sea; others were buried alive. None were spared.

In order to ferret out the secret believers amongst the country people who were not in the castle the diabolical practice of causing suspected persons to trample on the cross was adopted. Crosses made of thin copper plates were placed on the ground, and all who would not trample on them were executed as members of "the evil sect." I have seen a touching picture illustrating this. In the foreground lay a cross. By it stood a soldier with drawn sword. On all sides stood crowds of eager spectators. A young and beautiful girl was led forth and commanded to trample on the cross. After gazing at it quietly for a few moments, she knelt reverently by its side, and folding her hands in prayer bowed her neck to the executioner.

There is a story of an old gray-haired man who, Polycarp-like, when called upon to trample on the cross and renounce his faith replied by bravely testifying as to all that the cross had done for him, and urging his executioners and the assembled crowd to accept the religion of which it is the symbol.

All this and more was done on this very spot, and as I look on this hallowed ground this bright spring morning I can see it all before my eyes. How different it seems to-day! All is quiet, peaceful, and smiling. The old castle is gone. Only the huge stone walls, covered with ivy, and the broad deep moat surrounding them remain. Inside the outer castle is a large school building, and the little children are just beginning to gather there. How fitting that this place, erected for war, should now be made to serve the cause of peace and enlightenment.

The religion which Japan fondly imagined had here received its deathblow did not die. In this same neighborhood it lived in secret for more than two hundred years, until it could safely show itself in the better days of the Restoration. When the Roman priests returned to Japan upon the reopening of the country they found whole villages that had secretly preserved their faith, although, in the absence of the Bible, it had necessarily become corrupt. If the Jesuits had left with the Japanese Christians a Bible in their own tongue, the opening of the country would have revealed a flourishing church here.

I was especially gratified to meet last evening, in this town so full of anti-Christian memories, several bright earnest young Christian men, and to hear from them that there is now no opposition whatever to Christianity here, and that the outlook is encouraging. In the blood of martyrs is truly the seed of the Church what a church ought to spring up on this sacred spot.

ARTICLE V.

CHARGE TO A PASTOR.

By T. F. Dornblaser, D. D.

"Grace unto you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ."

My dear brother, it is a solemn thing to preach, and if possible, a more solemn thing to charge the preacher! It is a duty from which we should certainly shrink, were we not encouraged and justified in such an undertaking, by the example of that prince of preachers, the Apostle to the Gentiles. Since Christian laymen may edify one another and provoke to good works, so may we also be permitted to "put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee."

We have no new message to bring you. We cannot recommend to you any new scheme of salvation. Neither have we any self-originated charge to deliver to you. No more right have we to go outside of that which is written to charge you, than we have to originate our own message to bring to the people. Our text, therefore, shall be one that possesses all the authority of apostolic sanction and succession, although the speaker may seem wanting in this particular.

"I charge thee in the sight of God, and of Christ Jesus, who shall judge the quick and the dead, and by his appearing and his kingdom;" 2 Tim. 4th chap. 1st and 2nd verses. (According to the Revised Version.)

This preface is intended to arouse the spiritual susceptibility of the preacher. Paul would have you recognize a higher witness to your ministry than the congregation whom you serve.

The call to preach comes from God, and to God you are responsible. You may not always be encompassed by a multitude of sympathetic hearers, but the apostle would inspire you with the thought that God, and Christ, and the elect angels are interested spectators of your ministry. "Lo! I am with you always even to the end of the world," saith the Lord.

Wesley, discouraged by the apparent indifference and listlessness of his audience, looked toward heaven and exclaimed, "God is my witness!" Luther, in the darkest hours of the Reformation, looked away from self and his faint-hearted supporters, and rifted the thickening clouds of despondency with the words of eternal truth, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble."

My brother, the office of the ministry is a good work. But it is a work of great responsibility and of infinite consequences. To preach the everlasting Gospel, that shall prove to some the savor of life unto life, and to others, of death unto death, ought not be undertaken, except by divine authority. Augustine dreaded the responsibilities of the ministry, and when a small parish was committed to him, he took charge with a deep sense of his unfitness and unworthiness. Chrysostom, the most gifted divine of his generation, would not consent to be inducted into this sacred office until he was about thirty years of age. When the Monk of Erfurt was urged to accept the office of "Preacher and Doctor of the Holy Scriptures," he drew back with terror. "Seek one more worthy of it," said he. "The Holy Spirit alone can make a doctor of the Holy Scriptures." At length, being persuaded to accede to the wishes of his friends, and to that inner sense of duty which he interpreted as the call of God, he reverently and conscientiously assumed the following obligation: "I swear to defend manfully the truth of the Gospel."

Who, then, is sufficient for these things? "Such confidence have we through Christ to God-ward: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves," but our sufficiency is from God. "Who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." Beecher, in his "Yale Lectures," thus sums up the

work of the ministry. "The end is true manhood. The means, divine truth. The spirit, love. The ideal, Christ. The inspiration, the living Spirit of God!"

The Lutheran Church emphatically denies the existence under the New Testament of any hierarchical order such as the Levitical or Romish priesthood. She recognizes, under the Gospel dispensation, only two priesthoods, one the high priesthood of Jesus Christ and the other the universal priesthood of believers. She has sometimes applied this name to her ministers, as in the Twenty-third Article of the Augsburg Confession, but with the distinct protest against the abuse of the term by the papists. As a member of the spiritual priesthood, you can, and you ought, to offer a personal sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and "to present your body as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." But in no sense are you to assume the mediatorial functions of Jesus Christ. "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus." "Whereunto I am ordained a preacher and an apostle." So eminent authority as Chemnitz, declares that, "in the New Testament Scriptures the name priest, or priesthood is never given to the New Testament ministry. The custom of calling the ministry a priesthood grew from the practice of church writers and not from the institution of the Christian Church."

The ministerial office in the Lutheran Church is not dependent for its validity upon any outward or apostolic succession. The idea of an outward succession is very fascinating when we think of the long line of hands reaching back from the head of the candidate for ordination to St. Peter himself. But the necessity of an outward succession is altogether an Old Testament idea. The New Testament requirement is that of an inward succession, that is, a succession of faith and doctrine. The line of apostolic succession is not horizontal, but vertical. And, since you have assumed the pastoral office of your own choice and by the vote of this congregation, "I therefore charge you—in the sight of God and of this congregation—"Preach the Word." This is above all else the preacher's business. Every

other duty must be subservient to this. You are not to preach your own peculiar notions of men and things, but you are God's embassador, you are to deliver the message he has put into your hands. It is proper enough for the speculative philosopher to promulgate his advanced theories of the universe; but you are not the herald of a doubtful philosophy; you are the expositor of a revelation that settles things. Your authority in speaking is not founded on the conclusions of your own reason, but on the word of the Lord. "The word of God is quick and powerful." Its keen edge strikes through the bone into the marrow. It lays bare the heart and transfixes every wicked thought. It cleaves its way between the animal soul and the immortal spirit. When this takes place the sinner is slain spiritually. "For I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came sin revived and I died." When Spener preached his great sermon on the righteousness of the Pharisees, the slain of the Lord lay in windrows before him.

"Preach the word," pure and simple. It contains the cure for all the ills of modern society. It lays the axe at the root of the tree. Is it intemperance? Is it socialism, anarchism, or the industrial problem? The root of which all these are outcroppings is covetousness. Temperance societies, political parties, and legislative enactments may lop off a branch, here and there, from this Banyan tree, but the root imbedded in the human heart remains untouched. "The love of money is the root of all evil." Pull up this root out of the human heart, and plant in its stead the love of God, and you will not find that man willing any longer to fatten on the weaknesses and misfortunes of his fellows.

"Preach the word," it is the only sword that kills the germs of evil. Do not content yourself in lopping off a branch here and there; but aim at nothing less than the new creature in Christ Jesus. The unregenerate heart is a hotbed of noxious roots. It is "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." In order to pierce such a sin-mailed heart and move it to repentance the truth must be sent home "with the power and unc-

tion of the Spirit, and not alone with the enticing words of man's wisdom."

Paul's discourses were full of divine logic and fervid with holy passion. Intensive rather than extensive. "He ceased not day and night to warn with tears." Almost he persuaded King Agrippa to be a Christian. He made the scoffing Felix tremble in his presence.

Richard Baxter besought God before he besought his hearers. By secret prayer, he raised the temperature of his soul to the melting point.

A sermon may be as perfect and well-rounded as a polished bullet but its effectiveness depends upon the power that is put behind it. The personal character of the preacher, illuminated and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, is the power behind the truth which renders it almost irresistible. Spurgeon said, "He loaded himself into the cannon and fired himself at the people, when he wished to reach them." It takes a living soul to move a dead one. In our preaching we may profit by the celebrated three "P's" in Dr. Guthrie's sermons,—"Prove, Paint, Persuade." Every sermon of his was a battery well charged with gospel truth and religious fervor.

Is the pulpit losing its power? It is, wherever it lacks that holy passion for souls kindled by the Holy Ghost. "Take heed therefore to yourself, and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit hath made you overseer, to feed the Church of God."

As a faithful under-shepherd you will care for the lambs as well as the sheep, for the weak as well as the strong, for the unfavored as well as the most favored of the flock; "for it is not the will of your Father in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish."

My dear brother, since God in Christ is both witness and judge of your labors, I charge thee, "Be instant in season, out of season." Do not confine yourself as a professional to the stated hours of service. Your office is a divine vocation, and not a mere profession. Outside of your regular and stated services you are to watch and wait for opportunities to present the truth to the impenitent and the unbelieving.

If Edison in his passion for invention, can work on an average sixteen hours a day, the winner of souls ought not belittle his office by engaging himself as a hireling to work so many hours for so much pay.

In your pastoral work you will find abundant opportunity to carry out this injunction, Be vigilant! You will find occasion for work when others are resting; for wakefulness and prayer when others are sleeping. "Watch thou in all things; endure hardness; do the work of an evangelist; make full proof of thy ministry." "Reprove, rebuke, exhort—with all long-suffering and doctrine."

In order that your ministry may meet with the divine approval you must be a reformer as well as a preacher. Sin in all its forms must be rebuked. Hypocrisy and irreligion, though occupying the highest seat in the synagogue, must be exposed. There is some truth in the criticism made by a writer in the *Arena;* "The preachers are too busy bombarding the Pharisees of old to train their guns on the Pharisees of the nineteenth century." That fearless champion of human freedom, Wendell Phillips, made this bitter charge upon the Church and her ministry in his day: "She has the sword of the Spirit, but glues it in the scabbard!" She puts on the breast-plate of righteousness but never goes into battle! She has her feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, but she will not travel!" Be valiant for the truth, my brother! Let no man charge thee with moral cowardice! "Lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgressions." Remember! your commission is from God. "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord."

Spurgeon, in addressing a class of young preachers, said: "The devil does not care for your dialectics and eclectic homiletics or German objectives and subjectives; but pelt him with plain Anglo-Saxon in the name of God and he will shift his quarters."

"Reprove, rebuke!" This is the most difficult, as well as the most delicate part of a minister's duty. A reprover is like one that is taking a mote out of his brother's eye. To be successful, it must be done very tenderly. The soul, like the eye, is

very sensitive. False reprovers Christ severely condemned. "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam that is in thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." One way by which disciples wash one another's feet is by reproving one another. But the reproving lotion should not be so hot as to scald, nor so cold as to freeze. To reprove a small fault with undue severity is like the man, who, seeing a fly on his friend's forehead, should use a sledge hammer to kill it. There is no need of crushing a man's skull to kill a mosquito. A gentle rebuke would have removed the offence and saved his friend. Therefore, "exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine."

If you would administer reproof successfully, two things are necessary: First, you must love the offender; Second, you must hate the offense. "I charge you therefore, to combine the forces of your heart and life upon the work you have in hand.

Be earnest, be positive, be faithful. Be fully persuaded in your own mind, and the people will hear you. Be in dead earnest and God's elect will be quickened to new endeavor, and sinners will be converted. Be not afraid of exhibiting too much enthusiasm in your work. It is said of Andrew Fuller, that he used to become so earnest in the pulpit that he would pull the buttons off his coat, and the best part of his sermon was called the "button-time." When the preacher is so possessed by the truth as to forget himself and think only of Christ, his hearers will also forget the man and think of God speaking through the man. Then, as Paul says, "It is no longer I that do it, but Christ that dwelleth in me."

My brother, you have been called by this congregation "to preach the Word, and to administer the sacraments according to the doctrines and usages of the Lutheran Church." You are not to separate the one from the other. "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Emerson in his famous sermon renounced the sacrament of the altar as an empty husk; but in the economy of nature we have never found any way to raise grain without the husk. See to it, therefore, that the spirit accompany the letter, that the invisible truth be joined to the visible element in such a way that the believing soul may feed

upon the kernel while the physical man receives the husk. "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."

In conclusion, allow me a brief personal allusion. The relationship existing between Paul and Timothy made the charge in the text all the more solemn and impressive. Paul looked upon Timothy as his beloved son in the Gospel. In his old age, while a prisoner at Rome, awaiting execution, he takes up his pen for the last time and writes this solemn charge. It is impossible for us to conceive with what wonderful significance and power these words came home to Timothy! Chained for the truth's sake, this Christian hero accompanies his message with an affectionate and triumphant farewell. "For I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only but unto all them also that love his appearing."

The circumstances under which we give this charge to-day are not so significant, and yet to us they are suggestive of many interesting and pleasant associations. It is not my privilege to call you my son, but my brother, and companion in the Gospel.* Being somewhat your senior in years, though possibly not in experience it enabled me, as a companion and school-mate to study the development of your childhood and youth. It fills me with joy when I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that was in thy grand-mother, and also in thy mother; and I am persuaded that in thee also. When I contrast the present churchly surroundings with the scenes of our childhood, it impresses me as it must you also, with peculiar interest and solemnity. We are no longer boys together. We are men, facing the stern realities of life. You are installed this day as pastor of this strong and influential church, and your friend and brother stands before you, to admonish you to a faithful discharge of your duties. Finally, be humble, be prayerful, maintain a meek

*This was delivered at the installation of a friend.

and gentle spirit; seek not your own, but in all your ministry glorify Christ. "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Amen.

ARTICLE VI.

THE RELATION OF PHILOSOPHY TO RELIGION.

By Rev. G. C. Cromer, A. M.

In this age of thought when reason is made the final appeal on so many important questions of human life and when the bold step of rationalism seems to shake the faith of the honest believer; the question naturally arises, "Does philosophy really conflict with religion or can these two great systems of thought be brought into harmony with each other and with their kindred subjects?"

In answer to this question let us begin at the foundation of these systems and follow them throughout their superstructure. What do these terms mean in their broadest sense? Are the provinces of philosophy and religion different from each other or are they the same? Do they conflict with each other materially or do they start in the search for truth and differ only in spirit and method?

In answer to these questions let us define these terms and trace out that which is like and that which is unlike in the two systems of thought. "Philosophy," says one, "is an effort to apprehend reality in its ultimate analysis." This is true; but this definition refers rather to the process of philosophizing than to the meaning of the term in itself. To get at the nature of a subject so that it can be handled in a complete and logical manner that subject must be defined scientifically.

With this method of definition we describe philosophy as, "*that system of fundamental principles which is based on reason.*" In looking at religion from this point of view we define it as, "*that system of fundamental principles which is based on reason*

and faith." In both fields of investigation we deal with fundamental principles. Science is content to busy itself with effects, with facts and events. But philosophy and religion go back to the *causes* that underlie and govern all facts and events. They seek that which is principient—that which is ultimate.

In philosophy, Thales sought the elements of being. In religion Origen sought the source of all being. In philosophy, Socrates sought the eternal reason which was basal for thought and morals. In religion, Abraham and Moses sought a knowledge of the First Cause of all thought and morality and religion.

In our definition we use the term, system. In both philosophy and religion there has always been some one principle, ultimate and all-embracing, which gave differentiation and characterization. There has been found some thought or idea or opinion dominant to distinguish that which was *like* from that which was *identical.* Such a govering factor in philosophy and religion gives "type" or "system" to these fields of thought and belief. In philosophy we have Stoicism, Epicureanism, materialism, idealism, etc. In religion we have antitheism, pantheism, nature-religions and animism. Again we have theism embracing monotheism and polytheism. Dividing monotheism again we have Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. Thus we find similar terms in the definition of both philosophy and religion.

The difference we make in definition is one of *content.* Philosophy accepts that which commends itself to the reason and *only* that. Religion may accept that which commends itself to reason and it always accepts more—that which commends itself to faith—that which is above reason. Philosophy has no advantage of religion either in the beginning of its process or in the method of reaching its conclusions. Religion, it is true, postulates the existence of a God. It accepts experience as valid testimony and reason as a test of faith. Philosophy postulates *being* and reasons from cause to effect and from effect to cause by the inductive and deductive methods.

Psychologically, religion is much broader than philosophy. It enlists the whole spirit and affects the intellect, the heart and

the will. Philosophy in the contemplation of whatever object is always purely intellectual. It renders even the heart and the will subject to theoretical treatment. "Religion," says Dr. Stuckenberg, "is a spiritual energy in thought and feeling and volition so that it has concepts, inspirations and acts." Is not this true? Are not the religious feelings which we experience as truly facts as those we become aware of through the external sense? Do we not sometimes experience an emotion so deep and far-reaching that philosophy can neither fathom nor formulate it? Cannot we by sound conclusions based upon the facts revealed by reason and faith say with Paul: "I *know* whom I have believed and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.?"

The aim of both philosophy and religion is the attainment of truth. Each claims a close relation to the truth. However much the modern philosopher may object to it, there is much truth in that well-known *dictum* of the middle ages: "Philosophy seeks the truth, theology finds it, and religion possesses it."

Dogmatic theology is the ground of meeting. It has always been the aim of religion to adapt its forms and systems to be understood by and to be commendable to the reason. And the true philosopher has always possessed a believing reason. Philosophical methods have been recognized by religionists of every age and race and clime. From Buddhism and Confucianism down to present day Christianity we find the same law of progress from premise to conclusion.

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," was the doctrine of Paul addressed to the Thessalonians. "Be ready always," exhorts Peter, "to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." Reason, far from being an enemy to faith is really a friend by being a test of religious faith.

In Holland many of the cities are built by driving piles into the ground for foundations. Nearly the whole city of Amsterdam is build on these piles. When the town hall is filled with people and the least creaking noise is heard, the people become frantic with fear and will not be satisfied of their safety until an

inspector of buildings has thoroughly examined the piles beneath the building and has assured them that all is well. Now, ever since man has been a thinking, a believing being, he has been founding and building systems of religion. Some have a sure and solid foundation, others are built upon pillars of doubtful merit, others upon sandy foundations and broken piles. It is the duty of reason, the building inspector, to examine the foundations of these structures and announce to the world whether or not all is well.

A reason enlightened and purified by the influence of the eighteen hundred years' reign of Christianity cannot alarm believers. If error creeps into our faith, let such an enlightened reason cast it out.

Christianity has no fear of reason. True religion and true philosophy can never conflict. Ignorance and error and superstition recede before the penetrating rays of reason, but religious truth remains steadfast. It is only made clearer, brighter and more radiant by the light of reason. Barzelotti, in speaking of Rosmini, says, "He never allows the freedom of his thought to go to the length of admitting that anything can be true to a philosopher which is incompatible with a religious faith." "Every fresh advance of certain knowledge," says Carpenter, "apparently sweeps off a portion of (so-called) religious belief, but only to leave the true religious element more and more pure; and in proportion to its purity will be its influence for good and for good only."

There are diversities of opinion concerning the supposed antagonism between philosophy and religion. Some claim that religion is not thought worthy of philosophical attention. This is no argument at all. To utterly ignore a system of thought does not in any way answer or refute it. This objection is not worthy of consideration. Others claim that religion needs no attention from philosophy. This is based on a false view of philosophy and the rights of reason. It ignores the fact that the philosophical mind, however honest, religious or prejudiced, will test the claims of religion whether religion wills it or not. Still others suppose that philosophy can determine nothing re-

specting religion. This belittles the claims and the true province of philosophy. If philosophy cannot solve all the questions that religion may present, it can at least find problems and aid in their solution. It can reveal true character. It can expose the fallacies of false systems and thus perform a very important work for religion.

The ground of difference and disagreement between philosophy and religion is error. Had both of them the truth there could be no conflict. But there are elements of error in each and consequently when each becomes dogmatic there is friction.

Nowhere do philosophy and religion come into closer touch with each other than in Christianity. It is true that sophistry and superstition and the religions of heathenism have come into direct collision with the best systems of philosophy, but it is because these speculations were too far out on the ground of error, and true philosophy abhors error. Christianity, following the method of its great Author, keeps hard by the truth.

Breathing the spirit of him who was the way, the truth and the life it cannot but grow into a glorious fruitage of righteousness and truth. On the other hand, there have been philosophers whose systems move parallel with the progress of Christianity. Platonism exhibited features commending itself to the appreciation of Christianity, such as its theism, its elevated views of the proper aims and acquisitions of the soul, and the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Other approaches to Christianity were made in Meno's idea of virtue and Crito's conception of retaliation. Among the early church fathers we can see the influence of philosophy on their theology.

Indeed, some of these early writers cannot be classified distinctively, as either philosophers or theologians, so fully did they enter upon the ground of both. Can the most learned reader, by a careful study of Thomas Aquinas tell whether he was a philosopher or a theologian?

The trend of thought in the early history of the Church shows the influence of philosophy on religion. The first three centuries are marked by a strong defence of doctrine and are termed

the age of apologetics. The next four centuries form the period of polemics, the next eight hundred years were given to scholasticism. Then followed two hundred years of confessionalism. Our recent period, beginning with 1720 and continuing to the present, is one of great complexity in doctrinal development. It is a critical period in theology as well as in philosophy and literature. There is a tendency to assert the claims of reason against those of revelation. The natural is opposed to the supernatural. The radical movement is strong but is held in check by a firm conservatism.

In our age we find mingled, in places and quantities innumerable, the strangely non-complementary colors of idealism and realism, rationalism and supernaturalism, progressivism and conservatism, confessionalism and liberalism. A revival of Ultramontanism is in conflict with civil power in Roman Catholicism. And in opposition to Protestantism and Roman Catholicism are strong pantheistic and communistic tendencies: yet out of all this apparently confused picture of the religious and philosophic state of society will come harmony and beauty. The God who brought cosmos out of chaos at the very beginning of things is the master artist who, by a few touchings and retouchings with his wonderful brush, will bring out in brightest radiance the truth which men have sought. And, though this truth appears to men in all the colors of the rainbow, yet we must remember that it is only thus because it shines through the prisms of men's minds. It is all one color in its original source—the God of Truth. Philosophy may show one color, religion may present another, but

> "All are parts of one tremendous whole
> Whose body nature is, and God, the soul."

ARTICLE VII.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

By Prof. E. J. Wolf, D .D.

The Synoptic problem is concerned with the inter-relation of the three canonical writings which bear respectively the names of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Formerly it was assumed that in their composition they were wholly independent of each other, and the thought of their having recourse to a common original tradition or written document was not mooted. But the coincidences in the events recorded and in the language employed by the three Evangelists exclude their absolute independence, show them to have used common material, and to have drawn largely from a common source or sources.

Throughout these three compositions there runs a fixed fundamental type, there is a striking agreement in the selections which they give from the life of Jesus, in the arrangement of long narrations, and in the manner of representation down to individual linguistic expression. There are of course also disagreements in matter and style, pointing to different sources of information or different motives for using incident or saying. Each gospel has characteristics. There is a single, as well as a twofold and a threefold narrative. Matthew has considerable that is peculiar to him, Mark but little. "Nearly the whole of it is contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; about two-thirds of it are common to these Gospels, whilst the other third is contained partly in the Gospel of Matthew and partly in that of Luke." Only about seventeen verses are peculiar to Mark. Still Mark's Gospel is no compilation. His descriptions are more graphic than those of the other two, his incidents more expanded, his record more like that of an eyewitness than of a compiler, adding particulars and vivid touches which are wanting in the other Gospels. Besides, he gives chiefly incidents,

only a few discourses. Luke has much of incident and discourse that is peculiar. One considerable passage, chapters xiv–xvi, contains only a very few resemblances to the other two gospels. This has been called "the great interpolation" or "the Peraean Section," and indicates the use of a source of information not possessed by the other two Evangelists.

A mutual dependence of the Synoptists is found undeniable after a careful study of their agreement, for instance, in the locality of our Lord's ministry, its limitation to one year and the omission of his earlier Judaean activity, in the mention of but one Passover, in the general order of the main features of his ministry (notwithstanding the chronological variation of particular events), all beginning with John's preaching, Christ's baptism and temptation, which events are followed by the Galilean activity, the great crises by which it was marked, Peter's confession of the Messiahship, the transfiguration, closing with his death and resurrection.

More than half of the incidents recorded are the same in all three. They agree, says Holtzman, "in the main in their selection of facts—all traveling over nearly the same ground, though independent narrators would be sure to have differed a good deal in their choice of subjects for narration in a public life of three years." Why did they make this same selection of subjects out of a great multitude? But we find not merely this coincidence in the selection of incidents and discourses, but the language by which they are expressed is often a near approach to identity. In other authors who have written independently such material and verbal agreement does not occur. Says Gloag: "If we heard three discourses which although in some respects dissimilar, yet were interwoven with passages almost identical, we would rightly infer that in these passages the preachers copied from each other, or that they plagiarized from the same discourses." * * "Three eyewitnesses in recording the same facts, if their reports were independent of each other, would not express themselves in the same words." The case is made still stronger by the assumption that Jesus spoke in Aramaic, and that consequently the records of his discourses by the

Evangelists are translations. How did three translators come to use precisely the same words? The problem is further complicated by the fact that there is not only a general agreement of three Evangelists amounting often almost to identity of language, but often an agreement of only two, Matthew and Mark, Mark and Luke, Matthew and Luke having an identity of language, *ex. gr.* in the anointing at Bethany. If we had only the agreements of the three, or if agreement were confined to two, Matthew and Mark or Mark and Luke, they might be referred simply to a common source—an original Gospel, Mark, probably, or one closely resembling it. But Matthew and Luke also agree in incidents and discourses, with such identity of language as to show that either Matthew copied from Luke or conversely—a hypothesis deemed untenable—or that both drew the sayings contained in both from a common source. "Each Evangelist," says Westcott, "has a characteristic arrangement, coincident to a certain point with that of the others, and yet so far different that harmonists are commonly driven to violent expedients * * to bring all into agreement." Parallel sections abound, sometimes in two, sometimes in three gospels, and these reveal agreement in words, in fundamental features of the narrative, in details of expression and finishing touches, in introduction and transition formulas, sometimes throughout long speeches, and even series of narrations. Forty-seven sections (according to some, forty-two), nearly half of all the narrations, are common to all three gospels. Schaff says: "The agreement is often literal, and the disagreement often borders on contradiction, but without invalidating the essential harmony." Also: "The largest portion of verbal agreement, to the extent of about seven-eighths, is found in the words of others, especially of Christ, and the largest portion of disagreement in the narration of the writers."

The Synoptic Problem and diversity is the great question of New Testament criticism, the accounting for these features of agreement, "perhaps the most complicated and perplexing critical problem in the history of literature." An explanation of the coincidences and differences is sought by a reference to the

sources, but the problem involves among other questions that of the motive of the authors in writing their compositions. Did they each in turn aim at a comprehensive history of Jesus, at biographical completeness, at a continuous narration, at chronological order? Touching this matter Weiss observes: "Although these (different series of sayings and parts of discourses) were certainly in many cases put together on account of the similarity of their contents, yet a writing that has no continuous narrative naturally sought in certain prominent events in the life of Jesus, * * to find a guide for the division of the collected discourses and thus to gain a certain organization for its collected matter" (Vol. II, p. 227). "Nevertheless the fact remains, that the writing did not aim at a chronological or pragmatic combination of what it communicated." Some have viewed these different gospels as simply examples of literary individuality, each author is independent of the others, having set himself a particular end. "Their agreement and disagreement are not the result of design, but of the unity, richness, and variety of the original story as received, understood, digested and applied by different minds, to different conditions and classes of hearers and readers" (Schaff).

Some find in the differences the product of dogmatic consciousness, according to the ecclesiastical development reached. They claim to see representative tendencies or parties which appeared with greater or less force in the early church, one gospel being marked by particularism, another by universalism, one (Matt.) representing the Petrine standpoint, and another (Luke) the Pauline, one bearing the stamp of primitive Jewish Christianity, the other that of Pauline-Gentile Christian development. This hypothesis falls before the historic certainty that these gospels were current in the Church before the alleged antitheses of different parties.

The mutual relations of the Synoptics have given rise in the course of the century to a voluminous and bewildering literature, and while they have taxed to the utmost the learning, acumen and ingenuity of modern scholars, it cannot be claimed that a solution has been gained from these prodigious endeavors.

Certain points are regarded by most writers as settled, others are still under discussion. Biblical Science has not reached a conclusion. The most that can be said of any or all of the theories offered, is that they are purely hypothetical, simply conjectural. One hypothesis after another is exploded. Their originators are often found in turn each to surrender his own. Various hypotheses are in fact but a web of historical impossibilities. No external evidence on this point is accessible, and internal evidence is so illusory that different minds alike possessed of vast erudition and independence, are led to opposite conclusions. A solution of all points is almost despaired of. "The Tübingen School which promised to give the true solution of the Synoptical question by genuine historical criticism for the first time, did not agree as to time, succession, or tendency of the gospels" (Weiss, II, p. 216).

Four hypotheses are offered in explanation of the Synoptic agreements.

1. The Evangelists copied from each other.

2. There was an oral or traditional gospel, a collection of Christ's sayings and of the incidents of his life, which had to a great extent become stereotyped.

3. An original document, or more than one, was common to all.

4. The so-called two document hypothesis.

Each hypothesis may be variously presented, and they are not mutually exclusive. Each may have an element of truth and the true explanation of the differences and agreements may result from the combination of several hypotheses.

1. That the three were mutually dependent appears clear from the coincidence of their Old Testament quotations. These are generally taken from the LXX, but when in a few passages they are neither from the Hebrew nor the LXX, they still agree verbally, indicating that they copied from each other.

The coincidence of language is found, also, chiefly in the recital of the sayings of Jesus and others, not in the mere narrative of events. "The words of our Lord are frequently found

verbatim in the different gospels, especially in the sayings of our Lord contained in the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew's Gospel, and the precisely similar sayings found in different parts of Luke's Gospel." Thus while the verbal coincidences of Matthew with one or both of the other two amount to less than a sixth part of its contents, about seven-eighths of these coincidences occur in the recital of the words of others and only about one-eighth in mere narrative, where the Evangelist is entirely free in the choice of his expressions. Of the coincident passages in Mark only one-fifth occur in the narrative, and in Luke this proportion is still smaller.

This theory that the Evangelists copied from each other, or that one compiled from the other two, admits of many variations: Mark may be an abbreviation of Matthew and Luke, Luke may be indebted to Matthew. The right order may be that of the Canon; or Matthew, Luke and Mark, the latter a compilation; or Mark, Matthew and Luke—Matthew using Mark, and Luke both Mark and Matthew; Mark, Luke, Matthew—Luke copying from Mark, and Matthew from both him and Luke; Luke, Matthew, Mark,—Luke being followed by Matthew, and Mark copying from both; Luke, Mark, Matthew,—the latter copying both the former. Very great similarity in Mark alike to Matthew and Luke is unmistakable, but the manifest independence of his representations has long been acknowledged by scholars.

The order laid down by Mark has been generally followed by the other two, and this is a presumption in favor of him being used by them, yet it has been maintained that on the other hand Mark is no more a root of the other two than an extract, that in fact all three wrote independently of each other. Despite, therefore, the very considerable agreement in content and language neither had any acquaintance with the other. The agreement is due to other causes, apostolic preaching, catechetical instruction, oral tradition. Weiss: "The hypothesis of mutual use seems to give no satisfaction in any form, since whatever order might be assigned to the gospels, it could never be explained why the later writer should have changed the order of his predecessor in many

respects leaving out so much valuable material." Alford holds there is every reason to disbelieve that any one of the three Evangelists had access to either of the other two Gospels in its present form. Schaff: "The agreement is not of such a character that it may not be as easily and better explained from antecedent sources."

And the points of difference must also be considered. These are as important a phenomenon as the striking points of agreement. There is a material difference of content, and even where general agreement obtains on this point, there occur often verbal differences. These can hardly be accounted for on the ground of being different translations from the Aramaic, or of having been transmitted in different languages.

Luke and Matthew present remarkable variations respecting events of our Lord's life, birth, passion, resurrection, not indeed discrepancies, but diversities, showing their sources of information to have been not the same. So they differ respecting the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew giving it as a connected discourse, while the same sayings, embracing almost the whole sermon, are scattered throughout Luke's Gospel, not only the same in sentiment but often in striking identity of expression. Yet points of difference are just as noteworthy. So the diversities in the narrative of Matthew and Luke prove that the one Gospel must have been independent of the other. Their varying genealogies furnish an undeniable proof of this. Why, on the theory of Matthew and Luke having used Mark, should Matthew omit certain portions of Mark's Gospel found in Luke, and, conversely, why should Luke omit certain portions of Mark found in Matthew? Why, again, do both omit the few passages peculiar to Mark?

There is also considerable difference in the chronological order of events,—agreement in general but difference in detail, a precise chronological order being evidently not intended. Incidents in the life of Christ are related without reference to the time of their occurrence. If these Gospels were mutually dependent there would certainly have been greater agreement.

Undoubtedly a study of the facts requires some common groundwork. "If the Evangelists," says Gloag, "did not see each other's writings, there must have been either an oral Gospel which had become stereotyped, or some common document or documents, used by all of them."

The intimate relation of Mark to Matthew and Luke, the far-reaching similarity in the Greek wording of the sayings he gives, show that he did not follow an independent tradition, whilst his omissions seem to prove that he had not Matthew and Luke, before him. How could an epitomizer have omitted the supernatural birth of Christ?

2. Compelled to surrender the hypothesis of one Evangelist having borrowed from the others, critics have referred the agreements between them entirely to living oral tradition.

"The oral teaching of the apostles and the oral traditions of the actions and discourses of our Lord are the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels." Gieseler held that "without any preconceived plan an oral Gospel gradually resulted from the preaching of the apostles in Jerusalem; and that from this oral Gospel the three Synoptic Gospels were composed about the middle of the first century." Westcott: "The primary Gospel was proved in life, before it was fixed in writing. Out of the countless multitude of Christ's acts, those were gathered * * which were seen to have the fullest representative significance for the exhibition of his divine life. The oral collection thus formed became in every sense coincident with the 'Gospel,' and our Gospels are the permanent compendium of its contents." Schaff: "The chief and common sources from which the Synoptists derived their Gospels were undoubtedly the living apostolic traditions or teaching * * a faithful report of the words and deeds of Christ himself by honest and intelligent eye-witnesses."

The actions and teaching of Christ, regarding which it was the office of an apostle to give instruction, would gradually assume in a measure a stereotyped cast, especially in the parts recurring most frequently. From the same incidents often told and the same discourses and sayings constantly repeated, an oral Gospel would gradually be formed. Catechetical instruction,

Luke 1 : 4 (Greek), Acts 2 : 42, on the substance of the Gospels would also contribute to this.

A considerable diversity, determined by individual capacity and recollection, would inevitably result along with the similarity of incident and teaching. Traditions would be modified by locality. "The oral Gospel in Galilee would be different from the oral Gospel in Jerusalem." This would give rise to different collections of traditions. The preachers who went beyond the frontiers of Palestine would carry with them a variety of traditions; "one uniform Gospel would not be promulgated."

Such an oral tradition, then, admitting both of a general uniformity and of variations, is supposed to account alike for the agreement and the diversity of the Synoptists.

In these oral narratives we find according to Norton, "the common archetype of the first three Gospels"—an archetype partly fixed, partly fluctuating, accounting therefore at once for their coincidence and their diversity.

There must indeed have been an oral before a written gospel, the oral teaching by the Church antedating the written. And no actual need for a written one could have been felt until the Apostles were dispersed from Jerusalem, and the rise of heresies demanded a common written gospel, preserving the purity of apostolic tradition.

Undoubtedly here is a factor which has to be reckoned with in solving the Synoptic Problem. It must have played an important part in the formation of the three Gospels. They rest on oral tradition. Yet this cannot by itself account for all the coincidences and diversities.

Gloag states three objections to it: *a.* It fails to account for the agreement which pervades the Gospels. So great an identity of particulars in a life so full as that of Christ, an agreement which extends to expressions and words, long sentences having the words almost identical, could not have resulted from oral tradition. "The resemblances are too minute, exact, striking and numerous to be attributed to this source alone." Oral tradition uses diversified terms. Eye-witnesses of the same event will always employ a variety of expressions. Even set

phrases and current expressions cannot account for so minute an agreement as that which marks the Synoptists.

b. This theory furnishes no explanation for the omission, which the Johannean narrative supplies, of the Judaean ministry of our Lord. How could a general oral Gospel pass this by? Certainly it might be expected to occupy a proportionate space in oral tradition.

c. The apostolic teaching in the Acts do not sustain the supposition that it consisted in descriptions of Christ's life or repetitions of his parables and other discourses. Peter, Stephen, Paul, dwelt almost entirely on the advent, passion, death and resurrection of the Lord—giving few particulars of his life. The Epistles also have but few traditionary sayings of Christ.

An oral Gospel being found an inadequate answer to the question, Alford suggests that besides the oral Gospel in a measure stereotyped, "there were also written statements embracing both the incidents in the life of Christ and his teaching, and that these were independently used by the Evangelists, and, it may be, incorporated in their Gospels"—thus accounting for the identity of expression which frequently occurs.

3. This brings us to the third conjecture as to the source of the Gospels: an original document which all the three Synoptists made use of in the composition of their writings. The common source is not oral tradition, but a written document or documents. Luke's prologue recognizes without approval or disapproval many such writings purporting to contain a narrative of Christ or a collection of his sayings—written digests, and the varied use which the Evangelists made of one or more of these documents "is to account for the startling discrepancies and signs of independence whether in omissions, or additions, or arrangement."

This theory is *a priori* plausible, and is the one most widely accepted in the present day. In the criticism of ordinary literature, where two writings agree largely in content and expression with a third, we would infer that either both had borrowed from the third, or that the three had borrowed from a common

document. In this case the nature and extent of the similarities are such as to postulate that the original was written.

Eichorn, in a sense the father of this theory, supposed that that there was an original Aramaic Gospel, which lay at the foundation of the Synoptic Gospels, and which was soon translated into Greek, and had gradually been enlarged by additions and insertions. "There were three translations and three sets of traditions, and these constituted the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke." Besides the original Aramaic Gospel "there was another document containing a collection of precepts, parables and discourses delivered by Christ, which was used by Matthew and Luke, and accounts for the similarities in their Gospels."

Bishop Marsh modified this theory by assuming that while Matthew, Mark and Luke used the original Hebrew document, Matthew writing in Hebrew retained the materials in the language in which he found them, but that Mark and Luke depended on a Greek translation of the original document, which had been made before any additions were inserted. This offers a hint both for the difference and the agreement, but it has not been able to maintain itself.

Schleiermacher claims that there were several documents lying at the foundation of the several Gospels. Many evangelical fragments were dispersed throughout the Churches—traditions floating about—of which writings had been made. "These the Evangelists worked into their Gospels along with materials which each had himself collected." In this way the coincidences and differences may be accounted for. Of the multiplicity of original sources the Evangelists had some in common, some not. For instance, the Peraean Section in Luke appears not to have been used by the others.

Eichorn's theory of an original Hebrew or Aramaic document used by all the Evangelists, has been recently modified by the claim that the variation in the words and clauses in the Gospels is accounted for "by the different translations given to the Aramaic or Hebrew words." "This theory," says Gloag, "certainly accounts in many instances for variations in expression;

but when put to the test, it leaves most of these variations unexplained."

4. According to a fourth theory, "not *one* but *two* documents form the main sources of the Gospel narrative." One document is a narrative of the events in Christ's life and the other is a collection of his sayings. The former accounts for the sameness of the incidents recorded by all three Evangelists, the latter for the striking resemblance in expression. Holtzman observes: "All things considered, the two-source hypothesis appears the most probable solution of the Synoptic Problem." Papias, who was born before the last quarter of the first century and who must have been acquainted with the New Testament, mentions two documents. On the authority of John the Presbyter he affirms, "that Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, *i. e.*, as spoken or done by the Lord, whatever he remembered of the things said and done by Christ, and that he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of our Lord's discourses." This record, containing the preaching of Peter, edited by Mark, is one of the fundamental documents, either the canonical Mark or a previous Gospel (Ur-Marcus), from which our Mark is derived. Papias further writes: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles (*Λογια*) in the Hebrew language." This collection by Matthew of Christ's sayings is the other primary document (Ur-Matthaeus) "used by some unknown person in the composition of our Matthew, and also used by Luke in the composition of his Gospel. In these two documents, according to an array of eminent critics, the record of Peter's preaching by Mark and the collection of the Lord's Logia by Matthew, we have the main common sources of the Synoptics. The testimony of Papias being regarded as not fitting in with the canonical Matthew and Mark, Holtzman supposes the former to be, not the canonical Mark, but an earlier document fuller than that, unarranged notes; and the second to be, not the canonical Matthew, but a collection of Christ's discourses compiled by Matthew. He makes our Mark a revision of Ur-Marcus,

"without any intermixture of the Logia of Matthew," while Weiss supposes that Mark not only used "the notes of Peter's preaching," but had also access to the Logia collected by Matthew. Weiss interprets Papias as stating that unlike Mark, Matthew made an orderly arrangement of these sayings, gave them in their original connection, such an arrangement of the Lord's words being the proper object and the peculiar feature of Matthew.

Some hold the Ur-Marcus, some the Ur-Matthaeus, to be the oldest Gospel, the earliest and traditional type. Weiss: "The three Gospels are composite, and these documents were used in different proportions." He regards the canonical Mark as a combination of Ur-Marcus and a portion of Ur-Matthaeus; the canonical Matthew and the canonical Luke are dependent on Mark and on the Logia. Wendt asserts the priority of Mark to Matthew and Luke, but holds that Matthew's Logia lie at the foundation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Resch also holds that the canonical Matthew is in no sense an original Gospel, nor a translation of the original Hebrew Gospel ascribed to that Apostle. It was called by his name probably because it contained the Logia collected by him.

An important consideration called for by this theory, is the question whether "Logia" is to be restricted to the sayings and discourses of Jesus, or also includes incidents of his life? In the New Testament the term is used for the Old Testament Scriptures, not limited to sayings, Rom. 3 : 2; Heb. 5 : 12 (Acts 7 : 38; 1 Pet. 4 : 11). Hence its New Testament use nearly = *εὐαγγέλιον*, and it is so used by the early Fathers.

Nothing in Papias justifies its restriction, and he may designate by it simply a historical work, like our New Testament Gospels. Bleek: "Papias uses the name *τὰ λόγια* of the entire Gospel, the contents of Mark, without making any distinction between the historical narrative and the discourses of Christ." Weiss claims that it contained not an inconsiderable series of fragmentary narrations. Logia included deeds. It is equivalent to "things said and done."

Gloag admits that progress has been made in the solution.

The general agreement of critics accepts the Gospel of Mark, or a writing closely resembling it, and a collection or collections of the sayings of Jesus, as among the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels. The first and third Evangelists use directly or indirectly the second. According to some the document they used was not the canonical Mark, but an earlier writing, of which the latter is a recension and which is the common foundation of the three Synoptics. Whether this was shorter or fuller they are not agreed.

For this supposition of an Ur-Marcus Gloag sees no reason. Nothing in the testimony of Papias suggests a work different from the canonical Mark. The Fathers make no mention of a Gospel by Mark, which was only an edition or recension of a former Gospel now lost. "Papias distinctly asserts that Mark wrote his Gospel from the teaching of Peter; and Irenaeus affirms that the second Gospel was written by Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter. The substitution of the canonical Gospel for a lost Mark could not have occurred before Papias, or he would have given some indication of it, and it is even more incredible that it occurred after Papias wrote and before Irenaeus (202); for we have an almost unbroken chain of testimony between these two periods, alluding to the Gospel of Mark. Such a supersedure of one writing for another could not have escaped the notice of the early Fathers. Hence the canonical Mark must be the primitive Gospel which the other Synoptists used as one of the chief sources of their Gospels. Their use of it "accounts for the similarity of incidents and expressions in the Gospels where all three agree, and where Matthew and Mark, or Mark and Luke agree."

Gloag also holds the collection or collections of the sayings of Christ, partly oral and partly written, as the other chief source of the Synoptics. Those sayings would naturally be treasured up by the Apostles and other primitive disciples, constantly repeated in public, become indelibly fixed in memory, and especially the longer sayings be early reduced to writing, ere their recollection had become dim. Before the lapse of twenty or thirty years there must have been written documents

containing parables and other discourses of Jesus. These collections would vary according to locality. Some would be written in Aramaic, some in Greek. And whether oral or written, in Greek or in Aramaic, such collections would be used by all three writers of the Gospels. "This hypothesis accounts for the similarity, often amounting to identity of expression, found not only in the three Gospels, but especially in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke." The extended sayings which had been committed to writing they incorporated in their Gospels.

"The early Christians would feel constrained to collect the words of the Lord, and their incorporation into our gospels may account for their disappearance." These collections possessed neither authority nor completeness, consisting merely of detached narratives scattered throughout the Churches. There is no ground for including the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias among these collections—although Matthew's Gospel is remarkable for its collections of the sayings of Christ, and the Hebrew original is regarded by many as the root of the whole body of the Synoptic literature.

The question of sources, then, remains largely undertermined. Unsolved difficulties, unsettled points, unanswered objections attach to every proposed solution of the Synoptic Problem.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE TEMPLE IN WORSHIP.

By Rev. Herbert C. Alleman, A. M.

"If you travel through the world well," said Plutarch, "you may find cities without walls, without literature, without kings, moneyless and such as desire no coin; which know not what theatres or public halls of bodily exercise mean; but never was there, nor ever shall there be, any one city seen without temple, church or chapel. Nay, methinks a man should sooner find a city built in the air, without any plot of ground on which it is situated, than that any commonwealth altogether void of religion

should either first be established, or afterwards preserved and maintained in that estate. This is that containeth and holdeth together all human society—this is the foundation, stay and prop of all."

We might read the history of the nations in their temples. Without question they are the most significant structures the ancient world has handed down to us. They stand like milestones along the highway of the centuries.

Of no people was its temple more characteristic than the ancient Jews. The life of the nation was centered in it. To build it was the crowning work of the nation's history. To prepare for it was the crowning hour of David's great reign, as to dedicate it was the glory of Solomon's.

The design and pattern were given by the divine architect; its magnificence was the measure of the nation's devotion. "The house that is to be built for the Lord," said David, "must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and glory throughout all countries." Built as it was, of the cedars of Lebanon, covered with plates of gold, with its pillars crowned with lily work, this monumental fabric must have been a structure of incomparable splendor.

But it was not alone for its material magnificence that the temple was the pride of every Jewish heart. It had a profound spiritual significance. It was the House of God, the dwelling-place of the Most High. It was God's earthly throne. From it went forth the decrees that moulded the national life; that enlarged its influence; that gave value to its example among the nations; and that secured unity throughout its varied national interests.

There are two elements of a place of worship. It must be a place of revelation and of consecration. It is a place where God manifests himself to man and man dedicates himself to God. The ancient Jewish temple contained a two-fold centre of worship around which all its gorgeous rites and ceremonies revolved, the Holy Place and the Altar of Sacrifice. The glory of Jehovah's immediate presence abode in the Holy Place, while upon the Altar the worshiper was reminded of the necessity of

self-consecration, and the human surrendered himself to the divine in a typical act of sacrifice.

And so in a theocratic nation like Israel the temple was the centre of the nation's life. The charm of the Old Testament is the devotion of the Hebrew to his temple. How he loved it! How eagerly he went up to it! "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go up to the house of the Lord." Its obligations were imperative. Once a year from every nook and corner of the land the tribes came up to the Hill of the Lord; Judah from his peaceful hills; Simeon from his desert home; Zebulon and Issachar from their fertile valley; Reuben and Gad from across the Jordan; the Danites and Naphtalites from the foot of Lebanon; Asher from the coast and Benjamin from the inland—what a sight to behold! We can imagine we hear them sing, "Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem; whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto a testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord!"

All that has passed away. It belonged to a transient ceremony. A significant and mighty change has been wrought. Solomon's splendid house of fragrant cedar and polished stone and burnished gold was only the symbol of a far more majestic temple. Men no longer go up to Mt. Zion to come into the sanctuary. The hour is come when neither in Jerusalem nor in Mount Gerezim the true worshipers seek the Father. The true, the ideal temple is Christ, in whom the real Shekinah dwells. God has come nearer to us in Christ than ever he appeared to ancient Hebrew. He is "God manifest in the flesh and by his own offering for sin he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." In the holy life of Jesus of Nazareth there was more of God than in the glory that shone behind the temple veil; and in him we have an altar that makes every other flame grow pale and expire. So that of the ideal state of our existence, which is the heavenly, the seer writes, "And I saw no temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it."

The destruction of the ancient temple was God's declaration to man that his presence is not confined to temples of gold and

polished cedar. God's house is always where God's presence is. Preëminently it was in Christ; and through the shattered temple of his body the Spirit of God diffused itself into the temple of every Christian heart. Therefore "temples of God are ye," says St. Paul. There is no real altar but the living soul of man filled with the power and radiant with the splendor of the indwelling God. The heart surrendered to God is at once the altar and the sacrifice. There is now no holy place visible to the eye of sense. The true Holy of Holies is the human soul when God dwells there.

"I am God's temple. In my breast
Where beats my helpless hurrying heart
That at such futile joys will start,
And stop because death's hand is pressed
Too close, he dwells, my royal guest.
Oh, great cathedrals rich with art
I am your lowly counterpart.
And your high altars no more blessed
Than this poor supplicating frame
In which all mortal ills are rife;
I, too, am hallowed by his name,
And here I bear through sin and strife
A spark of the encircling flame,
A breath of the eternal life."

Oh, that it were possible to make vivid to our thought a truth at once so awful and so inspiring: The human soul God's truest temple! Then there must be in *us* a manifestation and a dedication. In the holy place of the individual soul the divine fire must burn. The light must first be in us, or there can be no outshining. The whole nature of man in his threefold endowment must be under the rule of the Divine Spirit; the heart's loves and affections becoming the Altar of Sacrifice; the mind's loftiest conceptions and subtlest reflections becoming the channel of impassioned devotion; the sternest mandates of the purified and ennobled will becoming the proclamation of righteousness to all the world.

Shall we never learn that a life of Christ-like action is the strongest manifestation of God in the world? We hear much in these days about the Church having lost its hold on the business men of to-day, the young, the laboring class. If that is

true we as individual men have lost our hold on these classes. President Patton recently said: "A deluge of skepticism is about to burst upon the Church." If that be true, we as individual believers are apostate. The Church is not a *building*. It is in vain that we build temples to God unless we become his living temples. The Church is not the ministry alone. It is not a priesthood; Christ hath made us all kings and priests unto God. It is *the pulpit and the pew* that makes the Church. It is in vain that we build temples to God, let me repeat, unless we become his living temples. What the unspiritual man needs is a living revelation of the living Christ that shall come so close to his soul that he must recognize it as a living power. That revelation is best found in the Christ-like man who brings the Spirit of Christ that is in him so directly and persuasively into the sphere of his work-day life that men cannot help perceiving it then and there. It was one of the deepest sayings of Charles Kingsley, "Worship is a life, not a ceremony." Such it does become to a soul thoroughly alive unto God,—a life, not a ceremony. The operations of the Godward sense cannot in such a soul be limited to the prescribed functions of certain days and of certain places. Love, casting out fear, beholds God in the face of Christ, glorifying all life, and coördinating in the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace all times, places, duties and relationships. The knowledge of redemption sheds upon life an almost eucharistic gladness. Prayer verges toward companionship.

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things both great and small."

But, that worship may be, as Kingsley finely said, a life, not a ceremony, does not invalidate the thought of times when the individual consciousness is moved to seek formal and concrete expression of its emotion toward God. It has also been finely said, "Worship and love are alike. Love may be a life, involving the entirety of a man's being, and sweeping like a tide too full for sound or foam beneath all his thoughts; but love has its times for demonstration, its resistless moments of the heart's outpouring, its sacramental hours and deeds wherein the inward

passion fulfils itself in outward and visible signs." The heart of Christ was a shrine of perpetual worship. Of his attitude to the Father he said, "I do always the things that please him." Yet Christ knew and intuitively obeyed the law which accentuated the devout life with occasions of formal and concrete expression; and he who lived in the constant light of God's face would yet rise at day-break to seek that face in prayer, and, "as was his custom, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day." Man needs times and places for worship, and the association of brethren. Because under the New Testament economy each individual Christian becomes a temple of God, it does not follow that there is no longer need of temples made with hands. There will always be need of them while the Church is militant. Man can not always pray alone. God has so made us that it takes the electric touch of brotherhood to kindle the deepest emotions and awaken the highest aspirations. And there are times when we need the help of some other soul that has the gift of uttering the deep emotions we cannot utter before we can really pray. I would not disparage by a single word the necessity of lonely, individual communion with God, nor deny that many a man is able to stand alone and face the inevitable vicissitudes of life and to kindle in solitude his single altar flame. Still the common truth remains that the spirituality of most men is not so pure and constant that it can afford to dispense with forms and times and places, the association and the help of brethren. It has been well said, "He must be either a very strong man who does not need them or a very weak one who does not know that he needs them." Without doing injustice to the religious recluse, one cannot help feeling that there is in Christian individualism, perhaps an unconscious, but a very real and deep-seated, selfishness. Such a man neither cares for, touches nor influences his fellows. Not uncommonly do we find him dominated by high-seated selfishness or morbid despondency. Why should men hesitate to speak with each other concerning the deepest experiences of the soul? Why should they shrink from having their brethren know that their hearts go out to God, and that they seek the divine presence in their lives?

It was not so of old. The first Christians sought the fellowship of brethren. Public worship was a primary function of the Apostolic Church—"not the ephemeral product of local excitement, but the steadfast, universal practice of the Church, to be continuously maintained during the undefined period of the Lord's absence, and to grow more intense and engrossing as the signs multiply that foretell the nearness of the Second Advent." Perhaps the supreme example of the New Testament estimate of a common worship is that familiar exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he has consecrated for us, through the vail, that is to say, his flesh; and having a high priest over the house of God; let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; for he is faithful that promised; and let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works: not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another: and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching."

And organized life with its consecrated times and seasons requires its consecrated place. And so the worshipers of old built their tabernacles, synagogues and temples. In later ages they borrowed the idea from the Divine Architect of forming pillars and pilasters of the trunks of the forest trees. They bound them together with green withes, leaving the branches to form a pointed roof. The varied colors of the sunset light glimmered through the interlacing boughs and twigs; and thus the solemn arcade of trunks and overarching branches, and the changing hues of the western sky became the prototype of a noble and enduring type of ecclesiastical architecture—the Gothic, with its groined and vaulted roof, its groups of pillars and "the dim religious light" of its variegated windows.

Then, enamored of the external form and beauty of the house in itself, men began to localize and limit religious life and to work to stately abbeys and cathedrals. Splendid ceremonies

and gorgeous ritual became the only approach to the Father. So much wealth was required to build and sustain these magnificent establishments that the rich were impoverished and the poor neglected and barter made of men's lives.

A reaction naturally set in. Spiritual men like the brave John Knox denounced religious art and demolished the magnificent cathedrals. "Pull down the nests," he said, "and the rooks will fly away." The plain meeting-house without a taint of ornament, and the bald simplicity of Puritan worship succeeded. The Puritan truth was, that approach to God is not limited to stately cathedrals and impressive ceremonies; that worship is spiritual, and they that seek the Father must seek him in spirit and in truth. The Puritan error was in despising the beautiful, which also is of God; and in practically teaching that there is inherent relation between ugliness and godliness.

There are two theories of the coming of God's kingdom in the world. The one theory sees only danger in the contact of the spiritual with the secular, its advocates affect to despise whatever is not distinctively religious and look for the coming of the kingdom by a process of extermination, as it were. The other theory looks with hope upon the contact of the spiritual with the secular. It believes, literally, in the redemption of the *world.* It believes in the consecration of the material to God. When a man dedicates himself to God he consecrates the completeness of his nature. He dedicates his sense and power of beauty as well as his conscience and his sense of right and wrong. As promoters of the useful we believe that utility ought always to be the end of expenditure. But we believe that there is *use* as well as delight in *beauty.* Is it nothing to appeal to the highest instincts of man through the appointments of artistic beauty and refinement? Neglect the poor! The utility of expenditure for art is not a question between God's house and God's poor. It is a question between God's house and our house. "Shall we live in ceiled houses"—for we will if we can!—"and God's house lie in waste?"

The Church does not stand in the community simply as a place to worship God. The mystery and awe which enwrap

the universe, and the wonder which it inspires are more keenly felt when we are in contact somewhere with the crust of the earth and are enveloped by "the great ocean of air whose bottom is the sky." The natural temples—the temples not made with hands—the ocean, the prairie, the woods in the beauty of autumn, the banks of a noble river, the shadow of a great mountain, are more beautiful than the temples we rear. If men had kept consecrate their natural temples they should have needed no others. Time was when they preserved their sacred groves that natural beauty might combine with separation from the world's distracting voices to inspire their worship. But their children swept away their groves to build their cities. As once all things bore evidence to their religiousness, now all things bear evidence to our greed. In an age of materialism like ours, when the hum of the voices of barter and trade almost drowns the still small voice; when we have planted everywhere our factories whose smoke shuts out the blue of heaven, whose blistering cinder has blighted the green of earth—I cannot imagine a greater gain to any community than an impressive house of worship which speaks of values other than those on 'Change and investments that cannot be legislated out of existence.

ARTICLE IX.

HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY,

FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE TO THE YEAR 1893.

By Prof. Alfred Hiller, D. D.

There were three important events which occurred near the close of the fifteenth century, which had much to do in shaping the world's progress, and in bringing about the Christian civilization which to so great an extent characterizes the nineteenth century. These events were the invention of the art of printing with movable types, the birth of Martin Luther, and the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The art of printing gave a new impetus to thought and education, made the rapid multiplication of the word of God possible and was a mighty factor

Note 1.—A part of the following history was written several years ago by special request, and read at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society. Since then additions have been made and the author has endeavored to bring the history down to the year 1893. In consulting the list of authorities given, the writer has been free to quote, and, as it was not originally written for publication, may not always have given the proper quotation marks.

Note 2.—Besides local church records and information from local pastors, the writer has gathered his information from the following sources: Hallische Nachrichten; Halle Reports, I; Acrelius' History of New Sweden; Hazelius' History of the American Lutheran Church; Evangelical Review; Nicum's Geschichte des New York Ministerium; Minutes of different Synods; Bancroft's History; History of New Jersey by Isaac Mulford; New York Historical Record, Vol. XII; History of New Netherlands; "History of Early Settlement and Progress of Cumberland county, by Lucius C. Elmer;" Fenwick's "History of Salem;" "History of the Colony of Nov. Caesaria or (New Jersey) from the first Settlement to 1721, with some particulars since by Samuel Smith, published in 1765;" "Historical Sketch of German Valley" by J. A. Blouselt; "Our home," Vol. I; Hartwick Seminary Memorial; Historical Sketch of Sussex county, Edward A. Webb; "Clay's Annals;" "Lutherans in America;" Rev. T. F. Chambers, translations, etc.; Mr. I. C. Honeyman.

in spreading abroad the evangelical truth which lay at the basis of the great Reformation which was inaugurated in the sixteenth century. When, four hundred years ago, Christopher Columbus crossed the trackless Atlantic and discovered this western world Martin Luther was a boy nine years old. Now, when this boy had grown to be a man, and had become the hero of the Reformation, who, fearing neither potentate nor devil, dared to stand up for truth and liberty, and when the movement which he had inaugurated had spread so rapidly and had become so popular as to menace the Roman hierarchy, and the tremendous powers centralized in the Pope were combined to crush out this so-called heresy, and when thousands of those who had identified themselves with the Reformation were for conscience' sake driven from home and native land; they turned their longing eyes to this newly discovered western world far away over the sea, as the only place under heaven where they would be beyond the reach of their cruel oppressors and where they might find what they so fondly desired, *freedom to worship God.* These children of the Reformation were the first to settle this country and lay the foundation of our free institutions. The Church inaugurated by Luther was early divided into two great branches: the one following the teachings of Zwingli and Calvin was called the Reformed Church, the other branch was the *Lutheran.* Both branches were represented in the first settlers of the United States and also of the State of New Jersey. Those who spoke the English language belonged mostly to some division of the Reformed branch, while the Lutherans were represented by the Dutch, Swedes and Germans. The Dutch were for the most part Reformed and some of this branch were also found among the early German settlers. But the Lutherans who first came to this country and who first settled in New Jersey were Hollanders, Swedes and Germans.

THE EARLY LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY—THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

Near the city of Leipzig in Germany stands a monument with this inscription, "Gustavus Adolphus, the Christian and the Hero, saved, near Breitenfeld, Religious Liberty to the World." To

this great and good Lutheran king of Sweden, so far as human instrumentalities are concerned, may be traced the origin of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in New Jersey, and we may say in the United States. In the midst of the Thirty Years' War, which devastated nearly all Europe, and cost him his life, he formed the design of providing an asylum in this western world for the persecuted Protestants of Europe. The colony which he proposed to found was to be "a source of wealth and prosperity to all ranks of his people, to the poor peasant as well as to the titled noble. He would lay its foundations in justice and righteousness, and make all its future citizens freemen and Christians. Slavery was at once and forever excluded from it. "Slaves," said the Swedish statesmen, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish with hard usage. The Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children."

Such was the design of Gustavus in establishing his colony in America. It was solemnly declared to be intended as an instrument for planting the Christian religion among the heathen, and for providing an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of Europe. Under the influence of such motives, he kept his project in view from year to year. In 1626 he issued a proclamation encouraging men of all ranks to take part in it. The following year he brought it before the Diet of his kingdom, and thus gave it the highest legal sanction. This induced great numbers to take stock. The company being thus organized, a fleet was fitted out for the purpose of carrying the colonists to Virginia as the whole of this continent from Florida to the Gulf of St. Lawrence was then called. But this fleet appears to have been captured by the Spaniards. Before this disaster could be remedied, Gustavus Adolphus had put himself at the head of the Protestant states of Germany for the purpose of defending the rights of conscience and preventing the utter extermination of Protestantism in the land of its birth. Still he never lost sight of this favorite plan. Even when he drew near the end of his glorious, though brief career, amid all the care and troubles of a campaign against the most renowned general of the age, the am-

bitious Wallenstein, "but a few days before the battle of Lutzen," says Bancroft, "where humanity won one of her most glorious victories and lost one of her ablest defenders," the enterprise which still appeared to him as the jewel of his kingdom, was recommended to the people of Germany. After the death of Gustavus, his minister, Axel Oxenstiern, while still in Germany (April 10, 1633) renewed the charter of the Swedish West India Co. and invited the German Protestants to participate in its privileges. These were accepted and confirmed by the German allies of Sweden convened at Frankfort in December, 1634. In the meantime, according to Acrelius, he had obtained from Charles I. of England, a renunciation of all the claims of that nation to the country upon the Delaware, and had thus determined the location of the colony.

It was probably in the spring of 1638 that the first Swedes arrived in this county. They came in two vessels accompanied by Peter Minuit or Menewe as the Swedes called him, who was to be Governor of the Colony. They first landed at a place on the west bank of Delaware bay to which they gave the name of Paradise Point. Soon after, they moved further up the river to a place which they named after the Queen of Sweden, Christina, where now stands the city of Wilmington, Del., having in the meantime "purchased of the Indians the whole country on both sides of the Delaware from Henlopen to the falls of the Delaware (Trenton)." At Christina they built a fort, and within the enclosure of the fort a church which was probably the first Lutheran church erected in the United States. Such is a brief history of the first settlement of the Swedes on the Delaware. The country occupied by them they called New Sweden, and as we have observed, this country lay on both sides of the river, and hence a part of it was within the limits of New Jersey The history of these Swedes then forms a part of the history of New Jersey. And inasmuch as they were Lutherans, and they planted the Lutheran Church in New Sweden, the history of their church forms a part of the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in New Jersey.

Isaac Mulford in his history of New Jersey says, "The portion

of country purchased by the Swedes extended from Cape May to the Narriticon or Raccoon Creek, the purchase was made by the Navigation Company in 1641." Many of the Swedes settled on the Jersey side of the river, but for nearly a half century they attended church on the other side of the Delaware, at Christina (Wilmington, Del.), and Wecoca (Philadelphia, Pa.) The first preacher of the Swedes was Reorus Torkillus, who accompanied the Colony of Minuit and officiated until his death in 1663.

We may learn the doctrinal basis of the Swedish Church from the instructions which were given by the Queen of Sweden to John Printz, who in the year 1642 was appointed Governor of New Sweden. "He was required above all to labor and watch that he might render in all things to Almighty God the true worship that is due, and the glory, praise and homage which belong to him; and to take good measures that divine service should be performed according to the true confession of Augsburg, the Council of Upsála and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church, having care that all men, and especially the youth, be well instructed in all parts of Christianity, and that a good ecclesiastical discipline be observed and maintained. The Dutch settlers might be indulged in the exercise of the Reformed religion." "Thus contemporaneously with Roger Williams," says Dr. Reynolds, "and independently of him, was freedom of conscience guaranteed upon the banks of the Delaware, and this was done nearly fifty years before William Penn founded the City of Philadelphia, upon similar principles of religious freedom." We also learn from the instructions given to Governor Printz, the policy of the Swedes towards the Indians. "The Governor shall treat the wild nations which surround the Colony with all humanity and respect, so that no violence or injury be done them by any of her majesty's subjects who on the contrary shall do their utmost to make them acquainted with the truths of the Christian religion and the mode of worshiping God, so as to civilize them and give them the benefits of social order and government, especially shall he endeavor to convince them that neither he nor his people have come for the purpose of doing

them any harm, but much rather in order to supply them with such things as will be to their comfort, especially such as are not found among them, or cannot be manufactured by them." As the result of this policy uninterrupted peace was maintained between the Swedes and Indians, and more than one hundred years afterwards the Indians continued to speak of them with the greatest affection. The chief, Conestoga, at a council meeting held in Lancaster, Pa., June 26, 1746, thus expressed himself, "It is true that more than one hundred years ago a German (Swedish) ship came bringing many things, such as knives, hatchets, guns and the like, which they gave us. And when they had taught us the use of these things, and we saw what kind of a people they were, we thought so much of them that we tied their ship to the bushes on the shore. After awhile we thought the more of them the longer they stayed with us; so, thinking the bushes too weak, we removed the rope and put it around a tree; and lest the tree might be overthrown by a storm, or fall of itself, out of our great love for them, we removed the rope again and tied it to a very great rock. Still not satisfied with this, for the sake of still greater security, we removed the rope to the big mountain, where we fastened it carefully, and rolled wampum around it. And for still greater security we stood upon the wampum and sat upon it, and to prevent all injury we used all means to guard it and preserve it to the end of time. As long as this stood the new comers from Sweden acknowledged our right to the land, and from time to time treated with us for tracts of our land and promised to unite and live with us as one people." In like manner the Swedes in their letter to the King in 1693 say, "We live in great unity with the Indians who have done us no harm for many years."

John Campanius was the second Swedish pastor. He resided six years in New Sweden, from 1642 to 1648. He evidently devoted a good deal of attention to the Indians. He translated Luther's catechism into the language of the Delawares. Owing to various hindrances, among others probably the capture of New Sweden by the Dutch in 1655, the catechism was not published until 1656. John Campanius therefore may be regarded

as the first Protestant missionary among the Indians, and Luther's Shorter Catechism was perhaps the first book of Christian instruction translated for the benefit of the inhabitants of the new world.

Campanius was succeeded in the pastorate of the Swedish churches by the Rev. Lawrence Lock, who died in 1688, after having officiated as minister for about forty years. Clay, in his Annals of the Swedes, says, "That from him (Lock) many families descended, and several are yet living in west Jersey near the Delaware. They were among the best members of Raccoon church." This church was in Jersey. "For many years," he adds, "the Rev. Mr. Lock was the only clergyman they had." Of the state of religion among the Swedes during the ten years of Dutch domination, and the first thirty years of the English administration we know but little. Mr. Lock was succeeded by the Rev. Jacob Fabricius, who was sole pastor of the Swedes for fourteen years, though for nine years of that time he was entirely blind. He was called to this field from New York city where he had been settled since 1669. "He was a German by birth, or, as some have thought, a Pole," says Acrelius. "He was called from New York where he was without employment." Although a German, he had preached in New York in the Dutch language, and although he at first employed that language among the Swedes, as they were now generally acquainted with it, yet he soon became so familiar with the Swedish as to be able to conduct divine service in it also. In the New York Historical Records we find a document which not only explains why Dominie Fabricius was out of employment at this time, but also shows that Lutheran preachers in the New Netherlands, as the country was now called, had their own trials and tribulations. In the record, referred to above, we find an account of "Proceedings in Court against Dominie Fabricius, A. D. 1674, 1st of March," in which "The plaintiff says that defendant has, contrary to the laws of this government, married Ralf. Doxy and Mary von Harris on the 5th of February last past, without having any lawful authority thereto, and without publishing the bans. The plaintiff therefore demands that ex officio the de-

fendant shall be brought to the place where justice is usually executed, be *whipped there severely*, and then forever banished this government, *cum expensis.*" Defendant confesses to have erred through ignorance, asks forgiveness and promises to obey the laws in the future. The decision of the court was that they "declare him incapable to perform the functions of a minister and what is connected with them within this province for one year." Fabricius then petitioned the court that he might be allowed to baptize if not allowed to preach. This request was denied. As his infirmities increased with his age, Fabricius desired to resign his charge at New Sweden. But it was very difficult to get anyone to supply his place. Two laymen were appointed, Andrew Bengtson and Charles Springer, who read Möllar's sermons, and the Swedish liturgy, and thus kept up religious services in the churches. In the meantime urgent petitions were sent to Sweden for a new supply of pastors. After some delay, to the great joy of the Swedes, their petitions were granted, and three missionaries were sent over who arrived in America on the 24th of June, 1697, about a year after the death of Fabricius. The names of these missionaries, were Andreas Rudman, Erick Björk, and Jonas Auren. The Swedish churches were now formed into three pastorates. The one at Wicacoa (Philadelphia) was assigned to pastor Rudman, the second at Christina (Wilmington) to pastor Björk and the other at Raccoon (Swedesborough) and Penn's Neck (Salem) in New Jersey, to pastor Auren.

Dr. Clay in his Annals of the Swedes remarks, that "in the year 1704 a church was built where the present church of Swedesborough now stands, and was endowed with the yet preserved, viz., the one hundred acres of which Swedesborough makes a part, and the marsh meadow of six acres four miles from thence down Raccoon Creek." "The first minister, Polfladius, was drowned in the Delaware." The second minister, according to Clay, was Auren who served until his death in 1713. He was probably the first regular Lutheran pastor settled in New Jersey. He was succeeded by Abraham Lidenius, who also became pas-

tor of Penn's Neck. A church was erected there in 1717. It was twenty-four feet square, built of logs and weather-boarded, and named St. George's Church. From that time "both congregations have been united, and both conjoined in the commission of the rectors." "By the unwearied solicitude of Mr. Lidenius," says Clay, "the congregations were after eight years' consultation prevailed upon to purchase the glebe at Pilesgrove, which contains two hundred and thirty-five acres and cost one hundred and fourty-five pounds." In 1724 Mr. Lidenius went home to Sweden with his wife, Marie Van Maman, and three children. Peter Tranberg arrived in 1726 with Andrew Windrufwa, who as assistant had charge of Penn's Neck until 1728, when he died. This vacancy was in some measure supplied by William Maylander, who had come to America with Dylander, pastor of the Wicacoa as schoolmaster. Being a divinity student, he obtained permission to preach and baptize children. "During the vacancy," says Clay, "the Moravians created a schism and built the meeting house on Old Man's Creek." Pastors Naesman from Wicacoa, and Tranberg from Christina did however occasionally supply the congregation. The Rev. John Sandin arrived on the first of April, 1748, after a tedious and perilous voyage. He died after six months. Prof. Kalm, of the University of Abo, who at this time by the King of Sweden's order traveled through North America, resided for the winter at Raccoon and preached in the church located there. Erick Unander, who came in as minister extraordinary, became in 1751 pastor of the two churches. In 1756 he was promoted to Christina. John Lidenius, son of Abraham Lidenius, succeeded as rector, after having since 1751 served as assistant in these congregations and those of Pennsylvania. His successor was the Rev. John Wicksell, who became pastor in 1762 and returned home in 1774. He was succeeded by the Rev. Nicholas Collin, D. D., 1770, who was rector of these congregations and for seven years provost of the mission.

Fenwick in his History of Salem county, observes: "Nicholas Collin who officiated there until about the close of the Revolution, was the last of the Swedish ministers. In relation to the

Swedish churches in America, and this in particular, the mission was supported principally by the King of Sweden, and a glebe was purchased for each missionary. The glebe attached to this church, a farm in the township of Pilesgrove, had been sold some years ago for eight hundred pounds, but I believe the original sum is still kept entire by the congregation of Penn's Neck." Dr. Collin was succeeded in 1788 by the Rev. John Wade, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Since his time the church has been served by a succession of rectors from the Diocese of New Jersey. What is now "Trinity Parish," Swedesboro, N. J., is the same as the original Swedish Parish of Raccoon. Thus ends the history of the Swedish Lutheran churches in New Jersey. For more than one hundred years after the Swedish emigration to New Sweden had ceased, they continued to worship in the language and the church of their fathers; but when the English language became the language of these Swedes or their descendants, and consequently services in their churches were required in the language of the country, and English speaking Lutheran pastors were not easily obtained, they were kindly helped out of their dilemma by their neighbors of the Episcopal Church who gladly received them into their own fold.

THE DUTCH LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Among the Lutherans who first settled in this country and in this State, we would not forget to mention the Dutch, or Lutherans from Holland. The Lutheran Church was the first form of Protestantism in Holland. "There its first martyrs shed their blood and triumphed amid the flames, many laying down their lives for the faith." "But the closer association of the Dutch with the Swiss and French Reformers, and those free cities of Germany where the Reformed faith had been introduced, separated the new movement in Holland from Lutheranism and the body of the people at large became decidedly Calvinistic." Still Lutherans remained in Holland, and Lutheran churches were organized and continued there. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the heated Arminian controversy

arose, the Dutch Lutherans being generally classed with the followers of Arminius, were with them exposed to the hate and even persecution of their neighbors of the Reformed Church. Hence, when the Dutch had taken possession of that part of America which they named the New Netherlands, embracing the present State of New Jersey, many of these Dutch Lutherans sought an asylum in this far off land where they hoped to find perfect liberty of conscience. In this, however, they were for some years doomed to bitter disappointment. These Dutch Lutherans settled principally in New York along the Hudson and in northern New Jersey. Here they were persecuted as in the fatherland. For years they were without pastors, and during this time they were not allowed to meet in private houses for prayer and worship. Besides this, a law was passed compelling the Lutherans to have their children baptized by the Reformed ministers, who required both parents and sponsors to profess their belief in the doctrines taught by the Synod of Dort. Refusal to comply with this arrangement subjected them to fines and imprisonment. Under these adverse circumstances, as we might expect, the Dutch Lutheran Church in this country was not in a very thriving condition. Deprived of a ministry of their own—opposed and persecuted by their neighbors and by those in authority, and the New Netherlands soon passing into the hands of the English, and in course of time the English becoming the language of the country—these Dutch Lutherans in New Jersey, like their Swedish brethren on the Delaware, lost their national character, became Anglicized and were largely absorbed by the German Lutheran and by other churches. In the "History of the Colony of Nova Caesaria (New Jersey) from the first settlement to 1721 with some particulars since," which was published in 1765 we find a list of the churches of different denominations in the State by counties, in which the author mentions one Dutch Lutheran church in Salem county, one in Somerset, and two in Bergen. When these churches were located we are not told, and of course we can learn nothing of their history from this quarter. While Smith mentions both German and Dutch Lutheran churches, and hence does not seem to

use the two terms as synonymous, still it is evident that by the Dutch Church in Salem county, he must have referred to the church at Friesburg or Cohansey, which is still in existence, and at this early date was probably made up of Dutch and German Lutherans. The church in Somerset county must have been the extinct church at Bedminister or Pluckemin. As many of the early settlers of Somerset county were Hollanders, it is probable that at least a part of the congregation was composed of persons of that nationality. The Dutch churches in Bergen county were evidently the churches of Ramapo and Hackensack, the former of which is doubtless what Dr. Muhlenberg calls the Ramspach Church. From his "Nachrichten," we learn that he visited these churches from time to time as early as 1759 and afterwards settled over them as their regular pastor the Rev. William Graf, about the year 1769. When these churches were organized is not so clear. One of these congregations built a house of worship at what is now called Ramapo. The other erected a church near the town of Hackensack at what was called the New Bridge, now New Milford on the line of the New Jersey and N. Y. R. R. This church, through the carelessness of a farmer who was burning brush near by, was burned in 1812 and never rebuilt, and the few members having no pastoral oversight, were gradually absorbed by the neighboring denominations, and the church lot and some other lands reverted according to the conditions of the deed to the heirs of the original owners, and thus faded away the Lutheran Church of Hackensack. These churches were composed of Dutch and German families and, according to Rev. J. C. Day, "were organized by Dr. Muhlenberg about the year 1745." But these Dutch Lutherans were here before the days of Muhlenberg. The man who first organized them in congregations, both in Bergen and in Somerset counties, was the Rev. Justus Falckner who became pastor in New York City in 1703, and who preached in both the Dutch and German languages. He says that his first baptisms in his new field, "were not in New York City but beyond it in *Hackensack*, where on Feb. 27, 1704, in the barn of one Cornelius von Buskirk, after the regular morning service, I bap-

tized three children." Falckner organized the Dutch Lutheran churches both in Bergen and Somerset counties, and he and his immediate successors in New York City supplied these congregations until their places were filled by the local German pastors, and the Dutch element was gradually absorbed by the Germans who came to this country in great numbers in the early half of the eighteenth century.

THE EARLY GERMAN CHURCH.

Among the early settlers in New Jersey, we find some Protestant Germans, many of whom were Lutherans. These German settlements were in the adjoining counties of Hunterdon, Morris, Somerset and Sussex,—in Salem county in the southern part of the State and in Bergen county in the north where German Lutherans had settled with their Dutch brethren of the same faith. Of the history of the church in these settlements before the arrival of Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg we can gather but little information. It appears from a tradition handed down through Rev. C. P. Wack and first published by Rupp in his list of 30,000 names of German immigrants into Pennsylvania that the first immigration of Germans who settled in Hunterdon and the adjoining counties, came from Saxony in the year 1707, from a district lying between Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt. The occasion of their leaving the fatherland was the oppression and persecution which they experienced on the apostasy of Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who, influenced by the hope of obtaining the crown of Poland, in the year 1697, went over to the Church of Rome. They set out in the year 1705 and first went to Neuwied, on the River Rhone, where they remained a short time and then went to Holland. From here they sailed for America in the year 1707. By their residence in Holland they had formed many acquaintances with the Dutch, and it was therefore their purpose in coming to this country to settle among the Dutch at New York. But winds were adverse, and instead of reaching the Dutch settlements they were carried south to Delaware Bay. Sailing up the bay and river they landed at Philadelphia where Penn and his English Quakers

had settled about twenty-five years before. Preferring still to make their home with the Dutch, they determined to finish their journey to New York by land, and traveled in the general direction of New York until they came to the region which they afterward made their home on the north and south branches of the Raritan." The truth of the narrative above, taken from Dominie Wack, and published and republished in the local histories of this part of New Jersey, has been questioned of late. Parties who have pretty carefully investigated the subject have pronounced the story *fictitious*, not being able to find anything confirmatory of it in cotemporary history. And yet it is difficult to see how such a story could have originated. However, I think we can safely say that as early as 1713 there were Lutherans in the Raritan district, particularly in Somerset county, some of whom were Germans. Other immigrants arrived from time to time down to the Revolution, when some of the Hessian soldiers settled in this State joining their German brethren in these settlements. It does not appear that these early German settlers in New Jersey brought any ministers with them. From information in our possession it would appear that they were visited from time to time by Lutheran pastors from New York and Philadelphia. The *first* minister who visited them and organized them into congregations was the Rev. Justus Falckner, who was settled in New York City in 1713, and who on giving up his field of labor in New York, is said to have ended his days in 1723 on the Raritan. He organized the Lutheran churches in Hunterdon, Somerset, Sussex and Bergen counties, using both the Dutch and German languages. He was the first Lutheran minister ordained in the United States, having been set apart to the sacred office in the Wicacoa church Philadelphia in 1703 by the Swedish pastors Rudeman, Björk and Sandel. During his pastorate in New York, Rev. Falckner's brother Daniel was made pastor of the Lutheran churches in the scattered German settlements in New Jersey, and held this position until prevented by the infirmities of old age from performing the services required by the congregations, when by his own consent and approval and the advice of Rev. W. Charles

Berkenmeyer, the congregations applied to the Ministerium of Hamburg for a missionary, and John August Wolf was in 1734 sent over as his successor. We have no date of the settlement of Daniel Falckner over these congregations, but we learn that it was during the lifetime of his brother Justus, who died in 1723, and as Daniel Falckner already in 1731 had grown old and superannuated it would seem that we would be pretty safe in placing his settlement two years before the death of his brother which would bring it back to 1713.

In the first volume of the new and excellent History of the Lutheran Church in America by Prof. Gräbner, of Concordia College, St. Louis, we find an account of a visit to the churches on the Raritan by the Rev. W. Charles Berkenmeyer, of his interview with the Rev. Daniel Falckner and the arrangement made for securing a new pastor from Hamburg. In as much as this visit was made at such an early date, Sept. 1731, and the account of the ministry of Daniel Falckner is something new in the early history of the Lutheran Church in this country this narrative is specially interesting. Prof. Gräbner did a good work for the church when he hunted up the old manuscript journal of pastor Berkenmeyer and for the first time published to the world the doings of this early father of our Church in this country. It is to be hoped that we may soon have an English translation of this excellent history.

FROM BERKENMEYER'S DIARY.

In New Jersey a series of small German Lutheran congregations extended from the Raritan river northward, which had in part at least, been sought out already by Justus Falckner. These were the congregations on the Raritan, "in the mountains," at Millstone, at Uylekil, at Ramapo, Hanover and Rockaway. Over these congregations Daniel Falckner had settled himself as pastor already in the lifetime of his brother Justus. After having spent the first years of his residence in America as land agent among the fanatics of Pennsylvania, of whom we shall hear more later, Daniel Falckner had in the meantime grown old. Two daughters had been married by him, one to a brewer,

William Dern, the other to a farmer, John Kasner, both of whom belonged to their father-in-law's congregation. Bodily the old gentleman was still quite vigorous; his eyes were yet sharp and did him good service in hunting herbs. But his *head* was, as he said himself, "*like a pumpkin*," and the congregations were obliged to look for another pastor.

There came one Casper Stöver from Pennsylvania, who preached a trial sermon and would have received a call, but he had not been ordained. Daniel Falckner, who had been present at the trial sermon, would not ordain him, so the people sent him to Philadelphia that he might be ordained there by the Swedish pastors. Pastor Eneberg (Tranberg), however, declared that he was not authorized by his bishop to ordain, and besides this Casper was a rambler (laüfer) with whom the congregations had much better have nothing to do. So nothing came from this call, and a schoolmaster, Musselbeck, who had joked already about being the successor of Stöver, must return to his schoolroom and lecture chair, and the Raritan farmers who would not pay Stöver for his trial sermon, must allow themselves to be reviled by this ox and ass; therefore they called him a cheat becaused he had raised false hopes, and made them much unnecessary expense and trouble. An attempt to obtain a pastor through the interposition of the Swedes was also a failure; and one day several of the members of the congregations appeared at Dominie Berkenmeyer's in Hackensack, and begged him to come over once and preach and administer the Lord's Supper to them and others who had withdrawn a long time from pastor Falckner. Since it was announced to him that the people in Rockaway had for more than two years withdrawn from Falckner, therefore Berkenmeyer gave the answer, "If the people on the Raritan wished to call a new pastor he would not object to helping them, and in that case would give them an answer later. On the 3d of May, 1731, Dominie Burkenmeyer was invited with two of his church officers to come to Rockaway on the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, "in order to settle the affairs of the congregations." As the result of this visit, old pastor Falck-

ner and the congregations agreed to take Berkenmeyer's advice and apply for a pastor to the ministerium of the city of Hamburg. The ministerium called a young man named John Augustus Wolf, ordained him on the 11th of May, 1734, and sent him to these German congregations in New Jersey. Pastor Wolf was received with great joy by the congregations, but soon showed himself to be utterly incapable and unworthy of the sacred office. If, before, these German settlements were as sheep without a shepherd, now indeed they had a *wolf* within the fold. A violent quarrel arose between him and the congregations which led to several protracted law suits, and after trying in vain for years to get rid of him they only at last succeeded by paying him ninety pounds to leave.

This unfortunate state of affairs in the churches on the Raritan while under the pastoral care of Rev. Wolf was the occasion of the meeting of the first Lutheran synod or conference held in America. This meeting was called for the purpose of adjusting the difficulties existing between Rev. Wolf and his congregations. The Synod was first to meet in New York but when pastor Wolf did not put in an appearance, they changed the place of meeting to the Raritan, where they assembled on the 20th of August, 1735. At this synod it appears that the laity were in the majority. The church in New York City was represented by pastor Berkenmeyer, and lay delegates Charles Beckman and Jacob Bos. The church in Hackensack, by Dominie Knoll, and delegates John Van Norden and Abraham Boskerk. Peter Frederick represented the (Uylekiler) Wallkill Society. From the Rockaway congregation were Balthasar Pickel and Larenz Rulofsen, and from Raritan Daniel Schumacker and Heinrich Schmid. The following is pastor Berkenmeyer's account of the occasion of this meeting of the first Lutheran synod: "In the congregations of Magister Wolf a great dissatisfaction with the official conduct of their pastor existed, and the pastor in his turn was likewise dissatisfied with the congregations. A strife had arisen concerning the question of salary, of the perquisites and of the parsonage. The pastor was reproached with neglecting the school and the "confirmanden"—

that he did not hold in the business of his office to the liturgy; that he did not preach "from his head" but read it off. After a conference, appointed at Berkenmeyer's, had failed on account of the absence of Magister Wolf, although pastor Knoll was punctually present on the 10th of June, the congregations were asked to delegate authorized deputies to a synodical assembly which should be held in the city of New York in August. In the credentials which were given pastor Berkenmeyer by his congregation, authority was given him, "in the name of this church council and congregation to advise and to vote, to do and to act as his Reverence may see fit according to God's word and our Symbolical Books and the Amsterdam church service." This authority as well as a memorial with proposals "to the fraternity" was signed by the church officers of the congregations of Albany, Lunenberg, Newton and Kisketamenesy. This synodical meeting resulted in temporarily adjusting the difficulty between pastor Wolf and his congregations. But this peace was of but short duration. No true or real harmony was established, and matters went on from bad to worse for ten long years until the difficulty was finally settled by a court of arbitration, consisting of Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg and Revs. Knoll and Wagner, who decided that Wolf should resign his charge on the receipt of ninety pounds from the congregation. Dr. Muhlenberg, who has given a report of this trial closes with these observations: "Whoever understands the condition of affairs in America will feel his heart sink within him as he takes an impartial view of such proceedings, which he will be constrained to add, bring irremediable injury and scandal upon our Lutheran religion. However, we ought to make a distinction and judge righteously. Although the people may be described in general as uncivilized and barbarous, as indeed they are in a measure, yet we should remember that such communities include people of all classes. The smallest number have had the advantages of an education. Generally they have been brought up in the hamlets of Germany and among the ruder classes. So if they lack culture, and now and then indulge in uncouth phrases, we have to put up with it; for they still seem anxious to hold on to the religion of their

fathers, and are ready to contribute a portion their own limited income toward the support of a pastor who may know how to accommodate himself to very straitened circumstances. Under these conditions, we preachers ought to be the more careful to watch over our infant congregations with a father's love, and not to conduct ourselves as their taskmasters. If some bold audacious spirits occasionally talk loudly about *shooting you*, it does not follow from this that they will do it; and it is not always fair to reason *a particulare ad universale.*"

While this may not be regarded as a very flattering description of the early inhabitants of New Germantown and vicinity, on the other hand, we have from Dr. Muhlenberg this observation: "According to my experience, the people in Jersey have much more reverence and respect for religion and divine worship than they have in rough Pennsylvania."

I will take the liberty to quote another paragraph from the Halle Reports which throws considerable light on the condition of these churches after the settlement of the Wolf difficulty. Muhlenberg says: "The arbitration was held last August. In November the two congregations on the Raritan requested me to visited them, and to help them into some kind of order. I could not refuse, although it was more than seventy miles distant from Providence. Accordingly I went, expecting to spend about two weeks with them. I gathered their youth together; I instructed twenty-four young and older persons, and afterwards confirmed them, on which occasion they were deeply impressed in heart. The young people had indeed been very successful in learning the chief parts of the catechism; and although they had done this in the Dutch language, nevertheless they understood the German, and could give very correct answers. I administered the Lord's Supper in both congregations, which had not been done in many years. Those who went to the communion were for the most part people who had had nothing to do with Wolf, having come into the country after the troubles had been begun. The older members of the congregation also had first given Wolf what was due him and had made friends with him. O, there were many tears of joy shed among the

older people as they witnessed the confirmation of their children. Their spirit revived as did the spirit of Jacob, and they said, it is enough, if our children, who have been wandering like lost sheep are only found and brought back again. Both congregations have instructed me to petition our reverend Fathers to send them a pastor, under the following conditions:

1. That he accept the call by way of trial, for three or four years. They have been so terribly disappointed once already, that a chill runs over them whenever they hear anything said about "subscribing," and while trusting in God, we ought to be a little easy with them in this matter.

2. The two congregations are willing and able to give a faithful pastor a generous support.

3. They are also willing to pay the expenses of the pastor's journey; provided they obtain a good one." Ten years experience with a man like Wolf was well calculated to impress these people with the importance of exercising *caution* in calling a pastor.

Dr. Muhlenberg reports that "there had been two large Lutheran congregations on the Raritan from 1732 until 1736." One of these congregations was known as the "Rockaway" congregation which owned a church building spoken of by Dr. Muhlenberg in 1749 as "an old wooden church." It stood in or near the present village of Potterstown, in Hunterdon county. The other congregation was in Bedminister township, Somerset county, near Pluckemin, and was known as "the congregation in the hills." This was the oldest of the Raritan churches. Previous to 1746 the Rockaway congregation appears to have been divided into three stations, the other two being "Lesly's Land," (a district between White House and North Branch,) and "Fox Hill," on the borders of Hunterdon and Morris counties. For several years these three congregations are spoken of indiscriminately by Dr. Muhlenberg as those of "Raritan" and "Readingstown," which indicate the German settlements of Hunterdon north and east of the South Branch of the Raritan river. Previous to the year 1748 all four of the Raritan congregations became much reduced and impoverished owing to

the protracted litigation with their pastor, Magister John Augustus Wolf. During these difficulties the Bedminister congregations were compelled to give up holding services in this church near Pluckemin, and they also lost possession of the one hundred acres of land which had been secured for church and parsonage purposes.

In their troubles and distress, these congregations now sought the counsel and help of Dr. Muhlenberg, who visited them repeatedly between the years 1744 and 1749, and by his wise and paternal advice and assistance, did much to restore both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the congregations. Among other things, they decided to give up the four small preaching stations, and unite in erecting one substantial stone church to be erected in the centre of the four congregations, large enough to accommodate them all, and where they could hold service every Sunday. Thus was founded in 1750 the present Zion church at New Germantown, Hunterdon county. "Ralf Smith," says the local historian, "who sold or leased the land on which the new church was built, was so much of a churchman as to require a definition of doctrine and pledge of Protestantism from the Lutheran trustees. Consequently they styled and pledged themselves in the conveying instrument and in their lease obligating themselves to pay the quit rent, to be "Protestant dissenters from the Church of Rome, professing and not allowing any other doctrine to be taught but that according to the Lutheran scheme, excepting a further advance toward the Protestant churches now established according to the doctrine contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," &c.

The church edifice as then built is described as "almost the exact model of the Episcopal church built by Gen. Washington at Pohick Creek, Va." The church was furnished with an organ, which was a fine instrument for those days. Seventy-eight names were signed to the call to John Albert Weygand, 1748. The signers were all "High Dutch" and were inhabitants of Readington, Bedminster and Roxbury, as well as Tewksbury." The names of the trustees were Baltus Pickel, Hones Melick,

Philip Phice (alias White), Casper Hendershot, Lawrence Rulison, Samuel Barnard, David Melick, Jacob Kline, Adam Vockerot, Jacob Shipman, George Smut, and Joseph Hornbaker. These trustees from different townships were evidently the representatives of different church organizations which formed at that time one pastorate, and united in calling pastor Weygand. Those from Bedminster represented church at Pluckemin, which Dr. Muhlenberg calls the Bedminster church. They built a new stone church as early as 1759, (begun in 1756). The name of this church was St. Paul's, and it was included in the charter and incorporation with Zion church at New Germantown. This charter, which was given in the year 1767, was really an imposing looking document. A copy of it is in the church records written in a good plain hand. During the Revolutionary War this church was used as a prison for the British soldiers captured after battles of Princeton and Trenton. It is said that they even "stabled their horses in the church, took out all the pews and in other ways defaced and injured the building." It was never afterwards repaired and used for divine service. Many of the members moved away and there being a want of pastoral attention, the church like some others, for similar reasons expired. The ground reverted to the heirs of the original owners, who sold it to the Presbyterians, who now have a chureh where St. Paul's or Bedminister Lutheran Church formerly stood.

Another organization in connection with the New Germantown or Raritan church, at this time, and which was doubtless represented by the trustees from "Roxbury," was the church at German Valley, eight miles north of New Germantown, in the adjoining county of Morris. This was originally a union church, the Lutherans and German Reformed occupying the same building. When this church was first organized, and where the first church building was erected, are questions difficult to answer, no record of these events having been preserved. There is a tradition which has come down to us from the oldest inhabitant, that the first church was built of logs, and that it stood on or near the site of the old stone church, the walls of which are still standing but in a dilapidated condition. This first log church

was built by the Lutherans and Reformed probably as early as 1747. The old stone church referred to above, was built by the two congregations as a union church, in the year 1774. This church, in form and internal arrangement, was not unlike the one at New Germantown. Both had the same heating fixtures for warming the church, which was simply a huge pit in the centre of the church filled with glowing charcoal, with no chimney for the escape of gas and smoke. Strange to say, some of the people occasionally fainted in church. There was a great sounding board suspended over the little pulpit that stood on one leg against the north side of the audience room. There were two rows of small windows and a gallery on three sides. Before erecting the building, the following article of agreement was drawn up and signed by the pastor and officers of each congregation: "Whereas, we the members of the Evangelical Reformed congregation, and we the members of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation, who, by reason of the preachers we have with Germantown, by reason of the money expended for the church and parsonage house, are members of Zion church, living in the Dutch Valley, Roxbury township, Morris county, are willing to build a meeting house jointly; be it hereby known to all men that the following conditions were agreed to by the subscribers representing both congregations, viz.:

1. Both parties have agreed to build the meeting house at their united expense, so that none of the parties may throw up anything to the other.

2. As the church is built jointly, so it shall be kept up by our posterity jointly: the friendship of both congregations giving us hope that in case of the necessary repairs of the meeting house, the weaker party will be supported by the stronger.

3. Both parties with respect to public worship shall have an equal right; in case both preachers should meet together, then alternately the one must wait until 12 o'clock upon the service of the other.

4. For the good of both congregations, none shall be admitted to preach but such as are under a regular church government.

5. Whereas, we do not only concern ourselves for ourselves, but for our posterity also, it is our will and opinion that none of the parties shall or can sell their right in any way or manner. Acted this 4th day of Feb. 1774, which is testified.

Henry Muhlenberg, deputy Rector of Zion Corporation, Frederick Dellicker, V. D. M.

Wilhelm Welsch, Dedric Strubel, Conrad Rohric, Casper Eick, Anthony Waldorf, Adam Lorentz, Philip Weise, Christopher Karn, Leonard Neighbor, Rulof Roulofson, John Swackhammer, Andrew Fluckey.

In November, 1748, candidate John Albert Weygand was sent to this field "to serve them by preaching and the instruction of the youth," but the congregations remained under the oversight of Muhlenberg under which they had remained since the fall of 1745, and he had occasionally visited them and preached and administered confirmation and the Lord's Supper, as the others, since Wolf, had not yet received ordination. Pastor Weygand was ordained on the first Sunday in Advent, 1750, and the new stone church at New Germantown was dedicated the same day. This building is still in use by the congregation as their house of worship, having been at different times reconstructed and repaired. It seems that the Rev. John Christopher Hartwick, the founder of Hartwick Seminary, preached for a short time in this field in the year 1748, probably before the settlement of Rev. Weygand, but was never settled as pastor. Pastor Weygand, having accepted a call to the churches in New York City and Bergen county, New Jersey, was succeeded by pastor Ludolph Heinrich Schrenk who labored here until the end of 1756. By request Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg visited the congregation in the Spring of 1757 and remained four weeks. At this time the mountain people (Pluckemin) determined to build a new stone church. Muhlenberg was to bring his family and remain a year. As the parsonage appeared to be unsuitable, they promised in four months to build a large new one of stone. Dr. Muhlenberg spent five weeks here in the Fall of 1757, and two months in the Spring of 1758. At

that time he dedicated the new stone church in Bedminister (Pluckemin) and promised that in the following year he would move to Raritan (New Germantown). According to his promise, he moved his family and furniture among the congregations in New Jersey, in June, 1759, and was received with extraordinary affection. The parish now included the organizations at New Germantown, Bedminister and German Valley, where Muhlenberg preached "in the barn of a Mr. H., and from this place he took his last departure on his return to Pennsylvania." Dr. Muhlenberg was pastor here for one year. In the year 1760, on leaving this field he secured for the congregation the services of the Rev. Paul D. Brizelius, a Swede by birth, who with Wm. Kurtz had recently been licensed in Philadelphia. When he was made the pastor of this charge, Dr. Muhlenberg organized the congregation at German Valley, although he had frequently preached here before, during his pastorate at New Germantown. In the year 1767, pastor Brizelius received and accepted a call to Nova Scotia, and was succeeded at New Germantown by Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, who having finished his theological studies at Halle, Germany, had recently returned to America. He was settled here Feb. 5th, 1769. He was assisted by his brother Henry in 1773, who styles himself, "Deputy Rector of Zion." Thus we see that it was the great privilege of the Lutheran churches in New Jersey to enjoy for a season the labors of this distinguished family. Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, D. D., because of the influence he exerted in the organization of the Lutheran Church in this country, has very properly been called "the father of American Lutherans." Having enjoyed the advantages of the best schools in Germany, his mind was well disciplined and in this particular he was fully equipped for his life-work. He was peculiarly qualified for his mission to America by his skill in the languages, for in addition to his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, he spoke English, Dutch, German, French, Latin and Swedish. But what was still more important was his deep and heartfelt piety. It has been well said that "while Edwards was coöperating with the extraordinary outpouring of God's Spirit in New England; while Whitfield was doing the

same work in England and America, and the successors of Franke were laboring to evangelize Germany, Muhlenberg was striving with similar zeal and fidelity to do the work of the Lord among his German brethren in this western world." He preached in season and out of season; in churches; from house to house; in barns and in the open air. He not only visited from house to house, but he went from one German settlement to another on horseback without regard to roads and weather and swollen streams that ofttimes had to be forded. On one occasion in New Jersey, when he and Rev. Graaf, then a young man, were returning to New Germantown from a visit to the church in Bergen county, on the 3d of Dec. 1759, when they came to the second river, the Passaic, which they reached late in the afternoon, they found the river swollen and full of floating ice. There was a ferry boat to cross the stream which was in charge of a colored boy. On this craft they attempted to cross the river, and when in the middle of the stream the boy became so stiff with cold that he let the boat go, and they floated down with the current. In this unpleasant and dangerous state of affairs, the preachers pushed their horses in the water, jumped on their backs and swam ashore, and spent the night with a friend in Newark.

THANKSGIVING SERVICE, OCT. 30TH, 1759, AT NEW GERMANTOWN, NEW JERSEY.

The following account is copied from Dr. Muhlenberg's Halle Reports:

"The 30th of Oct. 1759 was observed by pastor Muhlenberg in New Germantown, N. J., as a day of thanksgiving over the glorious deeds of God which the all gracious and almighty Lord of Sabaoth hath wrought after short intervals to the great comfort of the Protestant church which is sitting in ashes.

1. The victory of his Highness, Prince Ferdinand (Duke of Brunswick), at Minden, Aug. 1st, 1759.

2. The victory of Admiral Boscowen over the French fleet at Toulon, by Algarve.

3. The wonderful victory of General Wolf over the French at Quebec in Canada.

The following was the order of service:

1. The seventy-eight Psalm.

2. Hymn, sing fourth to eighth verses, "Be love and praise to highest God."

3. Humble prayer.

4. Calling attention to the 20th chapter of 2 Chronicles, 8th chapter of the book of Esther, the 4th chapter of the first book of Maccabees, from the 1st to the 25th verse, the 9th chapter of Ecclesiastes from the 13th verse to the end.

5. Singing, "Now let all thank God."

6. Humiliation of ourselves, the congregation joining kneeling, and afterwards arising and giving thanks.

7. Read the 126th Psalm and close with the 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12th verses of the hymn, "Nun lest uns gehn und treten, Mit singen und mit beten."

Dr. Muhlenberg's son Peter, who in 1769 succeeded Paul Brizelius as pastor of the church at New Germantown, in the year 1772 accepted a call to the German Lutheran church at Woodstock, Virginia. The American Revolution breaking out soon after, he earnestly espoused the cause of the colonists, and joined the army, accepting from Washington, with whom he was on terms of personal friendship, a colonel's commission with authority to raise a regiment. His last sermon to an immense congregation of Germans, gathered from all parts of the country, was on the duty men owe to their country. He closed his sermon by saying, "There is a time for all things, a time to preach, a time to pray, and a time to fight, and now is the time to fight," and stripping off his gown after the service he stood there in a colonel's uniform, and, drawing from his pocket his commission from Gen. Washington, called upon his congregation for volunteers. The scene that followed is described as one of the most touching exhibitions of patriotic devotion that occurred during the war of the Revolution. Mothers brought their sons and wives urged their husbands to join the ranks and follow their pastor in his new calling. It is said that three hundrew names were enrolled on the spot. In the year 1777, he was made brigadier general and at the close of the war major

general. After the war he removed to Pennsylvania where he was elected a member of the supreme executive council and in 1785 became vice president of the Commonwealth. He was a member of congress in 1789–'91, 1793–'95 and 1799–1801. In 1801 he was elected U. S. Senator, but resigned the next year and was appointed supervisor of the revenue for the district of Pennsylvania. From 1805 untill his death he was collector of the port of Philadelphia.

His younger brother Henry, who was assistant pastor to his brother and father at New Germantown, and who styled himself "deputy rector of Zion," went from here to Philadelphia where he assisted his father, and afterward in 1780 he became pastor of the church at Lancaster. He became quite noted as a botanist, wrote several books on the subject, was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of several philosophical and physical societies in Germany and Sweden. He died in Lancaster, May 25th, 1815.

I would here observe that the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, D. D., of the Episcopal Church, author of the familiar hymn, "I would not live alway," was a great-grand son of Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. The Muhlenbergs were succeeded in the New Germantown congregations by the Rev. William Graaf, who was settled here in 1775. He came from Bergen county where he had labored for fifteen years as pastor of the churches of Ramapough and Hackensack, and labored in this field until his death in 1808. During his ministry a new church was built and a congregation was organized at Spruce Run. During Rev. Graaf's long pastorate of nearly thirty-four years, his congregation became so Americanized that they required preaching in the English language, which, in his broken accent he gave them from time to time during the latter part of his ministry, and his pastorate may be said to virtually close the *German* history of these congregations.

The following extract is a translation by the Rev. J. F. Chambers, and as the "hero" of the story was pastor of the New Germantown church, it forms a part of the history of the congregation.

A MINISTER'S WOOING.

In H. M. Muhlenberg's manuscript diary at the date of January, 1750, is found the following:

Mr. Weygand reported that he had married in December the daughter of a Mr. Van Doren. Mr. Van Doren is by trade a tailor and had been forwarded to the province of New York in a complimentary manner with a stock of books by the court-preacher, Bohme, of blessed memory (Ziegenhagen's predecessor in London). His comfortable circumstances and edifying address, the scarcity of preachers, the independent ways of America, the high esteem of the Germans for the court-preacher, Bohme, the man's own desire and longing, had all coöperated in enabling him to obtain ordination. The preachers in New York would not consent to it, but showered imprecations and numberless reproaches upon him in the public press. The Swedish preachers in Pennsylvania would not consent to it. At length he was ordained by an old German preacher in Pennsylvania, named Herkel, and sent back with evidences of ordination. After this he preached and administered the sacraments for several years among a few congregations in the province of New York until he moved into New Jersey and labored for several years among the Low Dutch Reformed and Lutheran congregations in common. He was so accomodating there that he administered the communion to the Reformed after their manner, and to the Lutheran after theirs. But at last by this means both parties became at variance, said he was a hypocrite and cast him off. He did not live far from Raritan, visited us several times and would like to have taken charge of the mountain congregations in Upper Milford, Saccum, etc., but the Providence of God, whose leadings we desire to follow, did not so ordain.

Weygand lived with one of the elders, Balthes Pickle, Round Valley, New Jersey, who was a man of wealth and had helped on the building of the new church more than any other person, and had also provided, out of his own means, an organ and other things necessary for orderly worship. This man had two elderly (betagte) daughters. The older had died in the previous fall

and the younger, whom I confirmed, together with all his sons, was still living. This younger daughter was a virtuous person, had the womanly adornment spoken of in 1 Peter, 2 : 3–4, was industrious, very skillful in household matters, and lacked only the outward beauty of a worldly sort. She was no doubt intended for Mr. Weygand (! !). But he paid his brief respects to her father very abruptly and demanded his consent to be given within a quarter of an hour, and would not give the father the usual time for deliberation, threw the father over (figuratively of course) and then went straight to Van Doren's house and was married to his daughter by her father. After this he kept urging the congregation very strongly to buy a farm upon which he might live. But the people were engaged in the difficult work of building a church and were already in debt. Nevertheless they involved themselves in more debt and bought a farm. Mr. Van Doren then sold his place and bought a farm near his son-in-law. In this neighborhood there also dwelt an old retired preacher, Langenfeld by name, and eight miles off Mr. Wolf is now living.

The elders of the church and another person of equal importance were disturbed by these proceedings and brought against their preacher the following complaints:

1. Mr. Weygand had wooed the elder's daughter not as a minister should, but like a dissolute college youth.

2. He had used in giving the communion to two sick people, instead of the consecrated wafers, red sealing wafers with which letters are closed.

3. When the elders called him to an account for this he had replied that the ministers in Frankford-on-the-Main did thus.

4. He had married the daughter of a man whose oldest son had become a Quaker in Pennsylvania, and whose oldest daughter had married Deyling, a Zinzendœrfer.

5. He had thrown the congregation into heavier indebtedness by impetuously urging them to buy him a farm.

6. Should his father-in-law come to live with him he might lead his son-in-law astray.

7. The congregation were at one time observing a day of

strict fasting and prayer, which the authorities had ordered, when two of the elders on coming into the parsonage after service, found the minister's wife busy at the spinning wheel.

8. When he ought to have given the communion to a sick man, who was going to leave the church several hundred pounds, he was not at home but was engaged in doing his courting and was busied with his personal affairs.

Muhlenberg goes on to remark, "What this ferment may lead to only the future will show." Since the worthy fathers (on the other side of the ocean) could not find anyone to supply the churches on the Raritan, and Weygand came so opportunely, I feel relieved of responsibility with regard to him, for I acted with deliberation and indeed, under all the circumstances, could not have done otherwise than I did. I find first in looking at myself and then in looking at others that the lack of faithful, steady and experienced laborers is a great hindrance to the spread of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. May the Lord have compassion upon us and send faithful laborers into his harvest."

Not long afterwards Mr. Weygand attended a meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia when he expected arrangements would be made to ordain and install him over the congregations on the Raritan. But what was his chagrin to find the above complaints against him presented by a committee of three elders, who asked that the ordination, already announced publicly to take place at a certain time, should be postponed at least until the new church was dedicated, and their pastor had had time to improve upon his past conduct. Says Muhlenberg, "We dared not ordain him forcibly, as it were, but were at a loss what to do, and so also was Mr. Weygand, because it had been given out everywhere that he was to be ordained. The protest was indeed a very great punishment for Mr. Weygand, since he had brought it upon himself by his frivolous behaviour."

Rev. Graaf was a native of the town of Leinengen in the southwestern part of Germany; he pursued and finished his theological education at Geissen in Hesse Darmstadt. After his arrival in America his services were secured for the congregations in Bergen county by Dr. Muhlenberg. At the breaking

out of the Revolution he accepted a call from the united congregations in Hunterdon and Morris counties. He is described as "a learned and pious minister of the gospel, faithful in the discharge of his official duties, and a kind and indulgent parent." Soon after his removal to New Germantown he lost his companion; during the latter years of his life he married an elderly lady who survived him. He was esteemed and beloved by his congregations for the many amiable qualities of his character as well as for the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties; and when age and bodily infirmities forbade their continuance, the congregation cheerfully supported him until the day of his death." His remains were buried near the north-east corner of the church at New Germantown and the following inscription is on the stone that marks his resting place: "In Memory of Wm. Graaf, Rector of Zion's Church in New Germantown, Born at Grunstadt in the county of Leiningen, in Germany, in the year 1727, and departed this life May the 31st, 1809, aged 82 years. 'I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.'"

Rev. Graaf was pastor here during the trying times of the American Revolution, and the following entry in the church book will give us something of an idea of the financial difficulties the church was at that time called to pass through:

"There never was a time in any age, or in any country such a perplexity and uncertainty of money affairs and settling estates as we have seen in our present unhappy war since the year 1776, that therefore our successors need not wonder to see so many different actions recorded, neither can any in time to come believe what trouble and pains it required to save our little estate from destruction. From fol. 43 is to be seen in what manner the legacy was paid to the corporation and how far from time to time the money was secured and the interest settled. In the year 1779, the last settlement being made and the money depreciating from that time very fast, yea amazingly, it was not thought worth while to call the vestry together until times might take a better turn. But this not happening, and being necessary to bring our little estate upon a better footing than

the times would allow, the vestry and some members of the congregation met the first time on March 19th, 1781, to deliberate in what manner we could settle it and do justice to the church and to the debtors. The money when received, though not being of its full value then, was still looked upon as good in expectation that the war would soon be at an end. But finding the contrary, times growing worse from year to year, the money depreciating in an astonishing manner, also by an established law of the present government in the year 1780, the continental or circulating money having lost already in 1777 half its value, being according to law two for one, in 1778 it became five for one, in 1779 twenty for one, in 1780 sixty for one, in 1781 one hundred and fifty for one, whereupon the money came entirely to no value at all, and consequently every one in the country had work enough to save his own from destruction," &c. In 1770 the following resolution of the vestry was recorded. This was during the ministry of the Muhlenbergs:

"The pro tem. rector or his regular assistant minister shall perform divine service on every second Sunday and Feast day in Zion church, and for so doing enjoy undisturbed habitation on the glebe and the yearly legacy of Baltes Pickel. Also every fourth Sunday he shall preach in Roxbury, called the Valley, and receive from that congregation twenty pounds. Also every fourth Sunday in St. Paul's church, Bedminister, and catechise the children, receiving twenty pounds therefor."

Among the list of marriages recorded in the old church book at New Germantown by Rev. Graaf we find one name with the following Latin note appended. "*Hic est asinus.* Comment is unnecessary. Dominie Graaf is described by a local historian as a stout, fine looking man, and a splendid horseman. Dressed in his three cornered cocked hat and military boots he made an imposing appearance. He defied the storm, never turning his head to the right or left. He rode with military precision straight to his object."

[CONCLUDED IN NEXT ISSUE.]

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. By Rev. T. K. Abbott, B. D., D. Litt., Professor in Trinity College, Dublin. pp. LXV, 315. $2.50 net.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon, by Rev. Martin R. Vincent, D. D., Union Theological Seminary, New York. pp. XLV., 201. $2.00 net.

Our high estimate of the previous volumes of the International Critical Commentary is not lowered by the two latest volumes that have appeared. The volumes on the New Testament come nearer to our ideal of a Commentary than any other publication of its kind. They are based on scientific methods of exegesis, giving attention primarily to philology, following consistently historico-grammatical canons.

This does not involve in the hands of a scholar and a master like Dr. Abbott any serious departure from the Church's common faith, but shows that faith to be correctly derived from the sacred Scriptures.

Holding that ἐν Ἐφεσῷ is not genuine our author regards the so-called Ephesian letter as addressed not to a church, but to the Gentile converts in Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and elsewhere in Phrygia and the neighborhood of that province. And he accepts Lightfoot's theory that this Letter along with that to the Colossians and that to Philemon was written from the Roman captivity. In the first verse of the Epistle Dr. Abbott calls attention to the identity of the Church with the saints, the earlier Epistles (Cor., Gal., Thess.) being addressed τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Eph., Phil., Coll., τοῖς ἁγίοις, showing the origin of the definition of the Church as "the Communion of Saints." Those who accept Paul's authority will be slow to contest this Protestant definition. "The use of ἅγιοι certainly gives a more personal coloring to the Epistle as if addressed to the members of the Church as individuals rather than as a body."

The author is master of the literature on these two Epistles, and his work is largely a review of previous interpretations, enabling the student to exercise his own judgment on the conflicting expositions which great scholars have given on various passages.

Dr. Vincent's scholarship has been well attested by his four volumes on "Word Studies in the New Testament." Like Dr. Abbott he is conservative and candid as well as independent. His comments on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon are based on the conviction

that both are from the pen of the Apostle, but the date of the former as related to that of the three Asiatic epistles, cannot be determined with certainty.

While grammatical and lexical considerations receive professedly the principal attention, the more important theological bearings of certain passages are not overlooked. A long and learned excursus is devoted to the classic paragraph II. 5–8, in which Paul "rises above the level of Epistolary Colloquialism; but the impulse to the higher flight is emotional rather than philosophical." Dr. Vincent acknowledges it as "quite legitimate to define μορφὴ in this passage as that 'form,' whatever it be, which carries in itself and expresses or embodies the essential nature of the being to whom it belongs." He assumes the doctrine of the pre-incarnate existence of Christ, "the necessary presupposition of the Pauline doctrine of redemption." "He existed before his incarnation as essentially one with God, and that objectively, and not merely in God's self-consciousness," as Beyschlag holds. When, however, our author comes to the point that "something was obtained by Christ as the result of his incarnation and of his perfect obedience therein, which he did not possess before his incarnation, and which he could not have possessed without it," the subject would, to our mind, be rendered clearer, if a careful distinction were made between the eternally divine Son of God and the historic theanthropic personality. As God he has now as from eternity co-equal glory with the Father—as his birthright, but as a corresponding consequence of his incarnation and attendant humiliation he has this also as the God-man. The latter was bestowed upon him at his exaltation. It is his exaltation.

In the excursus on Paul's conception of righteousness, the author comes dangerously near to the Tridentine dogma of an inwrought righteousness. "Righteousness is effected in a believer by the transfusion into him of Christ's life and character, not by Christ's righteousness being placed to his account."

Granted that God does not justify a man without sanctifying him, that man is not declared righteous without a new beginning of righteousness being actually and directly created in him, granted also that faith is a generative principle, a moral energy, nay even that it is germinal righteousness, yet this must not be so represented as to obscure the core of the Gospel that Christ receives sinners, that just as they are he embraces them, and that personal righteousness is the result of their being accepted as righteous, doubtless indeed the object aimed at by that acceptance. Call it a legal fiction, a reflection on God's truthfulness or what you will, the sinner obtains remission and righteousness before God not because of what is in him, but because of what is in his representative and redeemer.

The excursus on "Bishops and Deacons," is one of the most satisfactory discussions ever published on that vexed subject. The outcome

of the best literature on it is succinctly presented in the sentence: "The Pauline Epistles, omitting the Pastorals, exhibit church polity in a rudimentary and fluid state in which official designations are not sharply defined, and the offices themselves have not taken permanent and definite shape."

An index of subjects and one of Greek words add a valuable feature to each volume. E. J. W.

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph. D., D. D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. pp. 681. $2.50 net.

Those who exult over the great and rapid advances in theological science will find this a volume after their own heart. And those who want the latest and most radical phases of progress are no longer under the necessity of going to Germany for them. The commodity sought for can be furnished in the home market and of a quality in no wise inferior to the best German article.

For boldness of criticism, subjectively of argumentation, rashness of generalization and indifference to practical consequences, Dr. McGiffert deserves to stand abreast of Weizäcker and Harnack to whom as well as to Prof. Ramsay he expresses his obligations.

In proof of this, take his disposition of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem as recorded by the author of the Acts, who in 11 : 30 represents Paul and Barnabas as sent thither by the Antiochean Christians, to carry contributions for the relief of the brethren that dwelt in Judea. To Dr. McGiffert's mind "it is clear that Paul intended the Galatians to understand that during the fourteen years that succeeded his conversion he had been in Jerusalem only twice." On this assumption we are confronted with the dilemma of either charging Paul with intentionally deceiving the Galatians, or else charging Luke with colossal stupidity for representing as two journeys "two independent accounts of the same journey in his sources." Acts XI and XV are presumed both to refer to the same event, the second of the two visits mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, but as the occasion was given differently in the two cases, Luke "supposed them to refer to separate events, and inserted them at what seemed to him the proper points in his narative." Surely, "if this be the case the difficulty disappears," and with it disappears the character of the author of the Acts as a historian. Could we suppose Dr. McGiffert to have treated his sources in a like clumsy and conscienceless fashion as this author, we should deem it time lost to take any notice of his work. Happily Dr. M. does not credit the faithful companion of St. Paul with such a literary *faux pas*. The most that can be said of him is that he was the writer of the document containing the "we" passages.

Our author handles the reported decision of the Apostolic Conference with like freedom. "It is very difficult to suppose that such a de-

cree as is contained in vss. 28 and 29 was adopted at this time." "There is no sign in Paul's Epistles that he ever put the decree into force in any of his churches." For Paul to acquiesce in this action "would have been to lay a burden upon the Gentiles not as great, to be sure, as the Judaizers would have liked, but none the less opposed to his principle of complete liberty," as though the cool-headed champion of freedom from the law of Moses, had not repeatedly laid down the law of love, which imposes "necessarily" on us abstinence from things that are abhorrent to our brethren, however innocent they may appear unto us. With his ideas of what "Paul certainly could not require" or what "he could not consent that others should require," Prof. McGiffert concludes "either that the decree was never adopted and promulgated by the Church of Jerusalem, or if it was, that it was done without Paul's knowledge and consent, and hence not under the circumstances recorded in Acts xv." The author of the Acts discovering such a decree in a certain document and not knowing its exact date, inserted it in his work in what seemed to him the most appropriate place.

Even the Apostle himself is represented as "evidently" finding himself sometimes "on uncertain ground," as, for instance, when in spite of his principle that in Christ all differences of rank, station, sex and age disappear, he felt constrained to oppose the practice of women praying or prophesying with their heads unveiled. He accommodated himself here to traditional prejudice, to the policy of what is expedient, and found an argument for his opposition in the fact that by creation the woman was made subject to the man, but "Paul himself evidently felt the weakness of the argument, and its inconsistency with the general principles."

Dr. McGiffert's temper does not warrant the contrast which may here be suggested, between his confidence in Apostles or Evangelists, and his confidence in his own views of things. So far from being given to positive assertions, he has a marked partiality for the potential mood. And much as one may criticize his standpoint or question the soundness of his historic judgment, his great learning and the masterful treatment of his subject must be not only admitted but admired. Furthermore, while radical and negative in certain lines, his work is also conservative and positive in others. It knows nothing of the alleged conflict between Petrine theology and Pauline theology, and while lucidly and candidly setting forth the difference of conception between the Pauline presentation of Christianity and the Johannine, Paul and John are shown at the same time to have been "fundamentally agreed touching the person of Christ and the nature of the Christian life." It also holds that "the only really pseudonymous work in the New Testament" is Second Peter.

The volume belongs to the International Theological Library and is in every way worthy of a place in that series. E. J. W.

An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. Driver, D. D. pp. XVIII, 577. $2.50 net.

This book is volume I. of The International Theological Library, edited by Drs. Charles A. Briggs, Union Seminary, New York, and Stewart D. F. Salmond, Free Church College, Aberdeen. As such it is a new and enlarged edition of a former work by the author, under the same title, of which the late Dr. Schaff said, "It is the most scholarly and critical work in the English language on the literature of the Old Testament." Dr. Driver has been one of the most arduous of the Old Testament students, a pioneer in the work of Old Testament Higher Criticism, not simply the advocate of, but the leader in, many of the extreme positions of the present critical movement. The work of the Higher Criticism is here laid before the student. The book is a monument of special scholarship. All the steps of the process of investigation and the results of it are tabulated in most practicable reference form. As a rule the arguments for the conclusions are not given. It is assumed that that work has been done. This is a book of results. The entire literature of the Old Testament is covered. The bibliographical references are voluminous, and three indexes are added. It is the student's handbook of the Old Testament literature from the viewpoint of the Higher Critic.

A minute criticism of the volume before us would be the work of the special student. Dr. Driver's positions are well-known, his scholarship is undoubted, and the editors of this new series of commentaries have served themselves well in securing him to prepare this volume.

As a piece of book-making this volume reflects new credit upon the Messrs. Scribners, revealing once more their commanding position among American publishers. H. C. A.

LUTHERAN AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Sermons on the Gospels. For the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Church Year by Dr. Martin Luther. Translated from the German. Two vols. pp. 455, 604. $2.50 per set.

Sermons on the Passion of Christ. By Dr. Martin Luther. Translated from the German. pp. 227. 75 cents.

One scents a different air in these pages from that which breathes in much of the modern literature that appears under religious titles. Here all is faith, salvation, while the latter are filled with criticism, negation.

Verily no better service can be rendered in these days to the cause of Christianity than the dissemination of such volumes as the two before us, which consist of the sermons which the Reformer preached to his own household that "as the head of the family he might do his duty towards them, by instructing them how to lead a Christian life." And no better book save the Bible can be placed to day in the hands of Christian parents as a manual for the pious training of their households.

The greater part of this work was first brought out in English by the publisher for the Joint Ohio Synod some twenty years since, the translations having been made by Prof. E. Schmid and Rev. D. M. Martens. The plates have now passed into the hands of the Augustana Book Concern, which issues this new edition complete in two volumes

The remainder of the original work, viz., a series of thirteen sermons on the Passion History together with a chapter of Introductory Meditations, is bound separately. The two volumes on the Gospels are sold only in sets, while the third volume of Passion Sermons may be had separately, an advantageous arrangement both in respect to convenience and cost.

Pastors, especially, will doubtless want the whole work. It is a treasure house of the richest and most profound meditations on the Gospel Lessons for the Church Year, by the universally acknowledged prince of Bible expositors and preachers. Another such a thesaurus of deep theology, practical piety, and homiletical suggestiveness can scarcely be found in the whole field of Biblical literature. E. J. W.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Dr. Martin Luther's Auslegung des Alten Testaments. (Fortsetzung). Auslegung über die grossen und etliche der Kleinen Propheten, nämlich Hose, Joel und Amos. 4to. pp. 1837.

We greet with unwonted satisfaction Vol. VI. of Luther's "Sämmtlich Schriften" issued with the most careful and competent editorial revision by the Missouri Synod. Were it only in some one's power to place this splendid, invaluable publication in the library of every Lutheran minister! The appearance in English (noticed elsewhere) of Luther's Theology by Köstlin does not supersede the complete works of Luther, but renders the possession of the latter all the more desirable.

Walch comprehended in his VI. volume all of Luther's expositions of the prophets which were extant at the time, but the material has been so largely augmented by the new finds in Zwickau and Altenburg, that it was no longer possible to include it all in one volume. Hence the contents of the present volume are limited to the exposition of Isaiah—Amos, the remainder being reserved for volume XIV, soon to appear.

Somewhat of the prodigious character of this task may be inferred from the fact that comparatively a very small proportion of his writings on the prophets was published by Luther himself in the German language. All the rest had to be in part thoroughly revised from the Latin, and in part translated anew. The conscientious, tireless industry of these editors in their determination to recover the pure text is above all praise. They want the real Luther and not a vitiated text of his writings, and they evidently spare no pains to attain their ideal. The outcome of their work is accordingly an edition which stands incomparably above the Erlangen and Walch editions. The typography, pa-

per and binding of this grand publication are a worthy setting of the invaluable redaction of the contents. E. J. W.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

The Error of Modern Missouri. Edited by George H. Schodde, Ph. D. 8vo. pp. 802. $2.00.

This ponderous and formidable volume contains the Ohio side of the famous controversy between the Joint Synod of Ohio and the Missourians on the subject of Predestination. It consists, according to the crowded title page, of three parts: The error of Modern Missouri; its inception, development and refutation as set forth in, I. The present Controversy on Predestination; a contribution to its history and proper estimate, by F. W. Stellhorn, D. D. II. "Intuitu Fidei," by Rev. F. A. Schmidt, D. D. III. A Testimony against the False Doctrine of Predestination recently introduced by the Missouri Synod, by several former members of the Missouri Synod. Each of these lengthy treatises has been translated from the German.

No. I. covers three parts: the first, a dogmatic historical introduction to the subject; the second, the Formula of Concord and the Old Lutheran theologians; and the third, the doctrine of Predestination in the Missouri Synod.

No. II. propounds and answers the three questions: first, What was the substantial content of the doctrine "in foresight of faith" as taught by the Fathers? Secondly, Did these depart from the Confession by teaching this doctrine? thirdly, Is this doctrine "Intuitu Fidei" taught by the Lutheran Confession?

No. III. contains a series of theses "with their discussion by the authors and ministers who had felt themselves constrained to withdraw from the Missouri Synod on account of the grave errors that body had set out to promulgate." The volume closes with a history of the controversy.

That discussions of this character should make their appearance in these days, rend asunder an ecclesiastical body to which Providence had committed a golden opportunity for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom, and now thrust themselves upon public attention, is a sign not of the times but of disregard of the times. About the last thing to have been looked for in our extremely busy and practical age is a determined and acrimonious polemic on a question, which no body of theologians in any past age of the Church was able to settle, and which many wise and good men have given up as incapable of solution. It may be that the giants of Ohio and Missouri can reconcile Articles II. and XI. of the Form of Concord, it may be that they can analyze the mystery attending the creation of the new life, it may be that they can fathom the mind of the Infinite, and tell us whether foreknowledge precedes elec-

tion, but we fear that outside of their respective Synods few will have the energy to wrestle with these appalling themes, which in the heyday of theological and philosophical controversy defied solution.

There are two things involved in salvation which to us are the core of the whole question at issue: First, the indisputable fact that God saves no man without faith; and, secondly, that we cannot conceive how this fact of faith can at any stage in eternity have been shut out from the knowledge of the Eternal. Salvation of necessity includes faith; omniscience of necessity includes foreknowledge.

The prodigious industry of the authors of these treatises, their assiduity, learning and devotion to conviction, can only command our admiration, and though to the writer it would seem that matters of more pressing importance to the Church of Christ could more worthily engage the talents here employed, they have undoubtedly brought together a large storehouse of dogmatic, historic and exegetical matter which is calculated to stimulate further inquiry and to lead to a fuller and clearer knowledge of the truth. The value of the work for reference would have been greatly enhanced by a topical index. Attention is called to the following errata:

Page 198, number 5, beginning at the end of sixth line read instead of that sentence the following: Besides this Missouri also teaches what Huber with the Lutherans maintained over against the Calvinists, namely, universal grace, redemption and vocation.

Page 450, in note, second line read '68 instead of '86.

In fourth line from top, in same note, read Heshusius instead of Hunnius.

Page 451, in note, second line from top read defend instead of denied.

Page 695, in second paragraph in next to last line read unregenerate instead of regenerate. E. J. W.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Theology of Luther in its Historical Development and Inner Harmony. Dr. Julius Köstlin. Translated from the Second German Edition by Rev. Charles E. Hay, D. D. Complete in Two Volumes. pp. 511, 614. $4.50 net.

If evidence were needed that the Lutheran Publishing House is mindful of the object of its founding and up to date in its enterprise, these two substantial volumes of the Reformer's Theology must convince the most obstinate doubter. Whatever may be the deserts or the shortcomings of this house, the publication of Schmid's Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the issue of Köstlin's Luther's Theology combine to erect for it a monument that will not perish while the Lutheran Church remains in this country.

It is a happy coincidence, furthermore, that the former volume owes its excellent English garb primarily to the sainted Rev. C. A. Hay, D.

D., and that the idiomatic, faithful and elegant translation of the present work is to be credited to the hand of his worthy son who reveals unusual merits as a translator.

The author's mode of presentation will surprise and delight the reader, especially if he be a layman or a man of untrained mind. The work does not consist of dry citations or of abstract dogmatic statements, systematically formulated, but the concrete historic back ground for Luther's teachings at any given stage appears in connection with the doctrine and presents it in its proper setting. Luther's career, his personal conflict with Romanism and with radicalism, becomes the key of his other doctrines as well as of justification by faith, and no citation from his works is sure of being properly understood unless the living connection with outward controversy or inward conflict is correctly known.

The pages of this volume really trace the life of Luther and with it and by it exhibit his teachings, of course only in a condensed form, the reader being referred by the footnotes to the Erlangen Edition of his works and to other authorities. This makes delightful reading, and we can hardly think of any religious reader who would not find the work intensely interesting. To our mind the Board has made quite a hit in bringing out a work, which is not only an indispensable boon to English Lutheran ministers, but for which may be predicted a large demand from ministers and intelligent lay readers of all Protestant communions.

Two other predictions may also here be made: We shall henceforth have less quoting of Luther's opinions in settlement of doctrinal controversies on the part of men who cannot read a line he wrote. Luther's exact teaching on all controverted points is from this on accessible to all whose scholastic attainments are bounded by the English tongue. Again, the practice of citing an utterance from Luther's pen or voice as decisive of anything is about ended. Luther's theology is full of apparent contradictions, for his views vary not only with different periods of his development, but they present varying aspects as they are expressed on the one hand with reference towards Rome, on the other with reference toward fanaticism. His position in the one conflict must inevitably be modified by the position required in the other conflict. And what the Reformer really meant to teach on any point cannot be known accurately unless the circumstances and conditions under which he spoke are known.

This is the great merit of Köstlin's method. Luther's conflicting utterances which appear to some as an insoluble enigma, the author traces and exhibits in so masterly a way that the apparent inconsistencies are fully harmonized. Their inner unity is demonstrated. There is a vast universe of thought, which admits of fragments here and there being apparently irreconcilable with each other, yet a marvelous unity runs through it all, as the faithful student of these volumes will discover.

E. J. W.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Celebrated Trials. By Henry Lauren Clinton, Author of "Extraordinary Cases." With Nine Portraits. pp. 626.

In this book the author has collected the accounts of some of the more important cases in which he was counsel during his long and distinguished practice at the New York bar. Trials, which at the time of their occurrence were dominant in the thought of the people, and which still are surrounded with no little interest, are recounted by Mr. Clinton in a clear and lucid style. To the case of Mrs. Cunningham, tried in 1857 for the murder of Dr. Burdell, in which Mr. Clinton was the leading counsel for the defense, and which was probably one of the most famous murder trials in the history of the country, special attention is devoted, and the account is carried through almost half the book. The admirable legal skill by which what seemed at first a hopeless case was carried to a triumphant and, as it appears, true verdict for the acquittal of the defendant, possesses special interest for an advocate, but is so told that it cannot fail easily to hold the attention of a layman. While a splendid picture of legal fence and combat, it fails to some extent as a narrative, since it concludes with the acquittal of the defendant, and no solution of the mysterious murder is attained, thus leaving the story, as a story, in a very unfinished and unsatisfactory condition.

Prominent among the remaining cases are those of a political character. Of these the trial of William M. Tweed is most noteworthy. The triumph which the people gained in this case over political corruption is of historic interest and probably not lacking in moral significance even to-day.

The account of the trial in 1874 of Richard Croker for the murder of John McKenna is naturally, just at present, very *apropos.*

Outlines of other well known cases interspersed with anecdotes and incidents conspire to make a book at once entertaining and valuable.

As a matter of course, this work appeals more strongly to the legal profession, but the *causes célèbres*, so well depicted in it, cannot fail to find favor with the general reader. We deem it unfortunate, however, that the author seems to have been unable to refrain from giving to these pictures of court room scenes a rather strong egoistic tinge.

The book is by no means in the nature of the law reports which fill the library of the practitioner, but possesses all the fascination which the people have always appreciated in a well-told story of judicial life.

The portraits, by which the book is illustrated, are principally of the judges by whom these cases were tried.

Outlines in Local Color. By Brander Matthews.

We have found these sketches of human life as it exists in New York very attractive. The writer surprises us in that he selects such entirely different phases of character for his depiction and yet each one is por-

trayed with equal skill. Whether he takes for his subject the society woman, the man on Wall Street or the one just issuing from a Bowery pawn-shop, he succeeds equally well in making it a reality to his reader.

There are many pathetic touches which reveal the author's deep sympathy for and appreciation of human misery and suffering, and he has seen and studied it as, perhaps not many have. It is very evident that he has gone into the districts of New York where every form of distress is to be found and from an intelligent standpoint has given these brilliant character-sketches. On an opening page are found these lines from Steele: "And I thought it of great use if they could learn with me to keep their minds open to gratification, and ready to receive it from anything it meets with." This is the key-note of these sketches; this Mr. Matthews has learned to do, and to this he has helped his reader. Whether at the horse-show, the afternoon reception, or the slums, lessons are to be learned and these the author has here successfully taught.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON.

France under Louis XV. By James Breck Perkins, author of "France under the Regency." In two volumes. pp. 496, 493. $4.00 per set.

A very rich period of European history is the reign of Louis XV, and here, in these two fine volumes, we have it presented exceptionally well. And we get this history quite fully from the author in connection with the events and diplomacy (or lack of diplomacy) of the French monarchy. So inter-related were the governments of Europe with France at that period that nearly every movement of theirs affected France in a greater or less degree and France could do nothing without affecting the interests of the other powers. This was especially true of Austria, England, Russia and Prussia. In the case of Prussia, indeed, which then rose rapidly into power under Frederick the Great, we have almost as complete a history as if we had a volume specially devoted to it. And it is not much wonder that this is the case when we consider the character and achievements of Frederick and his relations with the French government.

It is the movements of these five great powers that enlist the interest of the reader, and Mr. Perkins is so well gifted with the art of writing history, and so familiar with his theme, and so impartial and discriminating in his judgments, and withal so lucid and attractive in style, that it is a delight to read these volumes. This delight is increased by the excellence of the publishers' work, which has made every page a pleasure to the eye and furnished an example of first-class printing.

The Story of Jesus Christ. An Interpretation. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. pp. 413. $2.00.

This book has been awaited with not a little interest by those who

were aware that Mrs. Ward was engaged in its preparation. Those who expected something startling will be disappointed. To the so-called "liberal" its reverent and affectionate tone will be as unsatisfactory as it will be pleasing to the devout believer. It is more a narrative based on the gospels than a formal biography. The title-page promises that there will be in the story "an interpretation," or rather that the story will be given in such a way that it will be virtually an interpretation of the life that is portrayed. This, in substance is quite well summed up in the prefatory note, page IX:

"The important things—all that any of us need, all that most of us care for—are few, clear, and unquestionable. Jesus Christ lived and died, and lived again after death. He lived a life explicable upon no other view of it than his. He founded a faith comprehensible upon no other interpretation of it than his own. He himself is Christianity. He is the greatest force in civilization: the highest motive power in philosophy, in art, in poetry, in science, in faith. He is the creator of human brotherhood. To apprehend him is to open the only way that has yet been found out of the trap of human misery. His personality is the best explanation yet given of the mystery of human life. It offers the only assurance we have of a life to come."

This may not cover enough for the orthodox believer; it likely says entirely too much for the "broad thinker." The language can be taken as containing the doctrine of the atonement, though we are not sure that Mrs. Ward means so much here or in the body of the book. We doubt whether the omission of John Baptist's "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" was altogether unintentional. The three-fold temptation in the wilderness had no personal adversary in it but is represented (interpreted) as a subjective process. The miracles are more the outcome of a supreme faith than exhibitions of a divine power actually possessed by the miracle worker. But notwithstanding all this, there pervades all its pages such a spirit of reverence and devotion that the impression on the mind of the reader cannot be otherwise than good, and a like spirit awakened or stimulated in him towards the one of whom Mrs. Ward in closing her book, devoutly says this:

"Thus vanished from the earth Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God. Evil never touched his Spirit, corruption did not approach his body. Even his ashes were not permitted to remain in the soil of the land that had slain him. He was born in denial of the laws of life. He died in defiance of the laws of death. He was Lord of law. Ideal of sacrifice, Master of suffering, the grandest intellect, the purest heart that this low world has known—its supreme soul—he passed. He has left us the faith which bears his name. He has left us the august opportunity of everlasting life."

Little-Folk Lyrics. By Frank Dempster Sherman.

A book filled with pure and lovely poems for children. It has been said, "Why teach children trash when it requires no effort on the part of the teacher or child to learn that which will always be a benefit to them?" For those who wish to give their little ones what is elevating and tends to create a taste for the chaste and the best in literature Mr. Sherman has evidently written. We are particularly glad to find that such a large number of these exquisite songs have for their theme the joys of Nature. Twelve of them are given to the months of the year and these are gems. Indeed there are very few poems—and we use the word advisedly, for they are truly poems—in this collection that do not have in them that which will not only call the child-reader's attention to what is lovely in Nature but will make it revel more and more in its beauties. It is a book which will make every appreciative parent feel that he owes a debt of gratitude to the poet who has put within his own and his children's reach what must have an ennobling influence on the mind and life of the "Little-Folk." These lyrics are artistically illustrated by Maude and Genevieve Cowles.

Evangeline.

Surely, if there is a poem which it would seem worth while to array in such beautiful holiday attire it is the dearly-loved Tale of Acadie—dear now to every heart that beats for the great singer of whom every American must be proud to say, "He is ours." It is now just as beautiful in its outward appearance as printer's art can make it, and its inward charm will never leave it for those "who believe in affection that hopes and endures, and is patient,—who believe in the beauty and strength of woman's devotion." A much appreciated and finely written introduction has been prepared by the poet's daughter, Alice M. Longfellow, who seems to have fully understood the rare, poetic spirit of her father, which she assures us was carried into all the details of his life. Very beautiful illustrations grace this edition of Evangeline which have been prepared by Violet Oakley and Jessie Wilcox Smith—pupils of Howard Pyle who has written a *Note on the Illustrations* which is well worth reading. All in all it is such a book as book-lovers will not want to do without.

THE BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY, 5 AND 7 E. 16TH ST., NEW YORK.

Fabius the Roman, or How the Church became Militant. By Rev. E. Fitch Burr, D. D., LL. D., Author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Aleph the Chaldean," etc. pp. 388. $1.50.

Ever since the appearance of "Ecce Cœlum," Dr. Burr's writings have been received with exceptional favor. No doubt the encouragement he has received in authorship is in part at least the reason why his books now number almost a score. All are of a kind to benefit and make the reader better as well as interest him.

In "Fabius the Roman" we have a portrayal of the condition of the Christians in Rome about the year 312 A. D. Maxentius, the cruel and profligate tyrant, was in power in the imperial city and Constantine had succeeded his father as sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps. Fabius is a descendant of the illustrious Fabian *gens*, born in Briton, and a Christian. He is under Constantine, with the rank of tribune, in full sympathy with his leader, and enjoying his entire confidence. The better to prepare the way for Constantine's overthrow of the hated Maxentius and save the Christians from his savage persecutions, Fabius is sent in advance to Rome where he does most efficient service for the Christians as well as in preparing the way for Constantine. Throughout the story but especially in the final struggle he is credited with exceptional skill and daring, but he escapes the many and imminent perils to which his life was exposed. Interest is added by the story of the hero's love for the high-born Christian maiden, Theodora. Fabius is the Vinicius and Theodora the Lygia of the now much read "*Quo Vadis*," which even more vividly gives the story of Christian suffering and fortitude under the monster Nero as this gives the like story under the cruel Maxentius. Both make the experiences of the believers of the first centuries more vivid and real than plain history, though both are faithful to history in their main facts.

Among the descriptions given is that of the catacombs, used then by the Christians as secret places for worship and refuge from persecution as well as for the burial of their dead, and now of so much interest to the tourist. We heartily commend the book to our readers.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

The Social Teaching of Jesus. By Shailer Mathews, A. M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. Price $1.50.

The "social problem" is laying tribute on the highest scientific and religious thought of our time, and we must infer that there is some hopeful development in waiting for us in the direction in which the intellectual energies of the age are massed. Sociology is comparatively a new science, with decidedly materialistic antecedents. Its early champions were sanguine in their supposed discovery that the law of evolution was as continuously operative in the social life of the races of men, as in their purely biological relations. But obstructions the most formidable were in the way, conspicuously the fact that society was the repository of ideals, in the lead of which civilization was constantly advancing, and in lack of which there was inevitable degeneration and decay. Moral causes had to be considered, and they stubbornly refused to go into the category of force. By and by religion, at first stigmatized as the impediment of an "age of faith," was found to be a leading element in progress—not incidental, not merely accessory, but organi-

cally and historically in advance of all other social forces. This being conceded with reference to all religions and all civilizations, it was, of course, to be specially granted in the case of the Christian religion which, in our modern centuries, has been at the heart of the leading civilizations of all the world. Christianity must, therefore, be a supreme social force.

Prof. Mathews is one of a goodly company who have put themselves down to this comparatively new line of search in the gospels alone, excluding for the time the other portions of the New Testament scriptures, with the view of discovering what in general was the social teaching of Jesus. Of course, as Jesus came proclaiming the advent of "the kingdom of God" in his incarnate ministry, it will be of the first importance to know what he meant by that term, to extract, if possible, the essence of it from his own life and sayings, stript of the ecclesiastical fungus-growth of subsequent times. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this subject to the special spiritual needs of our time; and every thinking, anxious Christian scholar must acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Prof. Mathews for this notable contribution of his toward its elucidation.

The strong current of the theological thinking of our day is in the direction of the "kingdom," as "the centre of all essentially Christian doctrine," and as, manifestly, the comprehensive burden of the preaching of our Lord. Clearly it is a watchword of sociological import, and Prof. Mathews shows that in Christ's conception of it, it was not political, as some political enthusiasts and Christian Socialists of to-day are wanting to think; not purely subjective, as in the extremes of Puritanic soteriology; not, lastly, eschatological or apocalyptic, as seems most largely to prevail in the current thinking of our time. "The total impression made by the statements of Jesus in regard to the kingdom is not that of a post-mortem or post-catastrophic condition. At the outset of his preaching he announced its approach; in the synagogue at Nazareth, he declared the glowing promises of Isaiah fulfilled in the ears of his hearers; unbelieving and hostile professional religious teachers were told that there was no longer need of straining after a glimpse of a distant glory, for the kingdom of heaven was among them; his followers are congratulated on seeing that for which their ancestors longed, but had not seen; the kingdom in the person of its members was already the good seed in the field, that is the world, some of these members having had to struggle mightily in order to gain their entrance: and the word of the kingdom is described as having different results in the hearts of different men"—all these teachings going to show that the "real content of the term, as used by Jesus, was that of an ideal social order—the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of

man"—"an ideal social order, in which the relation of men to God is that of sons, and, therefore, to each other, that of brothers."

Prof. Mathews proceeds to sustain this rendering by every variety of reference to the teaching of Jesus, as bearing upon all phases of social life, the question of marriage and divorce, of the state and politics, of wealth, and economics in general, of asceticism and the doctrine of equality in the kingdom, of the dynamics of sonship, of non-resistance, and, finally,—the point where the discussion feels its heaviest strain—the process by which the regeneration of society is to be brought about. By assimilation, of course, a little leaven leavening the whole lump, but "Jesus never for an instant thought of the kingdom as ultimately merely a world within a world." "Jesus expected the new society to be at last co-extensive with all society; or, more truly, he expected that at last the world would be so thoroughly transformed into the kingdom as to cease to be distinct from it," by developing in each man a love for his fellows because all are alike the children of our heavenly Father"—in a word by making the normal social life depend upon goodness—that is the fundamental position of Jesus." It is a vital question as to whether Jesus contemplated the new social order as continuous and limited to the institutional church, to which Prof. Mathews brings the hesitating answer that, judging from the few uncertain expressions of the gospel, (Matt. 16 : 18; 18 : 17) the position of Jesus would seem to "imply that the church is one form of the attempt to realize the principles embodied in the kingdom of God. But there is not a trace of any belief on his part that the two would ever be co-extensive. The new social order was to be religious; historically, it has made much progress through the aid of religious organizations. But it is as much grander than the church as an ideal is grander than the actual; as much wider as social life is wider than any one institution; as much more catholic as Christianity is more catholic than ecclesiasticism." Was this the teaching of Jesus with regard to his church? It is clear that such a view of the "kingdom" must become a disturbing force, kindly or otherwise, in the whole realm of dogmatics and apologetics and biblical theology, but if it be the mind of Christ why should there be any hesitation in working it out? In any event Prof. Mathews has given us the results of the more critical and laborious researches of the great German scholars, working in their line under the stimulus of the Ritschlian school, in a style of lucid and powerful discussion, which we cannot afford to pass slightly by. W. H. W.

Christianity and Idealism. By John Watson, LL. D., Prof. of Moral Philosophy in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Price, $1.75.

This is a new edition enlarged of a work that, as originally published, commanded the profoundest respect of all the leading minds in Europe and this country, interested in the all-important subject of which it treats. Prof. Watson must be credited with clinging heroically to the

high function of philosophy when it was widely discredited among the prominent exponents of speculative science all over the world—one of its unflinching champions, until the day of salutary reaction had set in. He is probably the ablest living representative of that school of idealism, which came as an intellectual wonder from the brain of Hegel,—in many of its original formulæ a hopeless riddle—but becoming, in its fundamental postulate, almost impregnable, in the hands of such clear-minded thinkers and expounders as he. There are others, strong men and mighty, that stand with him, conspicuously the goodly Glasgow company—all seeking the real in the rational—the lamented T. H. Green, the Cairds, Dr. Le Conte, and of Mr. Bradley's work "*Appearance and Reality*," the author has not hesitated to say, that it is "the most suggestive and original metaphysical work of our day."

Christianity must always feel the breath of whatever philosophy is in the air, and materialism, in any phase of it, is uniformly and forever a blight. If it be the province of philosophy to interpret anew "the purified results of science, the highest intuitions of art, and the matured religious consciousness" of our age," in a comprehensive and self-consistent way," then beyond all question, some form of idealism is best fitted to the task. The idealism of Prof. Watson and his school is fixed upon the consciousness of self as a proof that the world is a rational system,—in which self-consciousness the three ideas of the world, self, and God are inseparably united, each existing in and for the other, and all together constituting the *organon* of reality for the universe as a whole. Having first drawn out clearly the Christian ideal as distinguished from the Greek ideal, and the Jewish ideal,—in which matter he has followed the trend of the liberal movement of our age, in finding the Christian ideal in the life and teaching of Jesus, rather than in the provisional dogmatics of subsequent times—having found that ideal to be the fatherhood of God and the sonship and brotherhood and personal immortality of man, he proceeds to marshal his system of rational realism to its support. On the way he must set aside materialism in all its forms, dispose of scientific agnosticism, and absorb the evolutionary philosophy, as in its essential features, when properly rendered, a species of idealism quite accordant with his own.

But he encounters friendly opposition not far from his own door. Mr. Balfour, in his *Foundations of Belief*, seemed to take the ground of the great contemporary German school of theologians, that philosophy when called in to the support of religion was a broken reed. To the idealism of T. H. Green it was specially objected, that it reduced all experience to a "net-work of relations," and constituted the universe out of blank categories, in which no real substance seemed to inhere. Whether the proffered aid to Christianity should come in from "Naturalism" on the one hand, or "Transcendental Idealism" on the other, Mr. Balfour concluded the utmost ingenuity of the human reason in the

premises out of place and inadequate, and urged, therefore, a return to external authority as a stable foundation for religious belief. It is needless to say that Prof. Watson's grip on Balfour is that of an intellectual athlete, and yet—the vapory categories keep swinging in the wind.

Another, and as it seems to us a more serious obstacle, Prof. Watson encounters in Kidd's famous formula of the supra-rational character of religion as an element in the social progress of the race. The issue here is substantially the same,—the real is always the rational, and yet Mr. Kidd has discovered a supra- or ultra-rational force in society which arrests and rolls back the natural and selfish inclinations of man in the evolutionary struggle. In his powerful chapter on *Idealism and Human Progress*, Prof. Watson comes very near reducing this miscalculated discovery in sociology to a very thin shadow. And yet, at last, when this great discussion has run up grandly towards its goal, in what way has idealism come to the help of the religion of Jesus—where and how does the ultimate reality disclose itself in both? Well, idealism makes God immanent, and this is essentially what is meant to be conveyed in the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit when properly understood.

And yet we cannot help thinking that the supreme purpose of Christianity, as the religion of the incarnation, was to inject into the minds and hearts of men a kind of divine anthropomorphism, which would make permanent, for them, the idea of a loving personality in their conception of God. Can idealism lay its rational formula on this stupendous fact in history, and exhibit it as the crowning stage in the cosmic evolution of the thought of God? Dr. Le Conte has suggested as much, within the proprietary limits of the same school, in the ingenious and fascinating speculation that God through a "self-sundering of the Divine Energy" reveals himself in what "may well be called the Second Person of the Godhead, which by eternal generation develops into sons in man, and finally into the fulness of the Godhead in the ideal man—the Divine Man—as his well-beloved Son." In any event philosophy, in this phase of it, is serving a noble ministry as the hand-maiden of religion—like the woman in the gospel, breaking the alabaster box of precious ointment on the person of our Lord. W. H. W.

The Genesis of the Social Conscience. By H. S. Nash, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. pp. VIII, 309. $1.50.

This is one of the most striking books of the year. It is an original, forceful study of "the relation between the establishment of Christianity in Europe and the social question." It suggests Mr. Kidd's book, "Social Evolution," in its popular form and the scope of its inquiry.

Professor Nanh's thesis is "to show how the social question strikes its roots into the soil of that Mediterranean civilization in which Antiquity summed itself up, and out of which Modernity issued." In (1)

the Mediterranean world, for the first time in history, the individual man was clearly defined. He was called "soul." The individual man thus christened was a generic man; there was nothing in him that could not become universal. (2) Christianity brought, with its establishment, a dogmatic conception of the universe strong enough to force the definition down to the lowest stratum of society. (3) The monotheistic idea of God unifies the spiritual goods of the race. (4) The unity of God involves the moral unity of all classes of men. (5) The unity of God entails a view of the world which puts it in the service of God. 6) The idea of personality dawns on the western mind. (7) This involves freedom. (8) The climate of the period which established Christianity was transcendence, authenticating the infinite worth of the common man. (9) The sense of sin is the great leveler—the mortal foe of aristocracy. (10) The idea of the kingdom of God is the flesh and blood of the Occident. (11) Along with this idea goes the clear idea of Duty. (12) The potential for man follows the establishment of Christianity.

This partial reproduction of the author's syllabus will give some idea of the line of thought pursued, but it will give no idea of the charm of the book which lies in its original observations and its striking and multitudinous illustrations. The author has sought to trace the history of the principle of individuality. He finds his starting-point in the primary tribal view of deity and humanity. He follows the Greek, the Roman and the Jew as they built the highway over which Christianity marched to conquest, and he shows how, as regards the social question, the Greek and the Roman would have been helpless to level the road for it unless the Semite had come to their aid. "It was Biblical monotheism that put the world in the service of God, and it was the monotheistic idea of God that entailed the impassioned belief in human equality." Finally the Biblical idea took flesh in Jesus of Nazareth, the hero of humanity. Passing swiftly along the path of history Professor Nash rises to glowing eloquence in his valuation of the average man, "not now by the old ideals of Virtue and the Highest Good, but by that of Duty."

At more length this book might be praised, but it may suffice to say that it is a most interesting contribution to the literature of the Social Problem and, as well, a real apologetic. H. C. A.

The Conception of God. A Philosophical Discussion concerning the Nature of the Divine Idea as a Demonstrable Reality. By Josiah Royce, Ph. D., Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University, Joseph Le Conte, M. D., LL. D., and G. H. Howison, LL. D., Professors in the University of California, and Sidney Edward Mezes, Ph. D., Professor in the University of Texas. A reissue, with a new and fuller essay by Professor Royce. Crown, 8vo. pp. XXXVIII, 354. $1.75.

This volume is made up of a discussion "concerning the nature of

the divine idea as a demonstrable reality." It is the first volume of the "Publications of the Philosophical Union of the University of California," edited by Professor G H. Howison. In his preface the editor very ably dissects the subject of inquiry. The essays present in outline the positions of the idealists and the realists, and the discussion is conducted in excellent spirit. To all thoughtful persons it will be an interesting study, but its appeal is more directly to special students of philosophy. It is remarkable, anew in this volume, how many highways of thought lead to God. The luminaries shine with their own peculiar light; what we see is God. Of course nothing is supposed to be settled by the discussions of abstract philosophy, and this book has its value in what it does not claim to settle. It is a volume of speculation —a model of clear, calm and judicious polemical discussion. We lay it down with a better understanding of the various ways in which the human mind may approach the conception of God, the idea of individual freedom, and "the vital principle of all personality." H. C. A.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO., NEW YORK.

The Will To Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy. By William James, Professor of Psychology in Harvard Uuniversity. pp. XVII, 327, with index. $1.50.

This volume is a collection of ten occasional addresses and Review articles now published under the title of the first essay. Professor James is an empirical philosopher, and, in his own words, "Were I obliged to give a short name to the attitude (herein defended), I should call it that of *radical empiricism.*" It is a sound and brilliant book from one who has studied the subject profoundly. The first four essays are concerned with defending the legitimacy of religious faith, and in them the author pricks the bubbles of agnostic assumption with the hand of a master. There is a constant play of humor and fancy that saves the discussions from any suggestion of the lecture-room. In the essays, "Great Men and their Environment" and "The Importance of Individuals" the author pays his respects to Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Grant Allen in a way that, from our point of view, leaves little to be desired. In the last chapter he recounts some of the more recent achievements of psychical research. The volume is a book for the times, a positive aid to faith. H. C. A.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK.

The First Words from God: Also The Harmonizing of the Records of the Resurrection Morning. By Francis W. Upham, LL. D. pp. 131; 28. 85 cents. Published in 1894.

The first division of this book is a conservative treatise on the first and second chapters of Genesis, written thirty years ago. The second division was written, to quote the author's words, "long after I had cleared up all other difficulties as to the Holy Gospels, to my own satisfaction

at least." Both divisions are characterized by the confidence of an eye-witness. H. C. A.

Christianity and the Christ. By Bradford Paul Raymond, D. D. pp. 250. 85 cents.

The purpose of this author is to show that the Christian faith is reasonable. He begins by showing that Christianity is nothing apart from Christ, and then proceeds to tell the reader what it is, namely, "a life, a life of faith in the Christ." The author studies at some length the work of the prophets in relation to Christ. And then, through Christ's relation to history, to humanity, to the sinner, and to the believer, he shows that Christ satisfies man's religious ideals, and that, so long as he continues to satisfy them, men will continue to believe in him.

H. C. A.

PERIODICALS.

The Atlantic Monthly for January gives promise of another year of such magazine literature as we do not find elsewhere. Among its contributions we find The Growth and Expression of Public Opinion; The Wild Parks and Forest Reservations of the West; After a Sunset of Great Splendor; Round the Far Rocks; Three Contemporary German Dramatists; Literary Paris Twenty Years Ago; Political Inauguration of the Greater New York; The Present Scope of Government; Our Two Most Honored Poets, and an exceptionally fine review of Hall Caine's The Christian. Caleb West and Penelope's Progress are continued and there are installments of Belated Feudalism in America and The Battle of the Strong, the latter by the author of "The Seats of the Mighty." It is a strong, splendid number and he who regularly reads the *Atlantic* is storing his mind with the best of literature.

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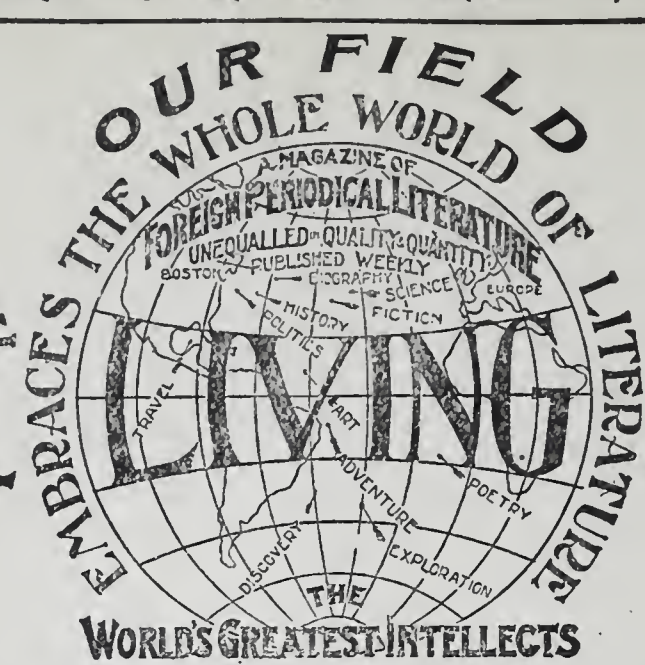

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THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1898.

ARTICLE I.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY is the lineal descendant of the *Evangelical Review*, whose first number appeared in Gettysburg, July, 1849, "edited by William M. Reynolds, Professor in Pennsylvania College; assisted by Dr. J. G. Morris, Prof. H. I. Schmidt, Rev. C. W. Schaeffer, and Rev. E. Greenwald." The title page bore also the following motto: "'Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren und hellen Gründen und Unsachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen.'—*Luther.*"

In a lengthy introduction Prof. Reynolds seeks to justify the publication of the *Review*, and sets forth its "objects and position." The writer thinks that "*such a work is needed for the development and cultivation of our proper theology and literature.*" Such a work is also "*rendered the more necessary by the transition of a large part of our Church in this country from the German to the English language.*" "*Such a work is necessary to the proper union and co-operation, and to the highest usefulness and efficiency of the Lutheran Church in this country.*"

Each of these propositions is discussed with considerable fulness. Prof. Reynolds complains of the lack of Lutheran theological literature in this country. He thinks that from fifty to one hundred carefully prepared articles on as many topics of theology and Church literature may be obtained annually for the pages of the *Review*, and that "studious ministers and intel-

ligent people may readily and profitably read them." He is encouraged to believe that such a publication will be sustained, that "now we have three colleges, seven theological seminaries, and various academies or preparatory schools which are generally conducted by our ministers."

In explaining the third proposition, the editor gives us a view of the condition of the Church half a century ago, which, if not very edifying, is at least instructive. He says: "We cannot conceal the fact that a very considerable diversity of views, both as regards doctrine and practice, prevails among us. These conflicting elements are more or less separated into different ecclesiastical organizations, and have separate organs in newspapers, which, patronized exclusively by one party, do not reach, and so exert no influence upon each other. The friendly intercourse between these parties will diminish as their collisions increase, and their sympathies are in great danger of being entirely alienated from one another. This, we think, should, if possible, be prevented, and against this we propose the *Evangelical Review* as a remedy."

Prof. Reynolds finally says:

"These explanations, we hope, will leave no doubt as to *the position of this Review. It is Lutheran in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term.* It is consecrated especially to the interests, to the history, to the theology, to the literature of the Lutheran Church in this and all parts of the world. And, as a necessary result of this, it belongs to no particular school or party in the Lutheran Church. Taking its stand between Rationalism on the one hand and Romanism on the other, it will endeavor to represent the common sentiments of all who are gathered within the pale of our widely extended communion, and will take especial pains to make known the views and feelings of all parts of the Church in this country especially. And whilst we shall, as already stated, freely admit articles expressing very different ideas, we shall do this, not from a love of controversy or because this is one of our objects, but as the necessary means for the establishment of peace and union among us, by leading us to the same truth, establishing a mutual

understanding, and securing sincere respect, and love, and confidence. But whilst we do not shrink from the presentation of these diversities, we hope that it will soon be found that the points wherein we agree are much more numerous than those wherein we differ, and that there is nothing to prevent us from growing up into 'one body' as living members of the same glorious Head. From controversial articles also, we shall endeavor to remove all that asperity and personality, and every thing like a narrow and local character, by which Christian intercourse and rational discussion have been so often converted into selfish strife and vain wrangling for victory.

"*And whilst we thus plainly announce our adherence and attachment to the Church with which we are connected, we do not wish to be understood as occupying a hostile position towards any other part of Christendom.* On the contrary, we see much to love and admire in our brethren of other denominations. We acknowledge the Church of England and her representative in the United States as 'the oldest daughter of the Reformation,' a church that is *almost* Lutheran. We admire the free spirit, the vigorous character, the active enterprise and practical tendencies of the sons of the Puritans, the disciples of Calvin and of Knox. We also acknowledge the service done to religion by our Methodist and Baptist brethren and trust that we are ready to rejoice with the angels in heaven over every soul whom they convert, and who is washed in that 'fountain which has been opened in the house of David for sin and uncleanness.' But in exhibiting and defending the truth as our Church has learned it (taught, as we believe, by the Holy Ghost from the word of God) and transmitted it to us, we believe we are doing no wrong, but great service to these brethren before whom we desire to let our light shine, that, if they cannot be brought to see matters as we do, they may at least learn to know us better and respect us so far as we deserve their respect. We trust that this *Review* will not be found deficient in a liberal spirit, and that it will never unnecessarily interfere with, or assail, or misrepresent even those from whom it may most widely differ."

The manner in which this Christian, Lutheran and Catholic

position was maintained, is shown by the fact that the first volume contains articles from such men as "Rev. Charles P. Krauth, A. M., of Winchester, Va.;" "Rev. J. A. Seiss, Cumberland, Md;" "Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., Baltimore, Md;" "John G. Morris, D. D., of Baltimore, Md;" "Rev. J. Few Smith, A. M., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Auburn, New York;" "Prof. H. I. Schmidt, A. M., of Columbia College, New York;" "Rev. M. Jacobs, A. M., Prof. of Natural Science and Mathematics in Penna. College;" "George B. Miller, D. D., Professor of Theology in Hartwick Seminary, New York;" "Rev. Charles F. Schaeffer, A. M., Red Hook, N. Y.;" "Rev. Theophilus Stork, A. M., Pastor of St. Matthew's church, Philadelphia."

The range of subjects in this first volume is wide, and the views expressed could not be reduced to a harmonious doctrinal system; but the discussions are all dignified and amiable.

Volume II, beginning with the July number, is "edited by C. P. Krauth, D. D., Professor of Biblical Philology, Exegesis and Church History in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa." All other names disappear from the title-page, but no new policy is announced. Among the contributors to this volume are Dr. S. S. Schmucker, Dr. G. A. Lintner and Rev. J. N. Hoffman.

Volume III is "edited by C. P. Krauth, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., and by Wm. M. Reynolds, D. D., President of Capitol University, Columbus, Ohio." Rev. M. Loy and Rev. H. Ziegler appear among the contributors to this volume.

No further change was made in the editorship until the ninth volume is reached, when we find "C. P. Krauth, W. M. Reynolds and M. L. Stoever, editors." The *Review* remained under this management for four years; but in volume XIII. we find "W. M. Reynolds and M. L. Stoever, Editors." This partnership lasted for only one year, as Volume XIV is "edited by M. L. Stoever, Professor in Pennsylvania College," and the name is changed to "*The Evangelical Quarterly Review*," of which Professor Stoever, after 1869 M. L. Stoever, LL. D., remained editor until his death, which occurred July 22d, 1870, just after

he had sent forth the third number of volume XXI. The next number of the same volume was edited by other persons, and closes with a suitable "*In Memoriam*" to Dr. Stoever by his life-long friend, Dr. C. A. Hay.

In the entire twenty-one years of its existence the *Review* never changed its *position*. It always remained "Lutheran in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term." Dr. Stoever sought especially to bring together in its pages the most diverse views and tendencies, and to make it a *concilium œcumenicum* for the discussion of subjects of general and special interest to Lutherans. He also caused it to be enriched by the contributions of scholarly gentleman without the pale of the Lutheran Church. Dr. Stoever's greatest service to the Church through the *Review*, was the preparation and publication in it of eighty reminiscences of deceased Lutheran clergymen, in consequence of which he has been called "The Lutheran Plutarch of America." These sketches were written with tenderness, sympathy, impartiality and dignity. They record much Lutheran history, which otherwise would have been ignored and forgotten.

Dr. Hay in his "*In Memoriam*" to Dr. Stoever expresses the hope that some sympathising and willing hand will be found to indite a fitting memorial to the "appreciative and conscientious necrologist in the midst of our Lutheran Zion," and closes as follows: "What more appropriate tribute to his memory could we have than the publication of such a memorial in the opening number of a new series of the *Evangelical Review*? For we will not suffer ourselves to fear that this Journal, which has been so ably conducted, for so many years, by our dear departed brother, is to expire with him. The wants of our Church clearly demand its continuance; and, whilst we are not now prepared to state under what auspices it shall hereafter be issued, we feel warranted in saying that the reasonable expectations of the Church in the matter shall not be disappointed."

The *Review* did not expire with its editor. In a material sense it had belonged to its proprietor, but in the purposes for which it had been called into existence, and for twenty-one

years had been sustained, it was the property of the Church. It was needed, and has continued to be needed. As satisfactory arrangements could not be made for the purchase of *The Evangelical Quarterly Review*, Dr. J. A. Brown, then Chairman of the Faculty of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod, and Dr. M. Valentine, President of Pennsylvania College, "with the special co-operation of S. Sprecher, D. D., Rev. C. A. Stork, A. C. Wedekind, D. D., Rev. J. H. W. Stuckenberg," issued the first number of "THE QUARTERLY REVIEW *of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,*" January, 1871, as a "*New Series.*"

In an introductory the editors say that the REVIEW will seek to pursue the same liberal policy that characterized the *Evangelical Review* from the beginning. "In its opening article that REVIEW said, 'We propose to give all parts of the Church an opportunity of exhibiting their sentiments.' It reiterated the declaration, 'We desire to cultivate a Lutheran Theology and Literature in the English Language, and the REVIEW is open to all who can instruct and edify the public, for whom we labor, by articles of a suitable character in any department of our work. We know no sect or party in the Church. We give our own opinions in our contributions, and are willing that the representatives of every theological tendency in the Church, should do the same thing, provided, only, that they do it in a manner consistent with the character of such a work.' All this is most cordially endorsed by the QUARTERLY REVIEW *of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, as it enters upon its work; and to avoid all misapprehension on this point, it wishes it to be distinctly understood, that its pages will be freely and fairly open to all portions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, that may be disposed or willing to accept the offer. If it is not a review for the whole Lutheran Church in the United States, it will not be by any intentional fault of its own commission.

"At the same time the position of the editors must be distinctly understood. They stand unequivocally on the basis of the General Synod. They could not do otherwise. Having spent their whole ministerial lives, thus far, in the General

Synod, occupying positions of trust and responsibility in that relation, they would be recreant to plighted faith and duty, as well as to their deepest and most earnest convictions, if they were to profess or essay anything different. It would be a mistaken liberality for them to pretend to regard all distinctions in the Lutheran Church with indifference, or to be alike pleased with every phase of doctrine and practice. Whilst desiring to cherish and to exercise the broadest charity, they cannot, and would not, be understood as professing to yield their own convictions of truth and duty.

"It is not supposed that any sacrifice on their part, were such a thing possible, would secure the confidence and respect of those who may honestly differ from them. Honest and fair men know how to respect an honest difference of opinion, and will have more regard for those who openly and candidly avow it, than for those, who either have no opinions of their own, or lack the courage to make them known. The editors must, therefore, be fairly understood as occupying the stand-point of the General Synod, and so far as they may have occasion to give utterance to their views, will not hesitate to maintain their theological and ecclesiastical position. This they hope to do in a courteous and Christian manner, and giving equal privileges to those who may differ from them. This seems to be the only honorable and candid course.

"But the position of the editors is not intended to interfere with the largest freedom of all parts of the Church. The REVIEW will be open to all, not as a matter of courtesy, graciously extended, but as a right freely acknowledged. And it certainly need require no great stretch of condescension to accept this offer. Other *Reviews* have furnished examples of even wider liberality than is here proposed, and different denominations have united in making use of a common medium. The *Bibliotheca Sacra*, that prince of Theological Quarterlies, has been publishing a series of denominational articles, in which each denomination is allowed to speak for itself. If Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Reformed, and even Catholics, can speak through

the same Journal, and be thus allowed to tell the world and each other what they believe and how they act, surely the different members of the same Lutheran household can speak through some common medium, as the QUARTERLY REVIEW *of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* The invitation to all is candid, frank, and cordial, and given without distinction as to Synodical or Theological peculiarities."

After thus setting forth their position, and declaring that they "do not regard it as their special mission to unite the diverse elements of the Lutheran Church in the United States," and expressing the hope that the REVIEW "may serve in some sense as a bond of union, by bringing about a better understanding between the different portions of the Church, smoothing down asperities in discussion, and gradually producing more harmony of feeling and unity of aciton," they go on to say:

"The REVIEW will aim to develop the theology and literature of the Church. In this country the Lutheran Church has done comparatively little to provide a literature for her children, and can boast of but few works that deserve, or hold, a prominent place in Theological Science. In the old world her achievements have eclipsed those of all other Churches. Germany, Protestant Germany, is in the van in nearly every department of theological study. The reasons for our being in the rear of other Churches in this country are obvious and need not be dwelt upon. But the time has fully come, when we should do something more to meet at least our own wants. By means of translations of the best works in German Theology, and of original productions, we must supply the needs of our own people. This must necessarily be a matter of time and of gradual development. We cannot expect at once to become a Church of distinguished writers and authors. Literature in any department is a matter of culture and growth.

"By encouraging the disposition, and affording the opportunity, the REVIEW will cultivate and improve the ability to write. Many, availing themselves of this medium, will be induced to write, who might otherwise never venture to appear before the public in print. The taste and habit will thus be formed and

cherished, and cannot but tell upon our Church literature and our culture as a people. Many of the very best productions of the American press are contributions to the various Reviews. It is not intended that the REVIEW shall furnish exercise for unfledged beginners, to try their powers, and prepare for greater achievements, but all who possess the ability and talent for writing to edification, are invited to contribute to its pages."

How and how faithfully these promises were kept by the editors, the pages of the REVIEW itself are witnesses. The first volume contains articles by Rev. C. A. Stork, Dr. S. Sprecher (a translation), Prof. M. Loy, Rev. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Rev. M. Officer, Prof. E. Ferrier, Rev. J. D. Severinghaus, Rev. F. W. Conrad, D. D., and many others. The range of subjects is wide, and the treatment is up to a high standard. One feature that particularly characterizes this new series is the vigorous, and sometimes powerful articles by the editors. It is to be regretted that these articles appear without the names of their respective authors. This defect is in part remedied by an index that accompanied volume XX. It was during the editorship of Drs. Brown and Valentine that the REVIEW reached its widest circulation and its highest usefulness. Its coming was always hailed with pleasure. It was sure to bring profitable reading. The practical, the scientific and the polemical were happily blended. The REVIEW was Christian, Lutheran and catholic, as its predecessor had been. It exerted an important influence in training the minds and shaping the opinions of our ministers.

Volume VI bears only the name of Dr. J. A. Brown, as the responsible editor. He continued to fill this honorable and laborious position in connection with his work in the Seminary until December, 1879, when he became disabled by paralysis, and his work for the Church was practically brought to a close. This is not the place to eulogize Dr. Brown. Suffice it to say that for fifteen years he was emphatically the leader of the General Synod. His vigor as a debater and as a writer has not been equaled among us, and the impression made by him on his students can never be effaced. It is to be deeply regretted

that he did not live long enough to write out a system of Evangelical Lutheran Theology.

Volume X bears on its title page: "THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, edited by M. Valentine, D. D., E. J. Wolf, D. D., Prof. P. M. Biklé." No change of position or aim is announced by the new corps of editors. It is still "THE QUARTERLY REVIEW *of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*," for this designation has stood at the beginning of every number until the present one. The scope and compass of the topics discussed under this editorial triumvirate were upon the whole exactly what they had always been. So far as any indication to the contrary is concerned "they (the editors) stand unequivocally on the basis of the General Synod. They could not do otherwise." And yet they could at any time have said of the publication which they so acceptably conducted: "If it is not a Review for the whole Lutheran Church in the United States, it will not be by any fault of its own commission."

With the twelfth volume (1890), Prof. P. M. Bikle became the sole responsible editor of the QUARTERLY, which he conducted with dignity and fairness to the present time. Dr. Biklé has had to devote so much attention to the business management and purely supervisory work of editing, that, in connection with his professorial duties, he has not found time to enrich the pages of the QUARTERLY by contributions from his own pen. His colleagues hope it may be quite otherwise in the future.

As Dr. Biklé made no new announcement on taking charge of the QUARTERLY eight years ago, the presumption is that he meant to continue it according to the principles and aims declared by his predecessors, and adhered to by them with unswerving fidelity.

The present editors in taking charge of the QUARTERLY distinctly understand among themselves that it is to be conducted on the foundation laid down forty-nine years ago by Prof. Reynolds for the *Evangelical Review*, accepted by Dr. Krauth, and exemplified by Dr. Stoever in the EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW; reaffirmed and defined by Drs. Brown and Valentine

in 1871, and followed out by their successors to the present day. Hence the QUARTERLY under the present management does not come before the Church without a history or a record, or with a new foundation. If the QUARTERLY could be regarded as a *Lutheran* periodical, and be made an instrument for the inculcation of Lutheran theology, and a medium for the interchange of Lutheran ideas, when the word *Lutheran* did not appear on its title-page, surely none the less should it be regarded as capable of serving these high functions, now that the word Lutheran so sharply defines its theological relationship. When the editors say in the "Announcement" sent out with the last number, that "the QUARTERLY will be devoted to the interests of the Lutheran Church in general, and of the General Synod in particular," and invite "discussion from different quarters and from different tendencies," they mean just what they say. They find their own position fully declared in the language of their earliest predecessors, and "most cordially endorsed" by Drs. Brown and Valentine: "We propose to give all parts of the Church an opportunity of exhibiting their sentiment. We desire to cultivate a Lutheran Theology and Literature in the English language, and the QUARTERLY is open to all who can instruct and edify the public, for whom we labor, by articles of a suitable character in any department of our work. We know no sect or party in the Church. We give our own opinions in our contributions, and are willing that the representatives of every theological tendency in the Church should do the same thing, provided, only, that they do it in a manner consistent with the character of such a work."

Accordingly we welcome to our pages contributions of "high literary and scholarly merit," which can edify and instruct the Lutheran Church in general or the General Synod in particular. But nothing will be admitted which either openly or covertly attacks the Lutheran Church, or the principles of the General Synod. We believe the Lutheran Church has been called into existence by Divine Providence, and that she has a mission among men. Equally do we believe that the General Synod has been called into existence by Divine Providence, and that

she has a mission in this country which no other Lutheran body can fulfill; and we believe further that she was never more distinctly conscious of her indentity, nor more anxious to be served by good theological literature than she is to-day. Nothing is more needed in our Church in America than intelligent and learned authorship. It is hoped that the QUARTERLY will be an incentive to many of our scholarly ministers to write on subjects which they may have thoroughly and exhaustively studied. Crude, undigested disquisitions; florid, grandiose declamations, do not commend themselves to the readers of a theological quarterly; for it is exactly to such a publication that thinking men now come for the latest conclusions of science. It is there that they expect to find thorough investigation and calm discussion. New subjects coming within the scope of the QUARTERLY are constantly pressing to the front for investigation; and old subjects of abiding interest require restatement in view of the ever widening circles of knowledge. If Professor Reynolds in his day could express the hope that from fifty to a hundred carefully prepared articles on as many different topics of theology and Church literature, and suited to the pages of a review, might be obtained yearly from our ministers, surely there is no ground for fear that *we*, in our day, may not be able to obtain an ample supply of learned, thoughtful, and carefully prepared articles for the QUARTERLY.

It is a pleasure to announce that the editors do not labor alone in trying to meet the theological needs of our Church. On the basis of the "Announcement" sent out with the January number, they have secured the special coöperation of the brethren whose names appear with their own on the title-page. That these brethren do not regard their relation to the QUARTERLY as merely honorary or ornamental, but as coöperative in the active sense of the word, is shown by the fact that acticles from the pens of two of them appear in the present number. Thus it is believed that the QUARTERLY will be, in the highest sense, representative of all parts of the Church.

It is with confidence, therefore, that we appeal to our ministers and intelligent laymen to support the QUARTERLY. This

work is for the Church. The publication has never been profitable to its proprietors, though the labor bestowed on it has been of immense profit to the Church. All cannot be editors, but many more may be readers of the QUARTERLY than are. We hope to retain all of our present subscribers and to increase the list. We will thank our friends for any assistance they may render.

ARTICLE II.

HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY,

FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE TO THE YEAR 1893.

BY PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D. D.

[CONCLUDED FROM JANUARY QUARTERLY 1898.]

A DISTINGUISHED LAYMAN.

Among the prominent laymen connected with the New Germantown Church about this time, the name of Mr. Baltus Pickel is worthy of special mention. In his will, made in 1765, of which his son Baltus was one of the executors, the sum of £1,000 was left to the Church, the principal to be let out and the interest appropriated for the minister's salary, except a sum to be set apart for the education of two poor children in the German school of the congregation. Also a silver cup and plate were bequeathed to the church. The pipe organ of the church was also his generous gift. Here is an example worthy of imitation by members of the Lutheran Church in our day. Legacies of £1,000, more or less, could now be used by members of the church to good advantage in carrying on her work and such donors like Baltus Pickel will be held in grateful remembrance. He was buried close to the east side of the church. The following memorial is found at his grave: "Here lies the body of Baltus Pickel, who departed this life Dec. 5th, 1765, in the 79th year of his age. Remember me as you pass by; as you are now so once was I; as I am now so you must be; prepare for death and follow me." Nearby lies the body of Charity, his wife, who died in 1761.

Another ancient stone in the yard by the church has this

curious epitaph: "In memory of Baltus Pickel, son of Frederick Pickel, who departed this life March 16, 1786, in the 20th year of his age. My feeble race has run apace, my dwelling place is here; this stone is got to keep the spot, that men dig not too near."

It might be well to mention here that as early as 1753 a school-house stood a few feet east of the church, the property of the church when the German parish school was held.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN HARTWICK, SUSSEX CO.

In the first edition of Smith's History of N. J., published in 1765, he mentions two German Lutheran churches in Sussex county without giving their locations. Like some others, these organizations have been absorbed in churches of other denominations. We have been able to find traces of only one of these churches. There is a well preserved old German church record of the Lutheran church at Hartwick, Sussex county. It would seem that before the Revolutionary War down to the early part of the present century, a good many German families were settled in the western part of Sussex county, which then embraced the present county of Warren. These with the exception of the Moravian settlement at Hope, belonged to the Lutheran or Reformed faith. Of the Rev. Dr. Endress, who was pastor in Easton, Pa., from 1801 to 1815, it is said that during the first three years he ministered to the congregations of Easton, Williamstown, Plainfield, Moortown, Upper Mt. Bethel, Hamilton, Smithfield, and Hartwick, besides preaching occasionally at Hope, Greenwich, Knowlton, Newtown and Walpack in New Jersey." The church at Hartwick was evidently the Hartwick church to which Dr. Endress ministered. But where was this Hartwick church situated? There is no hint in the record itself, but from the best information it was the same as the Stillwater church, which at that early date, was probably in the township of Hartwick, or Hardwick. "This church was erected in the year 1771 on ground set apart for it and a cemetery by a Mr. Burnhart, one of the first persons buried in the cemetery. It was a stone building about 35 by 40 feet, with galleries on three sides. It was a union church,

Lutheran and Reformed. The Lutherans do not appear ever to have had a settled pastor, but were supplied with occasional preaching and other ministerial service by neighboring ministers, for the most part from the 'Old Straw Church,' new Philipsburg. This was continued for more than forty years, until 1816, when they were absorbed by the Reformed and taken under the care of the Dutch Reformed Classis of New Brunswick. Later, in 1823, the church went over to the Presbyterians and joined the Presbytery of Newton. The records of this extinct Lutheran church begin with the year 1775. In 1782 Rev. John Frederick Ernst officiated at a confirmation service. According to the record, communion services were held only once a year from 1775 to 1811 with the exception of the years 1798-9, 1801, 1803-5 and 1806, when there were none. There were thirty who took communion in 1775, fifty in 1776, fifty-nine in 1779, forty-one in 1809, eleven in 1810 and fifteen in 1811. In 1777 twenty-two were received into the church, in 1782 twenty-eight, in 1793 twenty-two, in 1805 twenty-four, in 1807 sixteen. Services were held at a later period in school-houses and private dwellings by the Lutherans, but these were discontinued half a century ago.

From the history of this old old church we learn how firmly these early German Lutherans were attached to their own Church. Scattered among the hills of Sussex county like sheep without a shepherd, surrounded by other denominations, and, while their brethren of the German Reformed faith had their pastor on the ground, these Lutherans not only kept up their organization for over forty years, but during that time added 112 members to the church. And it was only after a generation had passed away, and their children and successors had become pretty thoroughly Americanized, and there was no hope of their having a pastor of their own, that they were willing to give up the church of their fathers and enter other denominations.

THE STRAW CHURCH.

Among the early German churches in New Jersey we place St. James church, Greenwich, Warren county. This church, it

would seem from best information, was organized as early as 1762. At first it was a union church, Lutheran and German Reformed, but the latter becoming extinct by removals and deaths, the Lutherans became the sole occupants of the church and possessors of the property. Tradition states that the first church building was constructed of logs and was about 30x40 feet. Its roof was thatched with straw, and hence it was generally known as the "Straw Church." The second edifice was erected in 1790 and was built of stone. It was 40x50 feet, and like the other early Lutheran churches, had galleries on three sides and a high pulpit on the fourth side.* This church was connected with St. John's church, Easton, Pa., until 1834 when the third church, which is the St. James of to-day, was built and services now were conducted entirely in the English language.

EMANUEL'S CHURCH COHANZEY.

Another German Lutheran church was organized at an early date, (1748), in the southern part of the State, in Salem county, at Cohanzey, This was one of the oldest German settlements in the State. The people who first came into this part of the State engaged themselves to work for a Mr. Wister in making glass at Allowaystown. The families were, Fries, Trollenger, Meyer, Hahn, Born, Wentzel, Mackasson, Hoppel, Bedman, Tobel, Dellshower, Sowder, Kniest, and some others. The records of the church were kept in German until 1832.

This German and Dutch (?) settlement was first visited by the Swedish ministers from Philadelphia, Rev. Tranberg coming as early as 1738. The first church was begun in 1739. When Dr. Muhlenberg came in this county he visited this church and

*From the constitution, adopted in 1772, we learn that the doctrinal stand-point of this Church was the unaltered Augburg Confession, and it has held this ground unchanged to the present. From this same constitution we learn the fathers believed in more than a merely formal profession of Christianity, and that meetings for prayer and edification were enjoined and encouraged, "thereby showing," says Rev. Henry in his centennial sermon, "that before many who profess to be the only conservators of piety were in existence, the Lutheran Church in America fostered, encouraged and promoted the spirit of prayer."

united it with the Church in Philadelphia. In the year 1768 a beautiful brick church was erected and consecrated by Pastor Schulze, who gave the church the name of Emanuel. This congregation was made up of Lutherans scattered over that region of country. Pastor Helmuth who gives the above facts in 1783, adds "that near the church there was a good frame school house. The schoolmaster held divine service every Sunday when they were without a preacher." At a meeting of all the preachers, held in June 1750, according to the Halle reports, the congregation at Cohanzy, among others, made application to be provided with a regular minister, or to be occasionally visited by them or their assistants. The assembled preachers promised to care for them as much as possible and made special inquiries as to the fitness of their school-master. At this meeting Rev. Peter Brunnholtz was appointed as superintendent of this and other vacant congregations for one year. This position he accepted although the wardens of his congregation protested against it on account of his ill health and many other labors. In the old church book there is a record of a constitution for the government of the congregation, drawn up by Brunnholtz, and bearing the date of May 22, 1750. Article I, which defines the condition of membership, reads as follows: "Whoever desires to be a member of this congregation, and qualified to be elected as elder or deacon, or to go to the Lord's table, must, 1st, Be subject to the powers that be. 2nd. Not live in any wilful sins or works of the flesh which are mentioned in Gal. 5 : 19–21. 3d. Bear his share for the sustaining of the public worship of God.

In Art III it is stated that "when important business makes it necessary to call a meeting of the congregation, whoever wilfully remains away or is not hindered by necessary traveling or sickness, shall either be satisfied with what was done or be considered a rebel." Art. IV. "No man shall rule over the congregation *alone*, but the elders and two deacons shall counsel with the members of the congregation about important matters what may be for the best." Art. V. "As one is not alone

to rule the congregation, so neither shall one or two men *disturb* the congregation, but the majority of votes shall determine."

For more than half a century the congregation was without a regular pastor. During this time services were kept up by ministers and students from Philadelphia, and by the parochial school teachers who conducted public worship by reading printed sermons, and with their service the history of the *German* church of Cohanzy closes.

We find that the history of the English Lutheran churches in New Jersey, in those parts of the State which were early settled by the Dutch and Germans, is but the continuation of the history of these early churches.

THE FRIESBURG CHURCH.

This is the name of the English church which has grown out of the German church at Cohanzy, and is really the same organization. It is not so clear when the services were changed from German to English, but it would seem that with the first settled pastor the German was no longer required. The first regular settled pastor was Rev. Marcus Harpel who served from 1833–1835. He was succeeded by Rev. W. M. Reynolds, 1835–1837. From 1837–39 Rev. Jacob C. Duy. He was succeeded by Edwin Town for one year. From 1842–57 Rev. John Willox was pastor, followed by Rev. A. L. Bridgeman from 1852–54. Rev. Ferdinand Berkemeyer from 1855–1857. Rev. J. N. Unruh was the successful pastor from 1858 to 1866. He was succeeded by the Rev. S. Curtis and from 1871–1874 by the Rev. J. W. Lake. From 1874–79 by Rev. P. M. Rightmeyer, followed by Rev. W. P. Evans from 1879–1881. Rev. A. W. Lentz was the next pastor from 1881–1886, when he was succeeded by Rev. J. Eugene Dietterich from 1887–1891, followed by the present pastor, Rev. S. J. McDowell, who took charge April 16th, 1892. Up to 1842 this church belonged to the Synod of Pennsylvania, since then it has been in connection with the East Pennsylvania, the New Jersey and the New York and New Jersey Synods. Owing

to the nearness of the church to the territory of the East Pennsylvania Synod, the congregation has recently returned to that body. This church received new life during the pastoral care of Rev. Unruh and this it has since retained and is now in a flourishing condition. The membership numbers about 200 with 225 in the Sunday School and a Society of Christian Endeavor with 50 members. The church is entirely free of debt with property valued at $10,000. The building was remodeled and greatly enlarged during the ministry of Curtis and Lake, and was repaired and recarpeted during Lentz's pastorate. Emanuel's Lutheran church at Friesburg is a country parish, but it is located in one of the most beautiful and fertile parts of the State of New Jersey.

ZION CHURCH, NEW GERMANTOWN, HUNTERDON COUNTY.

This church is a continuation of the German church established here in the early history of the State. The stone church, built by the Germans in 1750, is still used by the congregation as their house of worship. In 1831 it was repaired and enlarged and again remodeled and greatly improved in 1883 and at present is a neat and substantial church edifice. The following is a list of the pastors who have served the New Germantown church through its whole history, including the German and English periods: Organized and supplied by the Rev. Justus Falckner from 1703 to 1713? He was succeeded by his brother, Daniel Falckner, first settled pastor, from 1713 to 1732. Rev. John Aug. Wolf from 1734 to 1745. From 1745 to 1747 the church was served by John N. Kurtz and H. M. Muhlenberg. In the spring of 1747 came J. H. Schaum for nearly one year, followed by Rev. John Christopher Hartwick as supply until Nov. 1748. Rev. John Albert Weygand follows from Nov. 1748, succeeded by Ludolph Heinrich Schrenk to end of 1756. From 1756 to 1759 it was visited by Dr. Muhlenberg, who served as pastor 1759 to 1760. Rev. Paul D. Brizelius from 1760 to 1767. Peter and Henry Muhlenberg from 1769 to 1775. Rev. William Graaf served the church from 1775 to 1809. Then followed the English pastors, beginning with Rev.

Ernest L. Hazelius, D. D., Aug. 31st, 1809, who in 1815 was called to Hartwick Seminary, N. Y., as Principal and Prof. of Theology. He was succeeded, Aug. 5, 1816, by Rev. David Hendricks, who served the church six years. On Aug. 18th, 1822, Rev. Henry N. Pohlman, D. D., entered upon his labors as pastor of this church, which office he filled most successfully for twenty-one years. His field of labor extended over a large section of country embracing the three congregations of New Germantown, German Valley and Spruce Run. The Dr.'s popularity as a preacher extended beyond the bounds of his own parish. During his ministry here he became an earnest advocate of temperance and was in great demand throughout the country as a lecturer on this subject. He used to drive a famous horse named "Charley," a great traveler, but he had one bad trick; he would sometimes "balk." The Dr.'s method with a balky horse was a novel one. When "Charley" would stop, and refuse to go, the Dr. with his stentorian voice would deliberately sing the long meter doxology, "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow," when the horse was invariably ready to move on, and would always make up for the lost time. A few years ago the children of Dr. Pohlman placed in the church at New Germantown a beautiful marble tablet with the following inscription: "In memory of Rev. Henry N. Pohlman, D. D., born March 8, 1800, died Jan. 20, 1874; installed pastor of the congregations of New Germantown, German Valley, and Spruce Run, Nov. 22, 1822. He gave the strengh of his youth to a faithful people, ministering to them for 21 years the glorious gospel of the blessed God, which was committed to his trust. In doctrine, showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity. In labor, in season and out of season, making full proof of his ministry. Ye have heard him and have been taught of him as the truth is in Jesus. Susan Cassidy, his beloved wife, who labored with him in the gospel, having the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. At eventide it was light as she entered into rest, Nov. 7th, 1863. Their chlldren rise up and call them blessed."

Few men in the Lutheran Church in this country were more

widely known or more highly honored than Dr. Pohlman. At three different times he was elected president of the General Synod, and for many consecutive years he presided at the meetings of the New York Ministerium, New York Synod and Synod of New York and New Jersey, and for many years was a trustee of Hartwick Seminary. He was succeeded at New Germantown, Nov. 10th, 1843, by Rev. James R. Keiser, during whose term of service the pastorate was divided. He was followed by Rev. Geo. S. Collins, April 1st, 1850, who served the church three years, when he was succeeded, Oct. 1st, 1853, by Rev. Jacob C. Duy, who rendered faithful service for nearly twenty years, when he was succeeded, Sept. 1st, 1872, by Rev. John F. Diener, who was pastor for six years when the present pastor, John P. Krechting, took charge of the congregation, April 1st, 1879. This old historic church is still in a flourishing condition. Under the oversight of the present efficient pastor, the church building has undergone a thorough renovation—the parsonage has been repaired and beautified and all the surroundings indicate thrift and prosperity. The present membership is 113 communicants, with 14 teachers and 85 scholars in the Sunday School. Value of church property estimated at $10,500.

ZION CHURCH, GERMAN VALLEY, MORRIS COUNTY.

This church which is situated eight miles north of New Germantown, formed a part of the same parish, the minister, who resided at New Germantown, serving both congregations. The old stone church built at German Valley in 1774, by the Lutherans and Reformed, was used by them until 1832. At this time each congregation concluded to build its own church. The new Lutheran church which forms the three walls of the present edifice was 40 by 45 feet from outside to outside, built of stone on a lot which was presented by Neitzer W. Weise. The corner-stone of this church was laid on Nov. 25th, 1832, on which occasion Rev. W. D. Strobel, D. D., of St. James church, New York, preached the sermon.

At a meeting of the Church officers in Jan., 1842, the following resolution was passed: "*Resolved*, That, depending upon

the blessing of Him, who loves the cheerful giver, we will endeavor to raise during the centenary year $500, to be applied as a permanent fund to the benefit of our beloved Zion, and hereafter to be known as the Centenary Fund of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, German Valley." This was the Centenary of American Lutheranism which dates back to 1742 when Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, D. D., came to this country. Another interesting item for this year is the report of the trustees that the pastor's salary was paid regularly in full and $5.00 still in the treasury. In the year 1846, by mutual consent the ecclesiastical union which heretofore existed between the two congregations of New Germantown and German Valley was dissolved. The following are the resolutions then passed at a joint meeting of the officers of the New Germantown and German Valley congregations:

Resolved, That the ecclesiastical union heretofore existing between the said congregations, be by mutual consent dissolved, at the close of the present month, Oct. 1846, and that each congregation relying on the assistance and blessing of the Great Head of the Church will endeavor to make suitable provision for the comfortable support of a pastor.

Resolved, That we recognize with gratitude to God, the harmony and fraternal feelings which have characterized these two congregations in all their conduct toward each other during the many years they have been associated together, and that we will continue to regard each other as one in Christ, to love as brethren, and take a lively interest in each others temporal and eternal welfare." The above arrangement was made during the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Keiser.

The first pastor who served the German Valley charge as an independent congregation was the Rev. Ephraim Deyoe, who became pastor in Nov. 1846, and labored here until the spring of 1858. During the ministry of Rev. Deyoe the church enjoyed several precious revivals, and large accessions were made to the membership. After serving the congregation for more than eleven years, Mr. Deyoe was succeeded by Rev. Alfred Hiller, D. D., Sept. 10th, 1858. During his ministry, in the

year 1861, the church was rebuilt and put in its present form at an expense of nearly $5000. A large bell was placed in the tower, and a pipe organ secured for the church at an expense of $1200. In 1866 the parsonage was rebuilt and enlarged at an expense of $2400. After serving the congregation for twenty-three years, Rev. Hiller resigned and accepted a call as Professor of Systematic Theology, in Hartwick Theological Seminary, N. Y. He was succeeded Nov. 10th, 1881, by Rev. B. B. Collins, who was pastor until Nov. 1890, when he accepted the position of traveling Secretary of the Allegheny Synod. He was succeeded in German Valley in Jan. 1891 by Rev. W. S. Delp, the present pastor. The church in German Valley is in a healthy condition. The church edifice and parsonage are in good repair and are valued at $11,000. The present membership is 172, with a Sunday school of 125 scholars and 18 teachers.

ZION CHURCH, SPRUCE RUN.

This church, like the one at German Valley, originally formed a part of the New Germantown parish and was supplied for nearly half a century by ministers from that place. The church building is located in Hunterdon county, about one mile north of the village of Clarksville which is on the N. J. Central R. R. The first church edifice was built of logs in the year 1800. This was replaced in 1835 by a substantial stone building about 40 by 50 feet. The church stood in the cemetery, near the present church. It was a plain structure without steeple or vestibule and was used by the congregation for thirty-five years. The present neat and commodious church was erected in 1870. The New Germantown pastor supplied this church until the years 1834, when they called the Rev. Richard Collier, who served the congregation until 1860, when, on account of failing health, he was compelled to resign. He died in 1861. He was followed by Rev. P. A. Strobel. During his pastorate the parsonage was rebuilt. He served the church from 1860 to 1864, when he and Rev. David Kline, of Centre Brunswick, N. Y., exchanged parishes. This exchange took place during the War of the Rebellion, and was occasioned by political difficul-

ties which had arisen in both congregations between pastor and people. Rev. Strobel, who was born in South Carolina, was in bad odor with the Republicans of Spruce Run, and Rev. Kline, who was an ardent Republican, was too radical to please the Democratic members of his church in Centre Brunswick, and so they arranged for an exchange which was made in 1864. Rev. Kline was the faithful pastor of the Spruce Run church until his sudden death in 1877. During the pastorate of Rev. Kline the present church edifice was erected. This took place in the year 1870. Rev. Chester H. Traver became pastor, Jan. 1st, 1878, and served the church until 1885, when in 1886 he was succeeded by the Rev. V. F. Bolton, who in 1895 was succeeded by Rev. Charles G. Biklé. The present membership is 140 with 250 scholars and 16 teachers in the Sunday School. The estimated value of church property is $15,000.

THE CLARKSVILLE CHURCH.

In the year 1870, when the present Spruce Run church was built, the congregation was divided on the question of the location of the new church. Those members living in the villages of Clarksville and Glen Gardner, on the Central R. R., the most of whom were without teams to convey them to church, were in favor of locating the new church in Clarksville, but the majority of the congregation who were farmers living in the country, voted to build the new church near the site of the old stone church. The people in the village then withdrew, and in 1872 organized the Clarksville church. They at once proceeded to build a new church in the village, and succeeded so well that on April 8th, 1875, they dedicated the church which they now occupy. It is a frame building with spire, good basement, Sunday-school room, and modern improvements, and is a credit to the faithful few who succeeded in accomplishing the desire of their hearts. They have also recently put up a neat parsonage on the grounds adjoining the church. The church was supplied by Rev. Kline, of Spruce Run church, until the dedication of the new church, April 8, 1875, when the Rev. A. K. Felton was installed as pastor. He labored here until the fol-

lowing November, when he resigned and Rev. G. W. Anderson was elected his successor. He served the church from April 2nd, 1876 to 1882. The Rev. J. W. Lake was the next pastor. During his pastorate the new parsonage was built. Mr. Lake served the congregation from 1883 until 1891, when he was succeeded by the Rev. E. V. Hoelsche, who was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. A. A. King, in 1895. This church reports 94 communicants and 60 Sunday School scholars, and 15 officers and teachers, with a church property valued at $10,000.

ZION CHURCH, SADDLE RIVER, BERGEN COUNTY.

On the territory once occupied by the Dutch-German congregations of Hackensack and Ramapaugh, there are now four English congregations. Two of these, the churches at Saddle River and Ramseys, are in Bergen county, N. J., and the other two, at Ramapo and Tallman, are over the line in Rockland county, New York. The Saddle River church was organized in 1819. This is a country charge. The church building, which was built 1821, has several times been repaired and remodeled. It is built of wood and is now well preserved, and well fitted to meet the wants of the congregation. A few years ago they built a separate room for the Sunday School. There is also a commodious parsonage near the church building, for the use of the pastor, which was erected in 1841. The following is a list of the pastors who have served this congregation: Henry N. Pohlman 1821–1822, David Hendricks 1822, to his death, 1830; Henry J. Schmidt 1831–1833, W. L. Gibson 1833–1835, P. J. Eisenlord 1835–1838, Jacob C. Duy 1838–1847, George Neff 1847–1850, M. Waltermire 1850–1853, N. Wert 1853–1856, E. Deyoe 1858–1867, L. D. Wells 1868–1870, Wm. A. Julian 1870–1874, J. E. Switzer 1874–1881, P. M. Rightmeyer 1881–1882, D. A. Shetler 1882–1886, J. V. Bodine 1886–1889. E. Hughes, the present pastor, entered upon his duties in 1889. The present membership numbers 68 communicants, with 115 scholars, and 18 officers and teachers in the Sunday School. The church property is valued at $6,000.

CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER, RAMSEYS, BERGEN COUNTY.

This church was organized by the Rev. E. Deyoe in the year 1869. It is situated at Ramsey's Station, on the Erie R. R. On the 6th of September, 1871, the present church edifice was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God. Rev. E. Belfour, of Easton, Pa., preached the sermon on this occasion. The church at this time reported 51 members, and was served by Rev. Deyoe in connection with the church at Ramapo. In Jan. 1879, Rev. Luther A. Burrell, a licentiate of the Pittsburg Synod, was called to this church and served the congregation until July, 1880, when he resigned. He was succeeded by the Rev. J. W. Lake, who took charge of the church in May 1881, and served as pastor for two years. He was succeeded in September 1883 by Rev. J. G. Griffith, who was pastor here until 1886, when he resigned, and the Rev. G. C. H. Hasskarl was elected to the pastorate and served the church until 1888. He was followed by Rev. A. H. Weaner in 1889, who was pastor until Feb. 1892. During his pastorate a new parsonage was built. The present pastor is Rev. Carlton Bannister, who entered upon his duties here in 1892. The membership of the church is 104. There are 105 scholars in the Sunday School with sixteen officers and teachers. Value of church property, $10,000.

FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH OF STEWARTSVILLE, WARREN COUNTY.

This is a branch of St. James church, Still Valley, or what in the olden time was known as the "Straw Church." The church building was erected in 1851. The congregation was formally organized Aug. 28th, 1852. The church is built of brick, is 42 by 65 feet with a seating capacity of about five hundred. In 1866 the congregation built a neat parsonage on a lot near the church at an expense of $4,000. The church is in a good state of repair and is furnished with an excellent pipe organ, and the congregation is in a thrifty condition.

The following pastors have served this congregation: Rev. D. M. Henkel; Rev. J. H. Barclay to 1864; Rev. M. Sheeleigh, 1864–1869; Rev. J. R. Sikes, 1869--1872; Rev. Peter Rizer,

1873--1877; Rev. William Kelly, 1877–1884; Rev. L. H. Geshwind, 1884–1885; Rev. Augustus R. Steck, 1886–1891; Rev. William E. Fry, 1891.

The present membership numbers one hundred and eighty-two communicants and ninety scholars and sixteen officers and teachers in the Sunday-school. The church property is valued at $10,000.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH, GREENWICH TOWNSHIP, WARREN COUNTY.

This church stands near the site of the old "Straw Church" which was built before the Revolution. The present St. James is the third church that has been erected on this location. It was built in the year 1834, and is sometimes known as the Still Valley church. It is located about three miles from Easton, Pa., and in its early history was supplied with preaching by pastors located in that town, being united with St. John's church, Easton, until the year 1837. The following pastors have served the church including its early German history:

The Rev. Peter Muhlenberg preached here occasionally from 1769 to 1773; Rev. Christian Streit, 1773–1777; Rev. Braas, 1777–1781; Rev. J. F. Ernst, 1781–1792; Rev. J. C. Yeager, 1792; Rev. Christian Endress, D. D., 1801–1815; Rev. J. P. Hecht, 1815–1837, (when the church separated from St. John's); Rev. Daniel Miller, 1837–1847; Rev. J. McCron, D. D., 1847–1851; Rev. J. K. Plitt, 1851–1865; Rev. M. H. Richards, D. D., 1865–1868; Rev. S. Henry, 1868–1880; Rev. F. T. Hoover, 1880–1883; Rev. T. C. Pritchard, 1883 to present. The present membership numbers two hundred communicants with one hundred and seventy-five scholars and twenty officers and teachers. Church belongs to the East Pennsylvania Synod.

Speaking of the ministry of the Rev. Christian Streit, Rev. Henry observes that "the large accessions made to the congregation soon after his entrance on duty, show him to have been an able workman in the vineyard, the numerical strength of the congregation having increased to something over eighty, but a change followed and the number soon ran down to thirty-six." He also observes "that but little advancement was made under the ministry of Rev. Braas." This condition of affairs is easily accounted for when we remember that during the pastorates of

these brethren, this country passed through the terrible Revolutionary struggle which had such a serious effect upon all the churches. It is probable that many of the sons of St. James were in the American army.

EPIPHANY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, CAMDEN.

This church is located on the north-east corner of Seventh and Market streets. It was erected in 1887, and dedicated Dec. 11th of that year. This beautiful church is a Gothic brick structure 41 x 66 feet with an addition for use of the Sunday-school, 18 x 36 feet. The altar chancel rail, pulpit, and the choir and vestry screens are done in sassafras wood. The pews are executed in ash, chestnut and sassafras woods, making altogether quite a unique and beautiful combination. The church property is valued at $18,000. The congregation was organized 1879 by Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer of Philadelphia, who served them as pastor for nearly one year until his removal to Chicago, when Mr. J. L. Sibole, a student from the Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, took temporary charge until his ordination, June 19th, 1881, when he began to act as full pastor, which position he held until Oct. 1882. After a vacancy of four months, during which time the pulpit was supplied by the Seminary students, the present pastor, Rev. C. R. Binder, of the Senior class of the Seminary, was elected pastor, Feb. 4th, 1883. As the result of his efficient and self-sacrificing labors, the new church edifice was erected and the mission placed on a secure and permanent basis, with one hundred and sixty-six communicant members and two hundred and fifty scholars and twenty-three teachers in the Sunday-school.—Pennsylvania Synod.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHRIST CHURCH, TRENTON.

This church was organized July 1st, 1869 by Rev. A. H. Bartholomew, during whose pastorate the present church edifice was erected in 1872. It is located on Greenwood avenue, between South Broad and Jackson streets. It is a neat Gothic stone structure with seating capacity of 200. The membership is 165 with a Sunday-school of 175 members. The following pastors have served the church: Rev. A. H. Bartholomew, 1869–1874; Rev. E. L. Reed, 1874–1875; Rev. J. C. Baum, 1875–1881;

Rev. J. H. Harpster, 1882–1885; Rev. Charles R. Trowbridge, 1885–1888; Rev. H. E. Ebeling, 1888–1889; Rev. C. M. Aurand, 1890–1892; Rev. Clarence A. Eyler, present pastor. The church property is valued at $10,000.—Synod of New York and New Jersey.

GRACE LUTHERAN CHURCH, PHILLIPSBURG.

This church was organized in 1869 by Rev. Prof. M. H. Richards, D. D., of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

The church is located on Main street below Stockton. It stands on the rear end of the lot, leaving sufficient space in front of it for the erection of a larger and more substantial church building, whenever the congregation is ready to erect one. The present church is a neat frame structure with a seating capacity of 400, and an annex for the accommodation of the infant Sunday-school and the week day meetings. The following pastors have served this congregation: Rev. M. H. Richards, D. D., 1869–1872; Rev. W. O. Cornman, 1872–1873; Rev. R. F. Weidner, D. D., 1873–1878; Rev. J. W. Mattern, 1878–1882; Rev. G. D. Bernheim, D. D., 1883–1892, when the present pastor, Rev. Joseph Stump, took charge. The present membership numbers 258 communicants and 35 officers and teachers, and 300 scholars in the Sunday-school. The church property is valued at $8,000.—Pennsylvania Synod.

CHURCH OF THE ATONEMENT, ASBURY PARK.

From the *Lutheran* we learn that "the congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Atonement, at Asbury Park, N. J., organized Dec. 4th, (1892), in the lecture room of the church, by the adoption of a constitution and the election of six deacons. Rev Dr. H. E. Jacobs installed the officers during the evening service. The congregation has 30 members, a Sunday School of about 60, and has paid for in full its new church complete, valued at $3,000; it has also a very active and flourishing Ladies' Aid Society, and, although yet without a pastor, seems united and growing."—Pennsylvania Synod.

GRACE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, NEWARK.

This is the name of a new English organization, formed in

1888. On Jan. 20th, of this year, Dr. Krotel, of New York, preached to a small congregation of Lutherans in Library Hall. An organization was formed chiefly through the efforts of Mr. J. F. Kothi, an energetic layman. Different ministers supplied the new organization with preaching until Oct., 1888, when Rev. A. M. Weber was elected first pastor, and served the church from Jan., 1889 to April, 1890. Supplies were then furnished for a time by students from Mt. Airy Seminary, until Jan. 1891, when Rev. J. C. Gardner took charge and remained until Aug. 1892. Since then supplies have been furnished by different ministers and students. Services are still held in Library Hall, 870 Broad St. This enterprise is a praiseworthy movement to establish the first English Lutheran church in Newark. It, at present, numbers about 60 members, with a Sunday School of 6 teachers and 50 scholars.—New York Ministerium.

CHRIST ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH, BRIDGETON.

This church was organized in 1891 by the Rev. J. Eugene Dietterick, who, at this time, was pastor of the Friesburg church, nine miles from Bridgeton. For several months Pastor Dietterick preached in the afternoon in Bridgeton until in Oct. 1891, when he moved into the town and since then has given his whole time to this mission. In 1892 they erected a pretty frame church, which is centrally located, and will seat over three hundred persons. The church property is valued at $6,200. The present membership is 60 with fair prospects for growth.—Synod of East Pennsylvania.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY.

This congregation was organized in the year 1889 by the Rev. Ashmead Schaeffer, of Philadelphia, who conducted services in different halls until 1892 when a lot was purchased, 50x100 feet, at the corner of Pacific and Michigan avenues, for $7,000. The corner-stone was laid June 8th, 1892, and now they have a finished structure, neat and churchly in appearance, a credit to the Lutheran church. The basement is of brick and the upper part of wood. The main audience room will seat about 250 persons, and the Sunday School room about 100.

The present membership is about 40, with 30 or 40 in the Sunday School. This church and the Church of the Atonement, at Asbury Park, are the only Lutheran churches at the summer resorts on the Jersey coast. Rev. J. A. Kunkelman, D. D., is the present pastor.

LUTHERAN CHURCH, MODERN GERMAN.

Among the many thousands of Germans who have immigrated to this country during the last fifty years, not an inconsiderable number have made their homes within the borders of New Jersey. Inasmuch as many of these are Lutheran, as we might naturally expect, we find among them German Lutheran churches. These churches are mostly found in Protestants cities and large villages of the State, and represent at least four different Synods.

ST. MATTHEW'S, JERSEY CITY.

Organized by Rev. C. Vossidle in 1860. In 1862 Rev. J. A. Bungeroth was elected pastor and served the church until his death, in 1866. His successor was George Ewk, who was pastor until his death, in 1881. Since this time the present pastor, J. Peterson, has had charge of the congregation. The church is a frame building and is valued at $10,000. The number of communicants is 839, with 564 scholars and 42 teachers in the Sunday School and a Parochial school with 2 teachers and 90 scholars. This church belongs to the New York Ministerium.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN ZION CHURCH, JERSEY CITY.

This church was organized in 1867 by Rev. G. Ewk. The church, which is a frame building with brick basement, for school and Sunday School, is 33x50 feet, with tower and bell and organ. It was erected in 1868 and is valued at $5,000. They also have a parsonage valued at $2,000. The following pastors have served this congregation: Geo. Ewk, 1867–68; R. Wrage from 1868–69; C. Kuehn, 1869–70; E. Muelder, 1870–71; P. Schoener, 1871–73; who was succeeded by the Rev. G. Burkhard, the present pastor, Sept. 28, 1873. This

church numbers 328 communicants, with 312 scholars and 20 teachers in the Sunday School.—New York Ministerium.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT, NEWARK.

This church was organized in 1846. The church building was erected about 1780, and purchased by the congregation in 1847, and rebuilt in 1869. The present value of the church property is estimated at $25,000. This church during a part of its history was connected with the Reformed Dutch church. The following pastors have served the church: Rev. Julius Rose, 1847–'48; F. M. Serenbetz, 1848–'49; F. W. Lehlbach, 1849–'75. Rev. G. Schambach the present pastor has served the church since 1875. Present membership 250; Sunday-school 300 scholars and 26 teachers. Rev. Lehlbach on his death bed called together the officers of the church and had them promise that the congregation should never be connected with any synod or other ecclesiastical body, and hence the church is independent. The pastor is a member of the New York and New Jersey Synod.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, ELIZABETH.

This church was organized in the year 1858, by the Rev. Mr. Wirz. The church building, which is a frame structure 30 x 70 feet with school house adjoining, was erected 1858 and enlarged 1870, and is valued at $8,500. The following pastors have labored in this congregation: Rev. Wirz, 1858–'59; Pastor Münicke, 1860–'61; Rev. Manz, 1861–'63; Rev. Reichenbecher, 1863–'67; Rev. Stücklin, 1867–'83; since then the present pastor, Rev. C. G. Fischer. Present membership 500; Sunday-school, 46 officers and teachers and 507 scholars; Parochial school one teacher and 50 scholars.—New York Ministerium.

ZION'S CHURCH, RAHWAY.

Organized June 5th, 1874 by Dr. Thomas Heishmana, who served the church from 1874–'76; Rev. Amandus Volgnarts served the congregation from 1876–77 when he was succeeded by the Rev. Athanasius Stuckert, who was pastor from 1877–85; Rev. R. Luehrs from 1885–86. The present pas-

tor, Rev. J. Mehrtens, took charge 1887. The church is a handsome frame building with brick basement 36x56 feet. There is also on the church lot a neat two-story frame parsonage altogether valued at $7,000. The membership numbers 57 communicants, with 10 teachers and 50 scholars in Sunday School. The church is connected with the New York Ministerium.

ST. JOHNS, PHILLIPSBURG.

Organized in 1875 by Rev. R. F. Weidner, D. D. A new church was built on the S. E. corner of Chambers and Fulton Sts. This is a frame building 35x60. It was dedicated Oct. 15, 1876. A convenient parsonage was built on the church lot in 1883. The whole church property is valued at $9,000. The following pastors have served this congregation: Rev. R. F. Weidner, D. D. 1875–78. He was succeeded by Rev. Herman Eggars, who, during the War of the Rebellion, was pastor of a German congregation in Nashville, Tenn., while the city was occupied by the Confederates. At a meeting of the General Synod in 1862, he remarked that he was "the only minister in Nashville who dared pray for the President of the U. S., and the reason he dared do it was because he prayed in German and the Rebels couldn't understand German, but the Lord could." A delegation from this Synod was sent to Washington to convey patriotic resolutions to the President, when the Rev. Dr. Pohlman, a member of the delegation told this anecdote of Pastor Eggars to President Lincoln, which he greatly enjoyed. Afterward, at the dedication of the National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, Dr. Pohlman again met Mr. Lincoln, when he accosted him with, "The Lord understands German." Pastor Eggars served St. Johns from 1878 until his sudden death by accident in 1879, when Rev. Thos. Steck became pastor. He was succeeded in 1885 by Rev. O. D. Bartholomew, the present pastor. Communicants 289, Sunday-school, 22 teachers and 141 scholars. Services are conducted in German and English.—Pennsylvania Synod.

CHRIST CHURCH, CRAMER HILL, CAMDEN COUNTY,

was organized in 1887. A neat Gothic two-story frame church was erected in 1887 on Sherman Avenue, N. Cramer Hill, a suburb of Camden. The church has a beautiful organ and a bell in the tower. It will seat about 300 persons, and is valued at $6,000. The following pastors have served the congregation: Rev. E. A. Behrens from 1887–88; Rev. C. A. Graepp, 1888–89; Rev. H. F. Offerman, 1889 to the present. This church reports 135 communicants with 170 scholars and 17 teachers in the Sunday-school. Rev. Offerman is also pastor of

ZION'S CHURCH, AT RIVERSIDE,

Burlington county, which was organized 1870, has a membership of 50 persons, and 70 scholars and 5 teachers in the Sunday-school. Church property valued at $3,000. Services in German.—Pennsylvania Synod.

CHURCH OF THE ADVENT, CORNER OF SOUTH BROAD AND MALONE STS., TRENTON.

This church was organized 1888. The church edifice is of brick 46x70, with basement for Sunday-school purposes, the whole heated by steam. It is valued at $12,000. Rev. J. Heissler, who became pastor 1889, is the present and only pastor of the church. Number of communicants, 201; Sunday-school scholars, 250; teachers, 28. German.—Synod of Pennsylvania.

ST. JOHN'S, BRIDGETON, CUMBERLAND COUNTY,

corner of Oak and Giles Sts., was organized by Rev. C. T. W. Sigelon 1858. The congregation worshiped in different halls in the city until the erection of their present church which was dedicated Sept. 26th, 1869. This is a neat edifice 30x50 and will seat about 350 persons, and cost $5,500. The following pastors have served this congregation: Rev. Sigelon was succeeded 1858 by Rev. A. Schubert until June 1859; Rev. I. Leonhart Rau 1861; then Rev. Jacob Backstahler 1862–67, who was followed by Rev. D. P. Rosenmiller from 1867–69. He was followed for a few months by Rev. L. W. Heidenreich.

He was succeeded by Rev. Geo. W. Enders, 1869–73; Rev. R. H. Clare 1874–77; Rev. F. A. Conradi, 1877–80; Rev. Charles Wooge 1880—81. The church was now vacant for a year and a half, when the Rev. Thos. Steck became pastor 1883–90. Membership about 175 with 60 scholars and 15 teachers in Sunday-school. Service in German and English.—Independent.

ST. PAUL'S OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, BAYONNE CITY.

Was organized 1877, by pastor Frinke, of Port Richmond, Staten Island. The church, which is a frame building, with tower 70 feet high, was erected 1877. There is also connected with the church a school house and parsonage, altogether valued at $8,000. The bell and pipe organ cost $3,000. Number of communicants 500, with two teachers and 70 scholars in the parochial and Sunday-school. The first regular pastor was Rev. A. Pechtold, from 1878–'82. He was succeeded by the present pastor Rev. F. W. Holls.—Missouri Synod.

ST. PAUL'S, PATERSON,

was organized 1867 by Rev. H. Walker. They have a neat church building erected in 1870, which, with the parsonage, is valued at $7,000. The membership numbers 243 with a parochial school and one teacher and 70 scholars. The following pastors have served the congregation: Rev. H. Walker, 1866–74; Rev. A. Broemer, 1874–79; Rev. H. C. W. Steckholz, 1879 to the present.—Missouri Synod.

TRINITY, GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, CAMDEN.

This church is on Stephens St., between Fifth and Broadway. It is a Gothic brown-stone structure 40x60 feet, with steeple of 80 feet. The altar is in the centre recess, pulpit on one side, and baptismal font on the other. It also has a fine organ built by H. Knauff, of Philadelphia, and secured for the church in 1883. In 1872 the building was remodeled at a cost of $3,000. A parochial school house was built in the rear of the church in 1865 and is now used for that purpose on week days and for infant class on Sunday. This church after which several others, here and elsewhere, have been modeled is valued at $15,000.

The congregation was organized in 1857 by Rev. F. Herold who served it until 1865 when he was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. J. C. Dizinger. The membership numbers 500 communicants and 250 scholars and 25 teachers in the Sunday-school.—Pennsylvania Synod.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, JERSEY CITY.

This church is situated on the corner of St. Paul's and Summit avenues. It is a two-story brick building 45x65 feet with a tower 128 feet high. The property is valued at $25,000. This church was organized by the present pastor, Rev. Athenasius Stuckert, Nov. 23, 1884. Present membership 299 communicants, and 400 scholars and 40 teachers in Sunday-school. This church is connected with the New York Ministerium.

HOLY TRINITY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

This church was organized in 1874 as the result of a split in St. John's Lutheran church, in the same neighborhood. A vacant Mission Chapel, located at No. 66 Bowers St., was bought, and the Rev. Mr. Höck, heretofore pastor of St. John's, was called as its first regular minister. At the end of six weeks he accepted a call to another field, leaving the new and struggling mission without a pastor. After five months vacancy, in Jan. 1875, the congregation called Rev. J. C. Gressling who served the church less than a year, when he was succeeded by Rev. Ernst Ide, who was pastor until Sept. 1879. Up to this time the organization had made but little progress, and the outlook was very discouraging when the present energetic and self-sacrificing pastor, Rev. R. A. Hafer, took charge of the congregation. He entered upon his work here in the autumn of 1879, and at the end of 13 years of faithful service, he to-day has the satisfaction of ministering to an entirely reorganized congregation, characterized by a spirit of peace and harmony, and of hearty devotion to duty. He has the satisfaction of worshiping with his people in a beautiful new church, furnished with a fine pipe organ, which alone is valued at $3,000.

This church is located at Nos. 66 and 68 Bowers St., Jersey

City Heights. It is of brick with granite trimmings and slate roof and steeple. Seating capacity, 400. A novel feature of the corner-stone laying was, that among the different addresses delivered on that occasion, one was by Leon Abbett, Governor of New Jersey, and another by Mayor Cleveland of Jersey City. The interior of the church is finished in light colors, the wood work being of ash with cherry trimmings. The beautifully carved altar furniture was a gift from St. James church, New York. The windows are all stained glass representing different scenes in our Saviour's life. The estimated value of the church, exclusive of the lots, is $30,000; total $33,000. Membership 200, with 250 scholars and 30 teachers in the Sunday-school.—New York and New Jersey Synod.

ST. PAUL'S, MILLVILLE, CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

This church was organized, from best accounts, in 1850. They have a very comfortable little church, seating about 200, and a beautiful parsonage. The following pastors have served this church: Rev. W. Doernbach until 1858; Rev. J. Backstahler from 1863–67; Rev. C. F. Welden, 1868–71; Rev. J. Leonberger and J. Fritz, 1872–75; Rev. Geo. F. Miller, 1878–83; Rev. A. B. J. Graepp, 1885–88; Rev. A. J. Heissler 1888–91, when the present pastor, Rev. O. W. Fischer, took charge of the congregation. The membership numbers 105 communicants, and a Sunday-school with 80 scholars and 12 teachers. The morning church service is in the German language, and the evening service in the English.—Pennsylvania Synod.

ST. MATTHEW'S, WEST HOBOKEN.

This church is located on the corner of Clinton and High Point avenues. It is a two-story frame building 30x60 with steeple 75 feet. The ground floor is used for Sunday and parochial school. The main audience room has a seating capacity of 300, a gallery and pipe organ. The church was erected in 1889. This congregation had its origin in 1889. At this time a number of Germans in and near Union Hill, formed the purpose to begin divine service. They succeeded in securing supplies from several ministers in New York and New Jersey who conducted

religious services in a rented hall. In the meantime, in 1889, Rev. E. Bohm became the regular pastor, under whose ministry the new church was built. Mr. Bohm was succeeded in 1890 by the present pastor, Rev. R. W. Heintze, a recent graduate from the St. Louis, Mo., Seminary. They have a parochial school with 52 scholars and 180 scholars in the Sunday-school. —Missouri Synod.

TRINITY CHURCH, TRENTON.

The early history of this church is somewhat obscure owing to the destruction, by fire, of the records prior to 1851. The present organization was by Rev. A. J. Geissenhainer, who, in 1851, sold the congregation a church built by him from private funds. In 1876 this church was taken down, and the present church erected in its place. The church is on Broad St., built of brick, and will seat 1100 persons. Adjoining the church, facing on Cooper St., is the parochial school-house. This church property is valued at $15,000. The following pastors have served the congregation: A. J. Geissenhainer, 1851–57; G. F. Gardner, 1857–72; J. Zentner, 1873–85, when the present pastor, Rev. R. Gerlach, began his ministry in this field. The membership embraces 900 communicants, 400 Sunday-school scholars and 39 teachers, and parochial school with one teacher and 70 pupils.—Pennsylvania Synod.

ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, HOBOKEN.

This church was formerly connected with a Dutch Reformed classis, although the members were Lutherans. In 1891 it was reorganized by the present pastor, Rev. John Heck, as a Lutheran church. The church is located on the corner of Third and Bloomfield Sts., and is valued at $22,000. They have a parochial and a Sunday-school with 260 scholars. Communicant members, 200.—Missouri Synod.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH AT CLOSTER, BERGEN COUNTY.

There is at this place a small German organization of 24 communicant members under the pastoral care of Rev. G. Schild, of the Missouri Synod.

EMANUEL CHURCH, NEW BRUNSWICK.

This congregation was organized in July 1878 by the Rev. W. Berkenmeier, of New York. The church building is on the corner of Newman and Kirkpatrick Sts. It is a brick building 38x64, with a tower 75 feet high. They have a bell and good organ. Property is valued at $15,000. The present pastor, Rev. J. A. Dewald, has served the church from its organization, or from Sept. 1878. Membership communicants, 200; Sunday-school scholars, 140 and 18 teachers.—New York Ministerium.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, PASSAIC.

This church was organized by some members of the first Conference of the New York Ministerium in 1891. Rev. Rudolf Haessner, the present pastor, who took charge of the organization in 1892, is the first and only settled pastor. They have not yet secured a church building. They number 88 communicants with 25 scholars and 3 teachers in the Sunday-school.—New York Ministerium.

ST. JOHN'S, JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

Organized by Rev. Wosidlo, of Hoboken, in 1868. A small church was built in 1869. In 1873 a larger and more commodious church was erected on Summit avenue, corner of North St., at an expense of $10,780. In order to meet the wants of the rapidly increasing Sunday-school, a few years ago the church was raised and the Sunday-school room enlarged. The church is heated by steam, has a fine new organ and two bells in the tower. The first regular pastor was Rev. Maschopp who served the church from 1869–71; Rev. Busch from 1871–72; Rev. R. Hoeck 1872–74, when he started another congregation, which is now under the pastoral care of Rev. Hafer. Rev. Th. Maas was the next pastor, from 1874–83; Rev. L. Lemhueis followed, from 1883–85; from 1885–91 the church was served by the Rev. Dr. Moldenke, who was then succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. J. C. R. Lührs. Communicants, 542; Sunday-school scholars, 1100; teachers, 95; value of church property, $40,000.—New York Ministerium.

ZION'S CHURCH, EGG HARBOR CITY, ATLANTIC COUNTY.

This church was organized in 1859 by the Rev. C. A. Fritze under whose ministry the congregation secured a block of land as a building lot for the church, from the Gloucester Farm and Town Association, and initiatory steps were taken for building a church, when pastor Fritze resigned. At this juncture, while considering the question of electing a new pastor, an unfortunate split occurred in the congregation—the larger part seceding and going to the Reformed church. Under these discouraging circumstances the building of the new church was delayed until 1868, when the present church was erected on Philadelphia Avenue, between Beethoven and Berger Sts. This church is built of brick 30x52 feet. It is furnished with a good organ, and adjoining the church is a comfortable parsonage. The following pastors have served the congregation: C. A. Fritze, 1860–61; C. F. Richter, 1866–70; Chr. G. Hiller, 1870–74; Pastor Frank, 1875–79; Pastor Vollquarty, 1881–82; Rev. Causse, 1884–85; H. M. Bähr, 1886–87; H. Nippe, 1888–91, when the present pastor, Geo. von Bosse, took charge. The present membership is: communicants 81; Sunday-school scholars 120; teachers 12. Value of church property $6,000.—Pennsylvania Synod.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH, FOLSOM, CAMDEN COUNTY.

This congregation was organized in 1848. The first church was built in 1852. For several years the church was supplied by pastors from Camden. The first regular minister was the Rev. C. F. Suri, under whose ministry a new and larger church was built and rededicated in 1871. The successors of pastor Suri are Weber, Leonberger, Ander, Behrens and von Bosse, who has served this church for the past two years in connection with his church at Egg Harbor City. The membership is: Communicants, 39; Sunday-school scholars 20, and 4 teachers. Church property valued at $1,500.—Pennsylvania Synod.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF RICHFIELD, PASSAIC COUNTY.

This church was organized in 1886 by the Rev. H. C. Steckholz, of Paterson. The same year they erected their church

edifice. A few years later they built quite a large house. The greater part of the first floor is used as a school-room and the remainder is occupied by the pastor and his family. The first regular pastor was Rev. J. C. Kretzman, who served the church for one year, from 1887–88. The church was then supplied by students and others until 1890, when the pastor, Rev. Aug. Ebendick, Jr., took charge. This is but a small organization numbering only 17 members and 27 scholars in the parochial school where both English and German are taught. The church property is valued at $4,000.—Missouri Synod.

ST. MATTHEW'S, HOBOKEN.

This church was organized by the Rev. Karl M. Wassidlo in 1858. The church stands in a pleasant and desirable neighborhood, corner of 8th and Hudson Sts. It is built of brick with stone trimmings. It is 55x90 feet, has a steeple 150 feet high, with clock and bell. It is also furnished with a fine organ. Alongside of the church stands the substantial and commodious parsonage. Pastor Wassidlo served this congregation from 1858 until his death in 1875; Rev. H. Haferman from 1875–79. Rev. P. Eirich was pastor from 1879–90, when he was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. A. Richter. The church membership numbers 815, with 424 scholars in Sunday-school and 59 teachers. The church property is valued at $75,000.—New York Ministerium.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HALSEY ST., NEWARK.

There are two German Lutheran churches in Newark by the name of St. John. One of them is on Halsey St. and the other, corner of Court and Lincoln Sts. These churches had a common origin and remained one organization for twenty-four years. The original church was organized by Dr. Geisenhainer in 1832. Pastors L. Smith and P. Merkle each served the church for a short time. They were succeeded by Rev. Prof. J. F. Winkler, who was pastor from 1836–41, when he received a call as assistant professor in Hartwick Seminary. During his pastorate, in 1840, the first church, built of brick, was erected. He was suc-

ceeded in 1841 by pastor G. F. Maschop, of the Reformed Church, who remained here until 1855. During his administration there was an unfortunate split in the congregation. He endeavored to take the church from the New York Ministerium to the Buffalo Synod, which involved the church in a long litigation, the result of which was that the N. Y. Ministerium party held the church. Rev. H. Raegener was pastor for a short time, when he was succeeded by Rev. C. A. Ebert, who served the church from 1856–67. During his ministry, in 1862, a new and commodious church was built on Halsey St. Pastor Ebert was followed by the present pastor, Rev. Ph. Krug, in 1867. The membership of this church numbers 335 communicants, with 25 officers and teachers, and 186 scholars in the Sunday-school.—New York Ministerium.

ST. JOHN'S, CORNER OF COURT AND LINCOLN STS., NEWARK.

When the unfortunate split occurred in the original St. John's church, under pastor Maschop, one party built a church on the corner of Court and Lincoln Sts. Their first pastor, as a separate congregation, was Rev. Türk, who served the church from 1856–67. His successor was pastor Heiner, from 1867–69, when the present pastor, Rev. W. Rieb, was called to this field. The church building is 40x80 feet with steeple and bell, which with the parsonage, is valued at $25,000. This church has 600 communicants, and 25 officers and teachers and 400 scholars in the Sunday-school. It also has a parochial school with one teacher and 80 scholars.—Pennsylvania Synod.

ST. PAUL'S, HAINESPORT, BURLINGTON COUNTY.

This church stands between Mount Holly and Hainesport. It is a frame building, erected in 1874, and dedicated by Rev. Dr. Mann, of Philadelphia. The congregation was organized by Rev. Dr. C. F. Welden in 1867, but the church building was erected under the efficient ministry of Mr. Charles Muench, then a student in the Philadelphia Seminary. The following pastors have also served the congregation: Hoffman, Voigt, A. T. Geissenhainer, Anders and C. Drechsler. Membership 150 and

40 scholars and 8 teachers in Sunday-school.—Pennsylvania Synod.

WOODBURY EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

This is a plain frame building located in the southern part of the town, without tower or bell. This congregation was for a time served by a Presbyterian pastor, and was known as a Presbyterian church, but it has been reorganized as the "German Evangelical Lutheran Church." The congregation was served for a time by the Rev. P. Warnecke. The Rev. P. Offermann, of North Cramer Hill, also supplied the congregation. There are about 15 paying members and 40 scholars in the Sunday-school. The church property is valued at $2,500. This church and the one at Hainesport are served by the same pastor. The whole pastorate is a mission of the Pennsylvania Synod.

LUTHERAN CHURCH, SCANDINAVIAN.

According to the last census there were in New Jersey sixteen organizations of Scandinavian Lutherans and a number have been organized since. Of these two are in Bergen county, three in Hudson, two in Morris, one in Passaic, five in Middlesex, two in Union, and one in Warren. Eight of these organizations are Danish, three are Norwegians, and five are Swedish. They number an aggregate of 1062 members and have church property valued at $10,000. The most of these organizations are of very recent date, and several of them worship in halls, not having as yet any churches of their own. These organizations represent three different synodical bodies. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, and the Augustana Synod. I have been able to locate three Norwegian organizations.

THE SCANDINAVIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATION IN HOBOKEN.

Was organized in 1890, by Rev. Everson and Saarheim, of Brooklyn. The first pastor was Sigo Gramstad, who served the church for a short time, when he was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. C. Schive, in 1892. Number of communicants 70,

with 36 scholars and 9 teachers in Sunday-school. This congregation has bought a corner lot for $2,250, but have not yet erected a church.

SCANDINAVIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN TRINITY CONGREGATION OF JERSEY CITY.

This church was organized by pastor Schive, of Hoboken, in 1891, who still serves it in connection with the Hoboken organization. The number of members is 86 and they have a Sunday-school with 37 scholars and 6 teachers. They have no church building.

OUR SAVIOUR DANISH LUTHERAN CHURCH, OF PERTH AMBOY.

This church was organized in 1868, by the Rev. A. Insel, who served the congregation until 1873, when he was succeeded by Rev. C. S. Everson, until 1889, when he was followed by the present pastor, Rev. V. B. Skov. The congregation has a frame church with seating capacity of 225, with a day-school in the rear, also a parsonage. Membership 300, value of church property, $5,000. The three organizations belong to the Norwegian Synod of America.

SUMMARY.

14 English church organizations.
29 German church organizations.
16 Scandinavian organizations.
11,388 communicants.
8516 Sunday-school scholars.
864 officers and teachers.
$364,000 value of church property.

ARTICLE III.

THE NURTURE OF THE UNCONFIRMED.

By Rev. G. W. McSherry, A. M.

We cannot as Christian people be interested too much in the nurture of the children of the Church. The Lutheran Church in some quarters is remarkably careless in regard to training the baptized youth in practical piety as its system of doctrine implies and directs. The position of the unconfirmed youth of the Church is frequently either overestimated or underestimated, which occasions a sort of hiatus in the life of the youth, on the one hand a negative and unconsecrated Christian life ensuing, or a life of merely hopeful expectation of becoming some day connected and associated with God's people, on the other.

The unconfirmed are the rising generation of the Church, who were washed in the "laver of regeneration" in which grace is offered according to the word of God and our Confession of faith. The young children and early youth of the Church are safe in the bosom of the Church in a sense in which they are not outside. Reason revolts, however, at the idea of eternal ruin engulfing the deceased children of tender years because of their not having been baptized, and the Scriptures afford a lively hope and comforting assurance in regard to their future welfare. The baptized children of immature life are as the faithful in the estimation of a good Lutheran. There must be covenant blessings in infant baptism, yet just what subjective blessings are afforded, or experienced in the infant cannot be known, but we are bound to go on the principle of its justification. Still what Martensen says about experience that should follow in advancing life of the youth, in order to make regeneration complete or effective, when he speaks of the organic or objective union with the Church of Christ, will always be heeded in the Lutheran Church.

Whatever views our people may have concerning the doc-

trine of baptism, the unconfirmed children should be impressed with the fact that by virtue of their baptism they belong to Christ and his Church.

One of the great mistakes made by some Christian people is the failure to have their baptized children acknowledge and own Christ as adult believers do. This idea in theory is becoming more and more prevalent, but practically it is rarely at work because of the lack of active Christian piety and worship in the home. In some quarters it is quite common to hear it said that the children "join church" at fourteen or sixteen years of age, whereas the union with the Church was really consummated in infancy at the altar of God in holy baptism. Baptism is the door of the Church. From the early dawn of reason the children should be imbued with the fact that they belong to Christ and the Church, and should be taught prayer and piety by precept and example. The regeneration that knows no dispute is that which moves the child to action along Christian lines of duty by the aid of Christian environment. Infant baptism without subsequent (or consequent) Christian nurture is contrary to the order of salvation.

There is scarcely a manual of liturgy and worship in any Protestant denomination in which baptismal formulas justify the injunction that the young baptized child must be converted some time in the future before it can be enrolled as Christian. Yet how frequently it is heard among Lutherans even that the unconfirmed youth must be converted before they can "join church." Of course they ought to be converted if they had not been living a life of faith. But I am now speaking of conversion in its primary and common sense. The child that lifts its soul to God in its advancing life in obedience to, and imitation of, its pious parents or sponsors, needs no conversion in the sense of turning from wilful sin, as in the case of the depraved unbeliever. The decision for Christ and Christian service has already been made; saving faith is at work; whatever the resistance to grace, it has been overcome and is being overcome. The grace offered at baptism or in baptism has become operative in its normal manner; the Holy Spirit and Christian nurture have widened

and deepened grace till the conscious personal reason and will have acquiesced. The General Synod has always taught that the salvation of the unconfirmed has its beginning in baptism (vide Gen. Syn. Catechism). Conception first and then the birth; incorporation, and inception of salvation, in infant baptism, and the new birth evidenced when the child falls in with religious activity and has a conscious knowledge and appreciation of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus * * that is the fact of the matter. It is un-Christian to be heedless about juvenile Christian training and thus to permit the child to fall away into active transgression and wilful sin in order that it may be recovered in future time for the sake of the so-called or supposed value of marked Christian experience. The stream of positive resistance, if any, to God's grace is not strong nor wide, and grace enables the child under proper nurture to cross this sinful stream, so to speak, without the violent struggle experienced in the conversion of adults widely separated from God. Child-life has been and can be sanctified from infancy, and grace can go on throughout the whole life. Samuel is a notable example. The mighty change of the new birth does not come by observation in the case of the child, and when the life gives evidence of piety and obedience to God, we should not question the existence of personal faith, but take it and improve it, and joy in it. Old Dr. A. Alexander of the Presbyterian faith, said that we must assume the young to be unregenerate until they give evidence of faith, but the Lutheran idea rather demands that we assume the unconfirmed to be regenerate until unbelief and voluntary sin are in evidence to the contrary.

The Church and parents bound by covenant obligations are the instrumentalities in God's hands in making baptismal grace operative in the life of the young, and the growing child awakens to a consciousness of its relationship to God in the Saviour. The child is thus saved all along its life from infancy up without repentance or violent conversion. Hence we see the desirability and necessity of early teaching that the child belongs to Christ and not to the world; and unless this course is pursued we stultify ourselves as a Christian and a Lutheran people. We

would have to change our theology to be consistent and the very system and genius of Lutheranism, if we did not pursue the course here indicated and in general but imperfectly followed in the Lutheran Church. The child has moral and religious faculties and feelings, and is at the most impressionable period of life, and that, too, when some species of carnal desire are naturally undeveloped or dormant. How despicable the idea that the child should be permitted to go on in an unrestrained career, and be left to itself in the matter of choosing and acting in the sphere of religion and the Church! How eminently rational and Scriptural is the idea and intended practice of our Church on this subject, if understood and not abused! Let the word go forth anew: Teach by word and deed that the unconfirmed young belong to Christ and the Church by virtue of the promise in baptism and the offered grace; that they are to heed the moral law and the gospel and learn to pray in sincerity, trusting to and in Christ for righteousness and the forgiveness of sins; that they are little Christians and must love God and pray to Jesus like big Christians, as well as practice the commands of the Saviour.

And now it is but natural to emphasize as our next point the final clause in the preceding paragraph. The unconfirmed should be taught not only by precept and example in the home and the church to be prayerful and pious, but also to do, to act, as grown-up Christians do, so far as possible, according to the measure of intelligence and ability possessed. But, alas! what lame examples are permitted to be in the Church and at the head of some departments of church work at times, from which may the good Lord and a wholesome church discipline give deliverance! The Church that teaches such grand doctrine as child-church-membership ought by all means to be concerned about having the youth actively engaged in various church duties and activities. Why should the outer not go along with the inner life? The religious sense aroused and the will energized, the conscience quickened, the personality harmonized with God, (how easily the child can be taught to say, Abba,

Father), the natural consequence is to act out these feelings and determinations in worship and consistent work.

The Lord's day and the Church and Sunday-school will have their duties attended to and improved. The children must attend regular church services with their parents. The parents and other adult members of the Church set the example and according as the example, the children of the Church will perform their part, not from mere imitation, but from a pious habit quite generally. Taught by a prayerful example to be pious and trustful in the Lord, good fruits will not be wanting. As in the ordinary Christian life many things are done, not so much from spontaneous motive and incitement as from exhortation, so the youth of the Church must be exhorted and lovingly remonstrated with, when necessary, the fulminations of the law not being overlooked. Parents must at times be overstrict in regard to some external duties. On plain points of conduct and clearly defined duties we must insist, ever being mindful, however, that old heads belong not to youth. The general, easily apprehended duties must receive attention especially, while many minor things may be overlooked for the present to a large extent, for to be too precise and strict about things not essential to the Christian life but prejudices the young against religion, or may pervert them into young Pharisees.

The young should be cautioned against the pernicious and sinful practice of hypocrisy, or regular church external life without good character. It is one of the sad and singular tendencies of the day to have a "form of godliness" while the life is in various ways engrossed in doubtful pleasures, or warped by dishonest business transactions. Sin permitted or abetted or connived at by church members is flagrant sin in God's sight. The girdles of sincerity and truth should be wound about the youth.

As the learned agriculturist has urged the farmer to let his boy have a personal interest in some things on the farm, so it is a good thing to let the children have a moneyed interest in missions and other work of the Church by permitting them to

have or to earn in some way a little money, part of which at least can be devoted to such ends. Work in the young people's societies should be encouraged. Public speech must not be made the test of piety or religion. Willing hearts to work and pray in public have general appreciation, and yet what vanity has been observed in some of those who are active in forms of this kind of Christian service. Yet, notwithstanding some abuses of public work in the Church, push the youth prudently into the various activities of Christian work. The naturally cautious or timid must be encouraged to be active, but, above all, the youth of the Church must be made to understand that truth, purity, character, love to God and man are the things of supreme importance.

Parents should ever inculcate in their children a high esteem for the gospel ministry. The pastor should be upheld in the presence of the youth as long as he has character to hold his post. How unwise for parents to quibble about any faults, fancied or true, that appear in the pastor, within hearing of the children, to say nothing of such weakness manifested at any time.

The unconfirmed dealt with prudently and patiently and prayerfully will as a rule attend cheerfully the catechism class, and as it should be more frequently a larger *per centum* of the youth would be professors of religion in a hopeful sense during the years of training preparatory to confirmation. The notion of putting off being religious until time to "join church," this idea even of some ministers of the gospel, that the young are to be understood as just new born when they are received into full communion with the Church, ought to be exploded; it is out of harmony with the genius of Lutheranism and Christianity. The normal idea is that the unconfirmed children grow up practical believers, and the notion that the new birth is contemporaneous with the day of confirmation or its season, is applicable only to the converts of the season, those recovered as covenant-breakers or brought in, as it were, out of the gentile world. Do not even some of our learned Lutheran pens slip a little, and thus leave a wrong impression in our church papers when

writing on, or reporting, the newly confirmed? The impression has often been made that now here are young people who, for the first time in their lives, are professors of religion and "babes in Christ" whom we are to cherish, which is true in many cases, (in most cases often), but should be true only in the sense of the public profession, *formal*, *public* profession of regeneration or conversion, or of faith. The more mere "babes" confirmed the worse for the system of child-church-membership, we are emboldened to remark, and yet we can appreciate the real truth, that we have a class of young church members who need our love and prayers. The family and the Church have their babes in the Lord a term of years before the time of their confirmation, if the family and the Church only knew the fact better, and the institution of the Christian Church. Whilst the young church members in full communion can be called the lambs of the flock, it is in a more perfect sense that we can apply this endearing term to the youthful unconfirmed. Paul speaks of those long standing (perhaps) church members (1 Cor. 3 : 1, 2) as babes, and chides them for their carnal strife from sense that even the young children of the Church are some times to be regarded as among the "strong in the Lord". The reason why we do not have more of these young unconfirmed Christians who know more about faith and prayer than many of our elders and deacons and trustees, we might almost asseverate, who pose in some of our congregations sometimes, is because our church people do not patiently and prayerfully study and practice plain Lutheranism and plain revelation.

Practice of the gospel precepts to the young should be the struggle forth of saving faith, as it were, into the light of day. The parents, pastor, and Church should do like the ancient philosopher, Socrates, who endeavored, in imitation of his midwife mother, to assist into expression and life the thoughts of his disciples. As he followed the divinity within him, and sometimes innocently feigned ignorance so as to draw out those whom he would lead into the right way of thinking and living, and catechized them, so parents and others must draw out and nurture faith in the unconfirmed, while *their* divinity is conscientiously

followed day after day. But the religious atmosphere or environment in the sense of active Christian worship and life is more important than much pious talk and garrulous correction which tend to disgust rather than to edify the young.

Christian worship should by no means be wanting in the Christian home. The absence of this from the family circle is one of the causes of irreligion in the young and the reason why so much otherwise excellent training fails of direct results. Gentle efforts should be made to have the children take active part in religious exercises in the home. The negative moral correction and restraint must be supplemented by the services at the family altar. How can we expect the youth to grow up in the faith of our noble Christianity in the household where instead of prayer and quite frequent spiritual intercourse we have the fashionable card table, the "home dance," the social wine glass, and other forms of pleasure-seeking? And yet we have many leaders in forms of church work who affect to be able to divide this hair of the amusement and pleasure problem "betwixt south and south-west side." The well-ordered Christian home is not a negative thing as to religion and a positive one as to worldly pleasures.

As the good mother cares for the garden, so she ought to rear the little human plants growing up in the family. The weeds are removed from the fertilized and spaded garden plots and the ravages of hen and worm and blight guarded against. Ah, yes, the mother, how much depends upon her prudent religious solicitude with whom the early life of the offspring comes into continual contact! Some of us seem now to hear our mothers' warnings and admonitions, our mothers' tender, devout, and trust-breathing prayers. And our fathers, too, how they trod the narrow way in faith and prayer amid toil and trials and sought to win us from devious ways and keep us within the pale of the Christian covenant!

"Spare the rod and spoil the child," is a warning not to be ignored. But "severities often work an effect quite contrary to that which was intended." As children at school will be turned against education if it be cruelly forced upon them, so the same

brought "to piety and goodness by unreasonable strictness and rigor," become prejudiced and disgusted against religion, and they learn, as Erasmus says, "to hate virtue at the same time that they teach them to know it." (Tillotson).

In the next and last place we must not fail to observe that there are always some of the unconfirmed to be found spiritually incorrigible who sometimes in apparently irresponsible years manifest unmistakable evidence of unregenerate life and character. Whilst there will likely be a difference of opinion as to how such should be regarded and treated as included in the covenant relationship, we think a discrimination wholesome in a not impracticable way. Some in the Lutheran and other communions incline to regard the work of spiritual transformation completely wrought in infant baptism in such a crass* sense as to permit the parental nurture to be more or less ignored, while others incline too much, from the same cause likely, to confirm in a wholesale manner, advocating the idea that all the youth who appear for confirmation must be received without question.

It is certainly incongruous and improper to make no distinction at all between the pious obedient child and the manifestly profane or immoral one—both being children of the baptismal covenant. We owe a distinction for the sake of the truth and a justification of the faithful one. It is necessary in the interest of vital piety; it is necessary to avoid bringing contempt upon the Church, and to make room for the preaching of the law in one of its loftiest aspects. There are nearly always wicked (and some youthful) sinners in the congregation whom the thunders of God's wrath should reach and alarm just as much as any corrupt heathen that stand isolated from the covenant people.

The recalcitrant and unbelieving boy or girl must be taught that the covenant made in holy baptism is being broken, and that danger is at the door; that God is angry with the sinner, but yearns to have him repent and forsake his evil way. The moral law must be applied with vigor. The youth of to-day

*Two distinct views of regeneration obtain in our church, one looking at the Holy Spirit as *working* ("activity"), the other, at the wrought out spiritual *result.*

have an early knowledge of truth and falsehood, piety and profanity, right and wrong. If children can love God young, and serve him acceptably, they can also do the opposite young, and expose themselves to the wrath of God, even as the children, idolatrous youths likely, of old time were torn by the bears for maltreatment of God's prophet. Because of carelessness in regard to Christian nurture of the young, many more children grow up in some quarters without the true Christian consciousness and consecration to the service of God, than those who have such standing, yet many have doubtless a negative sort of Christian life which still affords hope of better things to come, for saved from evil habits largely and open to spiritual conviction, they are sooner or later gathered in by special instruction or evangelistic effort. Yet we are justified in applying the church discipline to cases among the unconfirmed, and in love the covenant breakers must be warned and threatened, wooed and pleaded with,* until they either are recovered to penitence and true faith, or backslide into confirmed voluntary sinners.

The question arises in this connection, what can be the *practical* worth of theological distinctions made by some Lutheran divines in regard to conversion? Hutter, according to Schmid, speaks of three kinds of conversion. The conversion of the lapsed is one thing and that of the unregenerate another; the conversion in its secondary and "broad" sense, still another. (Hay and Jacobs ed., pp. 477-8), Gerberding in his "The Way of Salvation" speaks of those fallen from grace as still receptive as compared with those never regenerated, which is true, with qualification. But the sinners of one kind can become hopelessly hardened as well as those of the other class, (Heb. 6). In regard to the unconfirmed profane youth of mature years, we have no hope to extend to them beyond that offered to any sinner, for the call to all sinners is on one and the same condition of repentance and faith. Still the proclamation of God's faithfulness, as to his part of the covenant, will appeal to the lapsed in a sense in which the mercy of God might not to those separated entirely from the covenant. And yet the sins of the

*As the prophets warned, and pleaded with, Israel.

covenant breaker can no more be condoned than those of the other, but in one sense can be rather charged as peculiarly flagrant in the case of the unconfirmed, if advanced into adult age especially. It would be for the best to overlook dinstinctions of this kind, and, as we go on the principle of regeneration in dealing with the young and maturing children of the Church, so we should go, in practical religious work, on the principle of non-regeneration in the case of the older and disobedient children; for to avoid calling the lapsed unregenerate,* is simply to lay one-self open to the charge of teaching a partial regeneration in a far more culpable sense than in holding of "partial regeneration," or "incomplete regeneration," or "potential regeneration," in infant baptism. The conversion, then, of the wicked adult, whether once regenerated or not, whether baptized or not, should be demanded without the refinement of distinction in the term, for the wicked unconfirmed person needs no less a radical change of heart than any other sinner, and surely cannot be called any better spiritually, than the other, nor should he be encouraged to prize himself on his connection with the covenant people, for the connection is broken, nor to think he has commendation to God's favor beyond the other. Grace is freely offered to all.

Then let the ministry and laity note that the children of the Church must not be regarded as part of the sinful world; that confirmation is not to take the place of baptism as the time or means, as it were, of introduction into the Church; that the unconfirmed must be led on by precept and example to early piety in the belief that covenant and justifying grace is in possession of the child, and that the child must not be made to believe that it needs to be accepted of the Lord in future time: that now they are young Christians and should live as the faithful confirmed according to their best ability by the help of God. We are to note also and inculcate that there is danger in wilful sin—the covenant can be broken—and that the lapsed are to be treated as ordinary unregenerate sinners practically.

*Here Gerberding is austere with the unbaptized adult, and too lenient with the *lapsed.*

ARTICLE IV.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION ON THE THEORY OF ETHICS.

By Rev. M. H. Valentine, A. M.

Ethics, as the sphere where personality comes to the exercise of its highest prerogatives, has always been deeply affected by its philosophical presuppositions. The dualism of Plato and his view of the state as the incarnation of the only real morality, conditioning, producing and sustaining the morality of the individual, come to the surface again and again in his theory of morals, shaping it at last into the fantastic conceptions of the Republic. Underlying Spinoza's philosophy, and the constructive principle of it, is his pantheistic world-theory. There is no world objective to and outside of God, but the universe is simply the substance of God taking shape in the form of his two sole attributes, extension and thought. The logic of this antecedent postulate, when the sphere of morals is reached, is inevitable. It issues in a rigorous determinism, the idea of freedom, or power of alternative choice, being a mere delusion. Locke's philosophy is empirical. The mind cannot create; it has no ideal contents. Its data are furnished solely through the sense-perceptions. We know what we know by experience. The effect of this presupposition on ethics is plain. The mind does not intuit right and wrong; it knows only sensations, what we call conscience being thus merely a feeling of the pleasurable or its opposite.

In view of the fact, thus illustrated, that philosophical conceptions run their influence right on into the sphere of morals, the question raised by the subject of this discussion becomes exceedingly interesting and important. For, the influence of the evolutionary hypothesis on scientific and philosophical thought generally is unquestioned. In certain directions it has wrought revolution. In physics the study of molecular action

has superseded the study of bodies in the three forms of solids, liquids and gases, because these are now recognized, not as distinct and ultimate substances, but as the forms that all substances assume, the variations being determined by the degrees of heat. In biology the effort is no longer directed to finding and emphasizing the variations in the forms of plant and animal life, but to tracing the variations back to a single root. "What before were treated as separate creations, co-existing *ab initio*, range themselves as the successive stages and manifold ramifications of one stock." In psychology the tendency is to study mind, emotion, will, not so much on the basis of what they are, as known in conciousness, as on the basis of how they have come to be. A theory so influential, and that has changed radically so many conceptions formerly entertained concerning both the inorganic and the organic worlds, and that postulates for man another mode of origin than that generally subsumed under the old ethics, well deserves to have its bearings studied at the point where personality acts its most august role. Are the modifications which this theory compels us to make, as many as antecedently we might have expected? Are they material? If not, why not?

In our attempts to answer these questions it is imperative that we distinguish between two forms of the evolutionary theory, for they severally conduct us to widely divergent conclusions. With one of them it seems impossible to reconcile any theory of ethics that proposes to deal seriously and frankly with the contents of the moral nature. With the other we believe that ethics can come to friendly terms, as there is nothing in its fundamental presuppositions, nor in the certified scientific facts underlying it, that does violence to the undoubted verities of our moral nature.

We turn, then, to the first of these, the theory of materialistic evolution, a theory that, with Haeckel and Tyndall, posits the potency of all things in matter. Of this matter atoms are the ultimate and eternal form, and by their interaction, moving according to inherent forces, all forms of existence have been

gradually and progressively wrought out, including human life, consciousness, reason, and the moral insight that discerns duty and binds men to obey its behests. This theory is confronted by the gravest difficulties. They begin away down at the atoms with which the theory starts; for, instead of being self-existent, the forces that, it is claimed, inhere in them, and by virtue of which they have combined into the harmonies, dependencies and adjustments of the ascending world-order, point clearly to a law-giver, the imprint of whose hand they bear.* Explanation of these atomic adjustments has been attempted by the introduction of the hylozoistic conception of matter. On the one hand, however, this conception stands over against the assumptions that underlie physics, and on the other it is powerless before the problem of the unity of consciousness. As Borden P. Bowen well says in criticising this view,† "hylozoism merely confuses two realms and loses the advantages of both."

Nor in the materialistic view is there any account given of the transition from inorganic to organic nature. The theory starts with the non-vital. How from that the vital has been evolved is not explained. The old notion of spontaneous generation has been exploded, and in the very discussion in which Tyndall attributes to the atom "the potency and promise of all terrestrial life," he frankly confesses that science knows nothing of life that does not proceed from life, and can hold out no slightest hope that from the non-living the living will ever be evolved.‡

But admitting, for the sake of argument, this transition safely made; admitting that the dead atoms jostling together have somehow given birth to life, another equally grave difficulty is reached when sensation comes to be explained. The only process that has been going on is one of molecular arrangement or chemical action, between which and the emergence of sensation there is no causal relation whatever. How can feeling

*Flint's Theism, pp. 113-114.

†Introduction to Psychological Theory, pp 21–36.

‡Fragments of Science, pp. 523-525.

arise prior to the existence of a sentient subject, or how can a sentient subject arise simply from combinations of atoms without sentiency? "When pain and pleasure come upon the scene and mingle with the eddy of molecules, they appear as strangers, for whose entrance the physical elements decline to be responsible; for they can give complete account of all their rotations, percussions, and rebounds, to the minutest fraction, without any emergence of these intruders." There is a cycle of material changes, but why "this figure in the atomic dance means hearing and that means vision, or why any of them means anything in a mental world which they cannot enter, is absolutely hidden, nay, must forever be so, for the sphere of physical knowledge is without contact with the sphere of consciousness, and can deal with no problems that cannot be expressed in the terms of matter and motion."*

But the crowning difficulty in the materialistic evolutionary theory is met when ethics is reached. For, underlying the evolution of animal life into higher forms, and conditional for its advance in ascending grade, is "the struggle for existence and the survival of the fit," a struggle, be it observed, whose moving impulse is that of intensest self-seeking at all hazards, and of ruthless disregard for the welfare of others, regnant right in the centre of the upward life-movement and determinative of it. The principle thus introduced is the principle of essential brute force, a principle so repugnant to ideal morality that when a man deliberately adopts it as his own, the moral sense of other men brands him "inhuman," *i. e.* as one who is lacking one of the distinctively *human* attributes. Now, as this struggle goes on, there is a two-fold development, —of *organism;* of *function.* As adjustment between structure and environment is sought there result organic changes; as the organism seeks the preservation of its life within the environment in the easiest way, functional changes appear, the tendency being to repeat those actions which are at the same time easiest and most conducive to self-preservation until they become fixed and confirmed. In plant life this variation of function is wholly blind and unconscious, but when life passes over from the plant

*Martineau's Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 395.

form to the animal, out of this differentiation of function, sensation or feeling is evolved. And now what before was blind or involuntary becomes conscious and voluntary. Action which before was repeated, because in the struggle for existence it was the best fitted to preserve life in the effort of the organism to adjust itself to environment, is now followed because the fit or useful is found to be also the pleasurable. "Fit connections between acts and results must establish themselves in living things, even before consciousness arises, and after the rise of consciousness these connections can change in no other way than to become better established. At the very outset life is maintained by persistence in acts which conduct to it, and desistance from acts which impede it; and whenever sentiency makes its appearance as an accompaniment, its forms must be such that in the one case the produced feeling is of a kind that will be sought—pleasure, and in the other case it is of a kind that will be shunned—pain."* The logic of all this for ethics is inexorable. It makes morality synonymous with the choice of the merely useful. So Herbert Spencer understands and explains it. The moral sentiments are the results of accumulated experiences of utility, gradually organized and inherited.†

It is at this point, however, that the difficulties which this theory of evolution encounters all along its way come to their climax.

In the first place the instinct of utility which it would enthrone as the moral law within us, wholly fails to account for the content of our moral nature. Anyone who will consult his own consciousness will recognize this, for we know in consciousness, if we know anything, of a behest that speaks with an imperialism that transcends any and every consideration of the merely useful. When the point is reached where conflicting impulses are felt and alternative courses lie before us, over and above all questions of utility there rises another question: "Is it right?" "Here we are introduced to the consciousness of Free Will, and the dawn of the moral idea; of which, I venture to say, the prior psychology can no more give an admissible account than

*Herbert Spencer's Data of Ethics, Chap. VI, Sec. 33. †Ibid, Ch. VII.

can the laws of matter and motion, in their physiological application, give account of simple consciousness."* For this moral idea refuses to be identified with any idea of utility. It is an idea *sui genesis*, wholly distinct from the idea of the useful. It not only shows no mark of the lineage in which it is said to have come to be, but it positively and unmistakably disowns such lineage. Under no analysis of consciousness can the idea of utility and the idea of right be made homogeneous. Essentially and interiorly they are heterogeneous, incapable of being forced into any coalescence, and refusing each to be expressed in the terms of the other. Between the right and the useful there is, indeed, a close relation. It could not be otherwise in a world under even so vague a power that makes for righteousness as Matthew Arnold allows. In such a world violation of the right can never be the finally useful. Still, the logical order is, not that an action is right because it is useful, but that it is useful because it is right. Nor do we, in fact, reverse this order in our moral judgments. In the presence of alternative choices we do not reach the conclusion that satisfies the moral sense by prudential calculation of profit and loss; but prior to all such calculation, and speaking in a tone that no clamor of supposed self-interest can drown, there comes a call to us to do the right irrespective of consequences, whether of profit or loss, whether of pleasure or pain. Referring to this theory that the feelings of "ought" and "ought not" are transformed feelings of pleasure and pain, Francis Howe Johnson says with fine discrimination: "But the results reached by this method are certainly not indorsed by our daily consciousness. They are indeed the negation of experience—a flat contradiction of our deepest convictions. It is a matter of simple knowledge to every man who has acted from conscientious motives that the calculation of pain and pleasure has been no part of his conscientiousness * * * Selfishness may lead a man to trifle with his convictions and to wink hard at the substitution of interested motives for those which spring from a sense of duty. But when he looks himself squarely in the face he knows, as surely as he knows any-

*Martineau's Types of Ethical Theory, Vol. II, p. 397.

thing, that in so far as he is actuated by the calculation of personal pleasures or pains he is not distinctively conscientious; and that in so far as he is, over and above all else, conscientious, he is not actuated by a calculation of pleasures and pains as ends."* And more: even when the moral call is refused; even when the right is violated for supposed self-advantage, the right vindicates itself and the appeal it makes as essentially distinct from that of utility, by the sense of guilt, often of remorse, that follows. It is before his crime has been discovered, and while yet it appears as advancing his fortunes that Macbeth exclaims:

> "Better be with the dead
> Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to lie
> In restless ecstacy."

Totally distinct are the emotions that follow a failure to choose the right and a failure to choose the useful, even where the useful can be chosen innocently. In the latter case there is sense of loss, of misfortune, but not of moral self-reprobation. In the former case there is the unique sense of guilt.

Standing thus, not simply apart, but often in strongest antithesis, the idea of right and the idea of utility refuse the identity claimed for them by materialistic evolution, and demanded by its presuppositions; and there is no philosophy that can explain the emergence of the first from the second. The idea of right is irreducible to any other. It stands in the consciousness unique. The moral imperative in which it articulates itself is autocratic, universal, ideal, final. It takes no council with flesh and blood before it utters its mandate. It stops not to cast up columns of profit and loss. Its behest is categorical.

The second, and we believe insuperable, difficulty which the theory of materialistic evolution encounters in the sphere of ethics is found in connection with its law of "the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest," under the stress of which, it is alleged, there has been developed the conscious instinct of utility out of the unconscious tendency of life at a

*What is Reality, pp. 484–485.

lower stage to choose the fit in its fight for self-preservation with the hostile elements in environment. That hereditary action should develop a principle for the control, and often flat denial of hereditary forces; that "a primitive rule of universal war and indiscriminate struggle, where the only right was that of the strongest," should develop the sentiments of kindness, benevolence, unselfishness, love, and exalt them to commanding ascendency, does violence to our every notion of cause and effect. It has been claimed that a sense of inherent right to live is the genesis of the moral sense. But how this sense of right to live could have been evolved out of an antecedent condition in which it was "the law for the strong to kill and for the weaker to be killed" does not appear. "The hiatus between the stage in which it was natural that one animal should kill and that others should be killed, and the stage in which this became unnatural, is one that cannot be bridged over by any conceivable process of evolution, unless it be evolution by antagonism."*

And if, out of the principle of brute struggle, the survivors earning their title to live only by following an impulse within them to destroy the weak, it is impossible to account for the presence of the conviction, "it is unnatural to kill," much more inconceivable is it that this principle should have ultimated in a law that binds the strong to care for the weak. "That the survival of the strongest in the battle of individual existence, the reign of 'tooth and talon' should gradually create a faculty for asserting the obligation and law of love and kindness to the weak, fails to come properly under our conception of the working of cause and effect."† It is an attempt to educe a law from its opposite, the altruistic law from a law of intensest self-seeking. The cause is incompetent for the effect.

Furthermore, materialistic evolution fails to give account of the reality of the objective moral law. Emphasis will be laid upon this later on, but we wish to point it out here, that for the perceived ethical realities, correlated to the percipient moral

*Knight's Essays in Philosophy, p. 169.

†Valentine's Theoretical Ethics, p. 84.

agent, there is nothing in this theory that offers any explanation whatsoever.

And now the relation between this entire form of evolution and ethical science, it seems to us, is this, that instead of the theory invalidating the contents of the moral nature, the contents of the moral nature invalidate the theory. For, over against the vast generalizations that form a material part of the theory, generalizations based on insufficient data, and moving on to their conclusion in face of the admitted fact that the conclusion is not contained in the premises, there stands the evidence of the moral consciousness,—evidence legible to everyone who cares to read,—and consciousness is and must be a final court of appeal, an arbiter behind whose decisions were cannot go for reversal of verdict. It is within the limits of our conscious life that the proof is given that the "authority to which we bow is not derived from anything lower than itself. It carries the sign of its own absoluteness and non-contingency in the autocratic manner in which it announces itself. In the phenomena of conscience we find the traces of a principle

'Deep-seated in our mystic frame,'

not evolved out of the lower elements of appetency and desire, but controlling these as an *alter ego*, in us, yet not of us."*†

It is deeply significant, too, that the irreconcilable antithesis between the theory of materialistic evolution and the facts of the moral nature, as shown in consciousness, was frankly confessed by Prof. Huxley in one of his latest public utterances,—a lecture at Oxford on Ethics and Evolution. "The practice of what is ethically best,—what we call goodness or virtue,—involves a course of conduct which, in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion, it demands self-restraint; in

*Knight's Essays on Philosophy, pp. 170-171.

†Says Prof. James in "The Dilemma of Determinism": "If a certain formula for expressing the nature of the world violates my moral demand, I shall feel as free to throw it overboard, or at least to doubt it, as if it disappointed my demand for uniformity of sequence, for example." The Will to believe, p. 147.

place of thrusting aside, or treading down all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive."

With this frank admission on the part of one of its most pronounced advocates that the theory of materialistic evolution fails utterly to account for the ethical realities, but finds itself flatly contradicted by them, we pass to a consideration of the relation between theistic evolution and ethics.

This theory, like the other, accepts the principle of continuity. There is a unity of nature, and her several parts are not isolated, but united. The organic is built upon the inorganic; animal life upon vegetable; human life upon animal. The summit of the ascending movement, the goal of the evolutionary process, has been reached through a long series of transformations historically connected. But in accepting, with the first theory, this principle of continuity, the theory of theistic evolution does it with a difference.* Instead of finding the potency of all terrestrial life in matter, it finds it in a God behind matter, the Creator of the atoms and their law-giver. It is not forces that have built up the system of things, but the "determination of forces," and this "determination," legible in the very atoms, points irresistibly to a determiner behind them, whose plan and purpose they fulfill. Moreover, by allowing for the impact of fresh creative energy upon the evolutionary process, this theory avoids the pit-fall of affirming the law of identity while denying it—a fallacy often indulged in. To illustrate: we begin, say "with the brute and assume that it is only brute. Then we discover progress, and as evolution is the word, we view the ad-

*"To prove continuity and the progressive development of the intellectual and moral faculties from animals to man, is not the same as proving that these faculties have been developed by natural selection * * Because man's physical structure has been developed from an animal form by natural selection, it does not necessarily follow that his mental nature, even though developed, *pari passu* with it, has been developed by the same causes only." Wallace's Darwinism, p. 463.

vance as the product of the brute creation, and hence brute itself. How that which is essentially and only brute can become anything else, or how the brute which has transcended itself remains still the same brute,—these questions are undreamed of. Both assumptions involve a contradiction. In the former case we affirm a groundless development, and in the latter case we deny development while affirming it. Either we have a groundless change in the indentity, or a contradictory identity in the change."* The theory of theistic evolution escapes this dilemma, because it does not assert that "that which is essentially and only brute" has become anything else. Evolution of that which is higher on a basis of continuity with that which is lower, means, by necessity of the conception, "*development with an increment of being.*" It is for this increment of being the impact of creative energy upon the evolutionary movement makes provision. The first theory leaves without causes such effects as these: life, sensations, moral ideas, will. Nor, in positing a power standing outside and above the evolutionary history as the cause of these effects, is this second theory putting itself in antagonism to science. On the contrary, it accepts and allows every fact that is scientifically verified, and in postulating the action of fresh creative energy for these otherwise inexplicable effects, it is only applying the scientific principle that every effect must have an adequate cause. That the postulate is justified is clear from the admissions, even positive declarations, of such scientists as Virchow, Du Bois Raymond and Alfred Russell Wallace. In a Leipzig lecture on "The Limits of the Knowledge of Nature," Du Bois Raymond declares that the outcome of the scientific search for the origin of sensation and consciousness is not simply "ignoramus," but "ignorabimus." Alfred Russell Wallace's position is that "there are at least three stages in the development of the organic world where some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action." These three stages are: "the change from inorganic to organic when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared;" "the introduction of sensation or con-

*Borden P. Bowne's Principles of Ethics, pp, 7, 8.

sciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms;" "the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him furthest above the brutes, and open up possibilities of almost infinite advancement."* This form of the evolutionary theory thus does three thing: it posits a sufficient cause for palpable effects; it avoids the absurdity of claiming that "that which is essentially and only brute" becomes "anything else;" it preserves the principle of continuity by allowing that the increment by which that which was only brute becomes something else, comes down upon and builds on the basis of already existent material. For Wallace justly observes that the entering of a new cause into the history of development "involves no necessary infraction of the law of continuity in physical or mental evolution; whence it follows that any difficulty we may find in discriminating the inorganic from the organic, the lower vegetable from the lower animal organisms, or the highest animals from the lowest types of man, has no bearing at all upon the question. This is to be decided by showing that a change in essential nature (due probably to causes of a higher order than those of the material universe) took place at the several stages of progress—a change which may be none the less real because absolutely imperceptible at its point of origin."†

With this theory of evolution a theory of morals that does justice to the contents of the ethical nature, has no great difficulty in finding harmony.

It allows the reality of the moral agent. It may be claimed, indeed, that on any theory of evolution man *is*, and that the psychology of ethics is to be determined by an analysis of the contents of the moral nature as known in consciousness. And this is unquestionably true. The difficulty, however, with the materialistic theory is that it defies this fact, and undertakes, by an arbitrary assumption that cuts away the very foundation of all knowledge, to say that the data for anything like a definite

*Darwinism, pp. 474–476.
†Darwinism, p. 476.

and final psychology are not present. It will not allow that in psychological analysis and classification, we have ultimate psychological facts to analyze and classify, since the universe is a perpetual flux, each stage, including the phenomena of psychology, being evanescent and transient. This immense assumption, as we have sought to show, is discredited by the facts it refuses to recognize. In the interests of a preconceived theory it sets aside the most certain of these, i. e., those revealed in consciousness, and in doing this dissolves the reality of the moral agent into a mere phantom, conscience being but a temporary attitude of man towards so-called moral ideas, which a further unfolding of the evolutionary movement may supercede with another and different attitude.

Now over against this intellectual and moral suicide we are asked to perpetrate under the theory of materialistic evolution, the theory of theistic evolution allows that we construct our ethical theory on the basis of a real ethical agent, with full confidence in the ethical psychology. Here we do not have set before us the impossible task of explaining the transformation of the instinct of utility into a faculty that perceives the unique realities of right and wrong. This instinct has been taken up and built upon by the entering into the history of the evolutionary development of a Supra-mundane Cause, carrying it to a point to which evolution by "resident forces," according to all the testimony, could never have wrought it. And this entrance of a new cause into the process, Wallace being witness, makes no break in the principle of continuity. It simply provides rational explanation of indubitable facts, and in view of the qualitative distinction between the perception of right and the perception of the useful, avoids the pitfall of assuming that that which is only and essentially one thing can become something else, and though transcending itself, remain the same thing still. It explains also the feelings of self-approval or self-reprobation consequent upon moral action, as distinguished from a sense of mere advantage or disadvantage, which is all that choosing or refusing the useful can give. As we have seen, these are distinct emotions, incapable of being resolved into each other.

This theory does not ask that the fruitless attempts be made.

Moreover, this theory provides for the presence and action of Will, as "the power of the souls causality for choices." Under the materialistic theory moral freedom becomes an empty name that stands for no reality. Moral choices are dependent upon molecular action, which in turn is dependent upon antecedent conditions. They are simply links in a mechanical chain of cause and effect. Men think they are free, indeed, in the presence of alternative choices, but the thought is a delusion; they are as much necessitated to the choice they make by molecular action, as the drop is necessitated to its plunge over the precipice by the volume and momentum of the water behind it. A process of evolution by mere mechanical cause and effect, however prolonged, can never give birth to a being of moral freedom. The product is not involved in the forces at work; consequently it cannot be evolved. In the theistic scheme, however, the increment of moral freedom is provided for by the intrusion into the movement of a power that stands outside of it and superintends its unfolding. It is the point where God becomes the efficient and modifying environment, if we may so speak, and where from him there streams upon the history of development a transcendental power that carries the history up to its climax in the bringing upon the scene of man as a self-directing agent, not simply a *causa causata*, but a *causa causans*.

Furthermore, this theory makes the phychology of ethics final by making it teleological. Under the materialistics theory that blinks the evidence of design in the atoms and in their movements, the whole history of evolution is blind, an aimless movement proceeding towards no predetermined goal, and that which is built up by the eternal flux, the eternal flux may tear down. In theistic evolution, on the other hand, each step in the ascent is orderly, and expressive of the purpose resident in the history, and standing above it and entering into it from time to time. "The inorganic parts of the earth look to the organic, the vegetable to the animal, the animal organization is crowned in the human. The human rises into the realm of free spiritual

being. The movement of the grand series of advances and ascents, traced up along the slow progress of the geologic periods, shows no sign of anything higher,

'The diapason closing full in man.' "

And we may add that no higher goal for the creative process can be conceived than the production of a moral agent, a free personality; and an ethical agent as the ultimate conceivable product gives us an ultimate ethical psychology.

Again, theistic evolution can be harmonized with the objective reality of the moral law. In the materialistic, atheistic evolution there is no room for this. The "one and all" of the universe is matter with its energy and modes. There is no intelligent, moral power standing outside and above the history of development whose thoughts and purposes are being evermore realized. No such power presided at the beginning of the history; no such power stands at the goal. The potency of all things is in the atoms. The evolutionary movement is unintelligent because the atoms are unconscious; it is purposeless because the atoms are blind; it is unmoral because the atoms are unfree. The incompetency of such a purely mechanical process to produce a universe with indubitable evidences of thought, purpose, design, wrought into its structures, from revolving constellations down to the minutest flora and fauna, and especially to produce beings whose actions are consciously teleological on the highest conceivable ranges of conduct, seems, *prima facie*, plain. And if this blind, unfree, unmoral process is incompetent for the production of human personality with intelligence, freedom, will, it is even less conceivable that it should be competent for the production of an objective moral law correlated to human personality. And yet in the psychology of the ethical agent there is furnished abundant proof of the actual presence and reality of such a law. For conscience is primarily and essentially percipient, and what it perceives *is* as the condition of its being perceived. As objects of sense-perception exists as a condition precedent to the action of the senses, so the reality of the moral law must precede the cognition of it. The *ratio essendi* is the *ratio cognoscendi.* Further, that there is

such a law is confidently assumed by men every day in their individual and social life. What they find to be clearly implied in the action of their moral nature, that over against the faculty that sees there are the moral realities seen, has always been, and is, a primary organific principle in inter-human relations. The moral reprobation visited upon wrong-doing in every age and race; the tribunals established for the punishment of crime; the penal enactments that fill the statute books of every civilized nation,—all these owe their existence to the intuition, common to mankind, of an objectively valid moral law whose violation merits reprobation and punishment. If there be no such objective law, these immense outstanding facts that owe their being to the assumption of it are totally inexplicable. To deny its reality, therefore, is to impeach the sanity of the race. If there be no such eternally valid objective law, then mankind is everywhere deluded where certitude seems most absolute; then right and wrong are empty names; then

> "The pillared firmament is rottenness
> And earth's base built on stubble."

Theistic evolution, however, involves none of these consequences. For, standing outside and over the evolutionary history, and the efficient cause of it, is God. The forces resident in the history are his forces, expressive of his intelligence, purpose, will, and wherever he touches the movement with fresh creative energy, it is in action that is intelligent, purposive, moral. When, therefore, there appear upon the scene beings capable of intelligent moral life, they find the moral law already established in the relations in which they are to live. That law is not a product of evolution; it is a transcendental reality that awaited man's appearance, older than the heavens are old, as immutable and eternal as God.

Yet once more; in the correlation of a moral agent with an objective moral law, theistic evolution becomes sublimely teleological. Under the materialistic conception the evolutionary history, notwithstanding its vast perspective of time, is without dignity, for it is without meaning. No intelligent purpose has been guiding it from age to age, no inwrought design is

being unrolled. All this would imply a Designer, an intelligent transcendental Power outside and above the history, which is the very thing the materialistic theory will not allow. Postulating it as fortuitous in the beginning, it can do nothing more than make the history fortuitous along its course and in its outcome, an outcome never final, but always only tentative and provisional. It would takes us too far away from our present course of thought to discuss at this point the inconceivability of the blind interaction of atoms having produced the orderly cosmos that actually is, or of the fallacy of attributing to what are called "necessary conditions of existence" a quasi-omnipotent power to hold in stability forms of existence thus blindly produced. We are concerned here simply with the fact that materialistic, atheistic evolution is non-teleological.

But when you pass from the theory in that form to the theistic form, and reach the point in the evolving process where moral agents are produced correlated to objective moral law, you stand face to face, in a true sense, with that

> "one far-off, divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

Here is a goal worthy of all that has gone before. And it is the highest imaginable goal; for in the adjustment of moral beings, beings endowed in finite measure with the attributes of God, to moral law, which is the expression of God's nature and will, the conditions are laid for the realization at the topmost point in the evolutionary ascent of *God-likeness.* And higher than that thought or imagination cannot reach. By necessity of the conception, as moral agent we are free, but God calls us to use our freedom in conforming ourselves to moral law. Our wills are ours, but since the blessedness of life can be realized only as we come into moral harmony with God, he claims them for himself.

> "Our wills are ours, we know not how;
> Our wills are ours to make them thine."

But another question arises here: Is theistic evolution capable of reconciliation with the fundamental postulates of distinctively Christian ethics, Sin, Incarnation, Redemption, Regenera-

tion, and Continued Existence after Death? Many feel that they are. We are not acquainted, indeed, with any statement of the harmony between the two that is satisfactory to us. The metaphysical part of Le Conte's book on Evolution and its Relation to Christian Thought is especially unsatisfactory, being largely constructed of the stuff out of which dreams are made. In truth, the time has not yet come when it has been felt necessary to attempt an elaborate restatement of Christian ethics on the basis of the evolutionary hypothesis, for, despite the large array of evidence that is marshaled in support of it, the hypothesis has not yet been lifted to the dignity of assured scientific fact. There are immense chasms yet uncrossed. That there has been development in the history of both the inorganic and organic worlds seems plain, but the extent to which this history has been carried on by the determination of merely "resident forces" is not yet settled. Besides the unbridged gulfs between the non-vital and the vital, between plant life and sensation, between consciousness and self-consciousness, and the entire cluster of faculties in which personality realizes itself, there is the whole question of the origin of species waiting scientific demonstration. In the primary postulates of theistic evolution, as we have sought to show, the basis is laid on which all these *may* be accounted for, but how far "natural selection" can be relied upon to explain variations in the forms of life, and the extent to which higher forms have grown out of lower,—these are questions in regard to which we have much more of theory than verified fact. In other words, the precise character and extent of the development that will have to be reckoned with when the task is set for the exhibition of harmony between it and the scheme of distinctively Christian ethics, is not yet fixed.

Still, should evolution, in the form we have been assuming, get itself firmly established, a reconciliation between the two seems within reach. The postulates by which it is capable of being brought into harmony with natural ethics provide a basis, it seems to us, upon which it can be harmonized also with Christian ethics.

Take Sin, for example. It is subsumed in all Christian ethics as a ruling fact. Materialistic evolution recognizes it too, but not as sin. It construes what we call "sin" in harmony with its presuppositions. Its essence is the antagonism between the lower nature and the higher, between the animal and the human evolved out of the animal. It is privative rather than positive; it is incompleteness rather than perversion; it stands for a condition that is only temporary and which a further natural development will leave behind. The dark shadow that clings to it, therefore, is of misfortune rather than guilt.* Christian ethics, on the contrary, views sin as a lapse from rectitude, as a perversion of nature, as a positive antagonism to the will of God. But how can this conception of sin find adjustment with theistic evolution? It seems to us that the point where it can be made is at the point of man's appearance on the scene. For, theistic evolution does not oblige us to assume that in his emergence out of a lower condition man found himself in a moral twilight, bewildered by the appeals of instincts out of which his rational nature had evolved, and which it had not yet learned to understand and control. In the admitted absence of "resident forces" in the evolutionary history to produce man as he is at all, in the fact admitted by Wallace and others, that his appearance marks one of the points where a power outside of the history must have intervened as a new creative cause, we have a right to assume that the divine impact that came down upon the history and led forth a being capable of moral life, led him forth perfectly correlated to that life. "The fact is, we know nothing from evolutionary science, absolutely nothing, about man's earliest consciousness of personal relations with God; and until we have historical or other evidence, we are at least as warranted in holding that when man first stood forth as man, rational and religious, he found sin to consist in his deliberate disobedience to the known will of God, as in holding any other theory."† In the appearance, at any stage of the evolutionary history of a being capable of moral life, the possibility

*John Fiske's "Destiny of Man," pp. 96–103.

†Bibliotheca Sacra, July 1897, p. 561.

of a lapse from that life was laid, for the obverse side of the power to choose the right is the power to reject it. In this view, therefore, the shadow that dogs sin is not misfortune merely, but guilt in the unique sense that Christian ethics attaches to it.

Here, then, is laid also a rational basis for Atonement, Redemption, Recovery, Moral Reinvigoration, through the intervention of God in the incarnation of his Son and in the sending of his Holy Spirit. Theistic evolution has already postulated the intrusion of God into the movement in fresh, creative work at stage after stage of the ascent in which man has come. Its logic, therefore, would demand intervention for recovery and recreation. If the goal of the evolutionary history is the perfecting of moral beings through voluntary conformity to objectively valid moral law, the power to choose such conformity must appear coincidently with the power not to choose it. Would it not seem antecedently certain, then, that if the will of man is deflected and perverted through a wrong use of freedom, there would be intervention for its recovery to right use? Would not the teleology of evolution require this? Would not the vast precedent history, and its ultimate product, man, with his possibilities of character, warrant even such intervention as the incarnation, the cross, and the sending of the recreating Spirit, that so those possibilities of character might be actualized, and the wondrous story of cosmic and human development might not turn out an idle tale, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?

So, too, with Eternity of Character, the Immortality of man, a prime article in the scheme of Christian ethics. Le Conte would make this an "acquirement."* On the basis of his theistic evolution solely by "resident forces," however, this seems an impossible explanation. The attempt to get the immortal out of the mortal is beset by the same difficulties as are encountered in the effort to get the vital from the non-vital. But on the basis of that theory that, along with the action of "resident forces," postulates the entrance into the evolutionary history of fresh, divine, creative energy, immortality by "acquirement" becomes conceivable. Here the efficient environment from which

*Evolution and its Relation to Christian Thought, pp. 293–304.

the increment, or "acquirement," comes is God. He breathes into the ψυχή the πνεῦμα, and the πνεῦμα gathers the ψυχή into itself, and man becomes a living, immortal soul, according to the analogies found everywhere, that the lower passes up into the higher when the higher reaches down and lays hold upon it. The "acquirement" is from above, not from below.

This much, at any rate, we feel sure of, that whether the harmony at this point between theistic evolution and Christian ethics be reached on these lines, or on others, it will be rationally established in some way in case the theory is established. For, the outreach after immortality is racial, organic, insistent. Within the realm open to our investigation and view, wherever such universal, imperious outreachings exist, there is found standing over against the subjective demand the objective supply. It would violate all analogies were it not so here, and, therefore, it is but the extension into the unseen realm of a principle that rules everywhere in the seen realm, when we confidently assume that there is the objective reality that answers to the subjective moral imperative for another life. For it is that in us which is most prophetic, that which is highest and best, that makes at once its appeal and argument to God in the lines of Tennyson:

> "Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
> Thou madest man, he knows not why;
> He thinks he was not made to die;
> And thou hast made him; thou art just."

ARTICLE V.

EDUCATION, CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN.

REV. C. W. HEISLER, A. M.

Rev. Dr. Strong open his last volume, "The New Era," with this pregnant sentence: "We are entering on a new era of which the twentieth century will be the beginning, and for which the nineteenth has been the preparation."

How shall we characterize this closing century? It is scarcely too much to say that in importance to the aggregate of the world's life it is the most marvelous since the first century of the Christian era, and possibly equal to any other five centuries since the first. This century has witnessed a series of phenomenal changes in the physical realm. Time and space have been practically annihilated. The geographies of a few years ago must be reconstructed to meet present conditions, and the probabilities are that the next decade will witness a radical transformation in the map of Asia and of Europe. National isolation is no longer possible, and with this passes national stagnation. The recent multiplication of useful inventions, the increase in facilities of rapid transportation, the superabundance of educational opportunities, have broken up the old life in a surprising manner. A reconstruction of human society seems imminent. These elements of social life are in violent agitation. "The times are out of joint." Society is in a ferment. Innumerable new principles and forces have come to the fore in recent years, which must be reckoned upon by the sociologist, the statesman and the religious teacher.* "The steam engines of the world now do the work of 1,000,000,000 of men, over twice as many as there are men of real flesh and blood in the world." "The world over, six steam and iron slaves are working for every man." But some estimate that machinery increases the power of steam twenty fold. "The nineteenth century will hand down

*Durrell, "A New Life in Education," p. 24.

to the twentieth a material civilization which has suddenly outrun all other factors and elements in the developing world life." With railroads connecting the Atlantic and Pacific through Siberia, running from ocean to ocean in South America, piercing the heart of the Dark Continent, and subduing the great Sahara, what may we not look for in the next decade or two?

Progress in the intellectual world has been no less marked. The mental activity of our age is absolutely phenomenal. With 60,000 new books issuing from the press each year it is small wonder that one can no longer keep up with current literature. An edition of a weekly religious paper of 250,000 copies and of a popular monthly of 300,000 copies is symptomatic of the times.

Put together all these things,—the change of international conditions and relations, the new social status and transformation in modes of life; the growth of popular liberty; the greater leisure of modern life for subsidiary pursuits; and yet along with this greater haste and intensity of modern life the marvelous opportunities for culture afforded by institutions of learning, transportation facilities, books, pictures, current literature, and the vast interchange of ideas which this involves; the growth of large cities, and the development of national resources,—and we get some faint conception of the heritage this nineteenth century is handing down to the twentieth, and of the problems that confront the statesmen, the educator, the religious teacher. All those material and intellectual elements profoundly influence the education, the culture, the higher well-being of the people.

Scholarly conviction is practically unanimous that the present is a transitional state, and has in it elements of the most far reaching consequence to the future. The twentieth century will force upon us problems, the solution of which the angels of God will await with thrilling interest. What has education to do with all this? Everything. And if this be so, can a more superlatively important question be proposed for our consideration than what shall be the character of the education of the future? Shall it be Christian or non-Christian? Shall our children be educated under the chilling influence of the purely scientific spirit, in the blighting atmosphere of a cheerless agnosticism, or

under the vivifying and ennobling influences of our holy religion? Upon the answer to that question hang issues of unspeakable moment to the Church and to the world. I feel deeply impressed with the thought that this is one of the most vital questions confronting the Church of God to-day. It is a question that is assuming phases which demand the utmost attention alike from the true patriot and the earnest Christian. And "if there be any peculiar virtue in Christian education, Christian education is here needed in its highest form."

Our discussion is here limited to higher education. It has to do with what is technically known as undergraduate, or college education. The question then confronting us is whether this shall be dominated by a positive religious spirit or not. Our public school system is under the State, and the State dare not teach religion. At least that is the general interpretation of the separation of Church and State, which is inwoven in our constitution; though we apprehend that what our constitution really contemplated was not the exclusion of all religious teaching, but the prohibition of sectarian religious teaching. The Colony of Massachusetts, in 1647, "in order to defeat the purpose of the old deluder, Satan," ordered the establishment of a public school in every township having fifty householders. The Penna. charter of 1771 contains the following: "Whereas the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in a great measure, upon the good education of youth and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue," etc., as a preamble for the establishment of public schools. The Connecticut law of 1860 provides for instruction at least once a week in "the grounds and principles of religion." In the New York colony the schoolmaster "must be sanctioned by deacons of the Church." The curricula of our common schools down to the Revolution, included, in most cases, the Creed, the catechism, and the Old and New Testaments. How much of the sturdiness, integrity, and indomitable patriotism of our Revolutionary fathers may have been due to such influences! We cannot measure the part all this may have had in the production of what Gladstone calls

the most remarkable document ever produced by the uninspired genius of man,—the Federal Constitution.

But the constitution forbade the establishment of any religion or anything looking towards it. The operation of this principle has more and more tended to the secularization of our public schools, and unfortunately so, we think. Theoretically the best educators insist upon religious instruction, along with intellectual, but practically religious instruction has been completely divorced from our public school system.

I shall not say that this is not unavoidable, under present circumstances. In the case of our public schools the ill effects of this system are more easily off-set by the influence of the home. But when our sons and daughters leave the parental roof to pursue a course of higher education, the peril becomes more imminent. All this, however, is simply a part of what we may call the materialistic tendency of modern educational methods, in certain quarters. There appears to be a growing disposition to exalt the mind and body and ignore the soul. This is in keeping with the critical, scientific, and utilitarian spirit of the age. The commercial spirit supplements the rationalistic by its demand of "cui bono?" The body, this spirit urges, must be trained to be an efficient instrument of the mind; the mind must be cultured to give power in the world of letters and science; but as to the soul—the spiritual nature—our secular systems of education as such can have nothing to do with that. That is something for the home and the Church. Of course a liberal education must include in its curriculum the study of ethics, and the scientific study of the ills of society with the best methods of righting them, but the culture of the spiritual nature can be safely ignored. Religion is wholly a matter of personal choice, and can form no part of a liberal education. Such reasoning is partly true and partly false. In the main it is illogical and inconsistent. The choice of Christ as Saviour and Lord, and submission to His religion as regulative of the life is, of course, a personal matter, and as such it does not belong to a strictly intellectual training. But the culture of the moral nature, attention to the development of a human being in

all departments or his complex nature must necessarily be included in the course of a liberal education. Can any system which develops but one part or, at most, but two parts, of the individual be properly called a system at all?

Now there is confessedly a tendency at the present day to divorce religion from education. The tendency of certain periods in the past may have been to emphasize the relation between them too much, or possibly in an unwise manner. But certainly in our day the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction. Who will deny that in many quarters there is too much of a disposition to regard the culture of the mind as an end, instead of assigning it its legitimate place in the culture of man as man? Even so eminent an authority as President Dwight, of Yale, claims: 1. The higher education should have as its end and purpose the culture and development of the thinking mind. 2. The thinking mind should be fitted to think widely. 3. It should be given to the daughters and sons alike.* That is true as far as it goes. But dare we be content with such a narrow definition as that?

Over against all such theories and tendencies, we argue for an education under distinctively religious influences, and dominated by a positive religious spirit. Some of the reasons that may be advanced for this position are as follows: This alone fulfills the true educational idea, and secures the proper end and object of an education. The great masterful word of education is development, the development of a human being in all departments of his complex nature, and in full harmony with his complex environment, material, social, intellectual, spiritual. The product of a true educational process must be a well-rounded, symmetrical personality; a perfect man, in short. We dare not be satisfied with a narrower definition than that. You may train a young man to be a profound thinker and original investigator, you may convert him into a walking cyclopedia, you may fashion him into a brilliant or an astute statesman, and yet if you have failed to cultivate his higher

*The True Purpose of the Higher Education, *Forum*, May, 1892.

spiritual nature, I insist that he has not realized the truest and highest end of an education. All true education must be threefold. It must take an account of the body, mind and soul. Montaigne expresses the true idea. "It is not a soul, it is not a body, that we are training up; but a man, and we ought not to divide." Broadly speaking an education embraces, 1. A knowledge of truth in all its departments; 2. A symmetrical and harmonious training of all the faculties and powers, so as to make a full-orbed complete man, and 3, as Prof. Woodrow Wilson put it, "to draw all minds to a proper adjustment to the physical and social world in which they are to have their development; to enlighten, strengthen and make fit."

That means a proper development of the body, as the sacred instrument of the soul, that it may be the best possible brain and nerve feeder, and become a fit temple for the dwelling of the Holy Spirit. A prominent educator wisely remarks: "The age calls for a body that will endure long and repair rapidly. Every labor-saving machine makes demand for more nerve and less muscle, more activity, less weight.* The educational processes and industrial activities of this new age increasingly demand the proper development of the body. Prof. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins, firmly urges this point in his article on Modern Education, in *The Cosmopolitan*, May, 1897.

The culture of the mind is of course a fundamental part of education. The error of many has been made to make it the only part. But education is not complete until it rises higher and deals with the moral and spirtual nature. To train the body is to develop but one third of a man, and that the lowest third. This may produce a Fitzsimmons, but never a Newton. To train, in addition, the mind, is to develop two-thirds of a man. This process may give us a Huxley, but never a Paul or a Luther. To cultivate, in addition, the spiritual nature is to development the three-thirds of a man, and this is the only true idea of an education. Finely does England's Grand Old Man say: "The Christian idea taking possession of man at the cen-

*Durrell, p. 125.

ter and summit of his being could not leave the rest of it a desert, but evidently contemplated its perfection in all its parts."

The religious element in education is in fact the supreme element. This has been the almost unanimous verdict of all great educators. Comenius claimed that "the end of all education was the religious life as embracing morality." Guizot wrote that "Popular education is to be truly good and socially useful must be fundamentally religious." Froebel, the incomparable teacher of children, says: "Only the Christian, only the human being with the Christian spirit, life and aspiration, can possibly attain a true understanding, a living knowledge of nature. The school should first of all teach the religion of Christ. Everywhere and in all zones, the school should instruct for and in this religion." Prof. Huxley's testimony is very significant: "I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology; but I must confess I have been no less seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion on these matters, without the use of the Bible." And Daniel Webster, in his notable speech in Washington, in the Girard Will case, eloquently exclaims: "In what age, by what sect, where, when, by whom, has religious truth been excluded from the education of youth? Nowhere, never. Everywhere and at all times, it has been and is, regarded as essential. It is of the essence, the vitality of useful instruction." True education is not to make scholars simply, or chiefly, but to make lives, and education under positively religious influences alone fulfills that lofty ideal.*

*Pres. Gilman says, "The end of education is undoubtedly the development of character." Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, of Yale, declares, "A truly liberal education includes * * * the prolonged and scholastic pursuit of three subjects or groups of subjects. These three are language and literature; mathematics and natural science; and the soul of man, including the products of his reflective thinking." The last involves in his treatment, logic, psychology, ethics and philosophy, including the study of the being of God and His relations to the world; the being, origin, destiny of man, and man's relation to God. "Only as education enters into

Again, Christian Education is the most natural and rational theory of education. To ignore the spiritual nature in any system of intellectual culture is to neglect the crowning element of a complete and perfect manhood. To cultivate the intellect and neglect the body is to train an army and provide no base of supplies to support it in the day of fierce battle. It cuts off the brain feeder. It is to have a valuable machine without a motor. To cultivate the intellect without developing the spiritual nature is to train an army without a field of action worthy its noblest endowments, and its highest possibility of marvelous achievement.

Education is to make a man the highest type of man. "It is to give character rather than knowledge; to train a man to be rather than to know," as the venerable Dr. Mark Hopkins put it. But undeveloped on his God-ward side, he is like Ephraim, a cake unturned. He lives in a world without a sky. He comes infinitely short of the ideal manhood, as exhibited in the archetypal man of the ages, the Lord Jesus Christ. To neglect the spiritual is thus contrary to the highest reason. It narrows most painfully man's horizon. It gives him no outlook into the eternities. It never lays the capstone on his development. It stops far short of the best that is possible for man. "The Christian," writes Dr. Warfield, "contemplates the good of the individual first and before all else, but the good of the individual not merely as animal, but as man,—man as a political, as a social, as an immortal being; not man as an intellectual or commercial machine."

I argue, again, for a positively Christian spirit in education, because it is the true historical method and has the endorsement of the greatest educators. The history of education abundantly substantiates this statement. It is easy to trace this principle from the Reformation to the present day. Historically the cause of religion has been indissolubly bound up with

the sphere of the ethical, æsthetical and religious life does it become a real safeguard of either the aristocracy or the multitude of the citizens." The essentials of a modern Liberal Education, Educational Review, Oct., 1895, p. 222. It will be seen that this is the position of this paper.

that of education. Prof. Painter says: "With Luther education was not an end in itself, but a means to more effective service in church and state. Luther never dreamed of divorcing religion from education."* Melancthon insisted that the religious natures of the children were to be cultivated along with the intellectual. With Zwingli religious instruction was accorded a conspicuous place. Francis Bacon looked upon learning as "a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." The philosophic Locke, whose educational principles have profoundly influenced the whole Anglo-Saxon race, contended strongly for this educational idea, "a robust mind in a robust body;" and "virtue as the first and most necessary of those endownments that belong to a man or a gentleman." His idea was not "the finished scholar but the finished gentleman." Francke's educational system proceeded upon the theory that "only the truly pious man is a good member of society." Rosseau's life and character were notoriously infamous, but he gives expression to fine sentiment when he says: "It is a matter of little importance to me whether my pupil be destined for arms, for the Church, or for the bar. Before the vocation assigned him of his parents, nature calls him to human life. To live is the business I wish to teach him." Pestalozzi's system comprehended the "natural, progressive, and symmetrical development of all the faculties and powers of the human being." Of Dr. Arnold it is said: "The idea of a Christian school was to him the natural result, so to speak, of the very idea of a school itself."

Further, the best interests of the individual, the state, the Church, demand that the education of our children shall be positively Christian. Any system which neglects the culture of the highest third of our nature is by so much defective. It ignores utterly the fact that education is to develop and make a life, a life which is to exert an influence as wide as eternity's bound, and has wrapped up in it stupendous potentialities. Non-Christian education is narrow. I am aware that this is precisely the charge made against the course of education in de-

*History of Education, p. 143.

nominational colleges, by the advocates of state institutions. But I fling back the charge that any system which looks only to the development of one-third or two-thirds of a man is necessarily defective. The intellectual realm in Christian education is just a broad as in the non-Christian, and the former adds the vast spiritual realm. It is therefore just so much ahead. It gives an outlook into the vast domain of God's spiritual universe which the other does not. The highest citizenship in the coming men and women demands imperatively the culture of the immortal spiritual nature. The great Franklin's words are golden: "A school-house on every hill-top and the bible and newspaper in every home, is the chief hope of the Republic." Sir Matthew Hale, the eminent jurist is quoted as saying that the principles of Christianity are so essential to national perpetuity as to make Christianity part and parcel of the common law. And Daniel Webster remarks that: "If we abide by the principles taught in the Bible, our country will go on prospering and to prosper." Prof. Huxley states that "no child's education will prove helpful to it and to the race without a moral substratum, and that in moral education no book is at all comparable to the Bible." That is strong testimony from a high source. This position is absolutely impregnable. Education under positively Christian influences is the demand of the hour for the future citizens of our great Republic, who are to solve the momentous problems of the twentieth century. Its imperative necessity to the Church will appear more fully later on.

But how shall our higher education be made more positively Christian? This is a question that profoundly concerns us all. We have seen that the state cannot devote itself to any systematic culture of the moral nature. It dare not teach religion to the undergraduate. The state is loath to acknolwedge the growing secularization of our public school system. Many will contend that by teaching theoretical ethics, they are teaching religion, but cold facts do not at all support that specious claim. Ethics may be taught from a scientific standpoint, whilst the culture of the religious nature is left severely alone. The state may not oppose you if you desire to teach its students religion;

but it maintains, and justly so, that its attitude must be non-committal, and hence one of positive indifference. And this is said without any desire to depreciate for one moment our splendid state institutions. They have their legitimate sphere, and a magnificent one it is. Their place is clearly defined as Universities, if they will confine themselves to that. The only alternative then is that Christian education must be carried on under the fostering care of the Church. The state must proceed upon the principle of separated education. Positive religious teaching is possible only under the direct supervision of the Church. This is the theory upon which our Christian colleges in England and America are conducted. This does not imply a narrow and bigoted sectarianism. We distinguish between a positive denominationalism, and a contracted sectarianism. Nor does it mean that the college is to be transformed into an embryo theological seminary. But it does mean that the whole life of the college shall be dominated by a positive religious spirit, together with more or less direct religious instruction provided in the regular curriculum. Upon this theory we take our stand with the utmost firmness and confidence.

One step further leads to a brief consideration of the prime essentials in securing the best results of a Christian education.

First, is an adequate equipment. The issue is becoming clearer and stronger between the denominational colleges and non-sectarian institutions, leading to the most unjust comparisons. Great universities have been springing up as by magic. The states have been leading in this enterprise, establishing magnificently equipped institutions that challenge our admiration and patriotic pride. No word have we to say against this *per se.* It is a splendid step forward in higher education. It is a part of the marvelous advance in education in our country in the last quarter of a century. The great university has a distinct function and field. It is to provide facilities and opportunities for post-graduate work; for independent thinking and original investigation. The college is primarily designed for under-graduate work. Its office is to train the mind, aye, the man, that he may be fitted for further and original work in the university.

In this sense a comparison between the college and the university is scarcely permissible. But unfortunately, the university idea has not been kept intact.* And here with undergraduate courses, the college and university come into active competition. When any comparison is made, it must be upon the basis of similar courses. It must appear, therefore, how exceedingly unjust are many of the comparisons instituted between denominational colleges and state universities, as regards the relative equipment. And yet it must be impressively emphasized that no amount of religious fervor will compensate for lack of adequate equipment in a denominational college. It must stand for a liberal intellectual training, otherwise it cannot appeal for support, no matter how many pious tears have been shed in its foundation, or devout prayers offered for its success. An adequate equipment includes commodious and well arranged buildings; not necessarily the palatial structures of the state universities, but sufficient for the proper accommodation of the students, and appropriate to the necessities of advanced instruction.

It includes also proper appliances, laboratories, scientific apparatus, and ample and carefully selected libraries. In this age it is simply impossible for any institution to do efficient work without such equipment. The fact that it is a church institution and appeals to us as such, will by no means make up for inadequate provision here. Without extravagance we simply must put our colleges into such a condition that our professors can conduct their several departments with approved efficiency.

A second essential is competent instructors. Incompetency is no more allowable in a denominational institution than in a great university. Piety is no substitute for scholarship and

*"The so-called university as it exists amongst us is not a university, strictly speaking, it is a compound of college and university. Many colleges add university features to their traditional curriculum. They are neither one thing nor the other; but in the future it will not be so. The university will confine itself to post-graduate work, and the colleges will devote themselves to disciplinary education; to training cultured men, leaving to the universities their proper work of training specialists and scholars. The work of the college no other agency can do, and it is work supremely worth the doing.—*Inaugural* of Pres. Jones, of Hobart College.

teaching ability. Worn-out, unsuccessful preachers must not be inflicted upon our institutions of learning, simply because they are available. We dare not hope that our young people will throng our halls of learning simply from church loyalty, if they do not have the advantages of capable instructors. Whilst avoiding unfair comparisons with the great universities, yet we must insist on having our own institutions manned by competent teachers. Grade for grade we must be able to offer as thorough instruction as can be obtained elsewhere. Now it is an undeniable fact that in the smaller denominational colleges, the students come into closer contact with the regular professors, thus receiving more positive and inspiring benefit, than in similar courses in larger and state institutions. A great university does not necessarily argue the best instruction to the undergraduate. And *per contra* a smaller denominational college does not necessarily imply inefficient instruction.

To make possible such instruction implies a liberal endowment. This is the crying need of the hour in our own General Synod institutions, and especially of those under the care of the Board of Education. Another essential to the realization of a true Christian education is proper and adequate provision for the culture of the spiritual nature. This implies Christian instructors. The influence of the character of the teacher upon youth is simply incalculable.* No amount or kind of ethical instruction will off-set the subtle influence of a practically irreligious life. The words of Pres. Garfield cannot be too often quoted upon this point: "If I could be taken into boyhood today, and had all the libraries and apparatus of a university, with ordinary routine professors, offered me on one hand, and, on the other, a great, luminous, rich-souled man, such as Mark Hopkins was twenty years ago, in a tent in the woods alone, I should say 'Give me Mark Hopkins for my college course, rather than any university with only routine professors.'" Of Dr. Arnold,

*"The University could be put into shanties or tents, but it should have great teachers," is Cardinal Newman's true way of expressing the paramount personal importance of the teacher.

it was said: "The moral and religious and manhood results of his work were such that at the universities, his students formed a type known as Arnold men." "I consider," he himself says, "that I am bound to be the religious instructor of my pupils by virtue of my situation."

No degree of scholarship can possibly atone for moral unsoundness, or the absence of spiritual character in those under whose care our boys and girls spend the most thrilling and momentous period of their lives. Whether they are studying mathematics or ethics, the lips that teach them must be pure lips, and the character behind the teaching must be truly noble, and that it can be only if it is Christian. Alas! how many a young man, fresh from a fireside consecrated by the prayers of godly parents, has learned his first lesson in doubt, culminating, later on, in open infidelity, from the irreligious character, or the vile flings at Christian truth, on the part of some professor in the college class-room. The under-graduate mind is in that stage when it is only too susceptible to half-truths and baseless insinuations against the character of religion by some brilliant professor. Better far that a boy go through life without a college education than be exposed to such influences. "The man in the chair must be the living definition of learning, the living illustration of morals, and the living representation of the Christ, must make learning real, morally imperative, and Jesus Christ sovereign. This is the imperialism of the Christian college and the Christian teacher."* "No parochial ministry," Arnold used to say to his fellow-teachers, "can be more properly a cure of souls than yours."

Then religious culture includes a religious atmosphere in the institution. Every home has its own atmosphere. We feel it immediately we enter its doors. It is not otherwise in a college. This atmosphere is an intangible thing. It almost illudes us as we attempt to define it. But if the instructors are Christians, and spiritually minded men; if daily religious exercises are held; if many of the students are themselves Christians, there *will be* in that institution a subtle pervading relig-

*Chancellor Wm. F. McDowell.

ious influence that will be felt. This does not mean that a college is to be a religious nursery or a theological seminary. This atmosphere will not be that of the prayer-meeting; it will not interfere with scholarly work, and it will not preclude the exhibition of animal spirits on the part of "the boys," but it will be there, and it will be felt.* It may not be quite so pronounced as with Arnold's students, who, it is said, could not get their own consent to do a notably mean thing at Rugby, but it will have its influence. It may not lead all the students to become Christians, but it will act as a powerful lever against infidelity.

But the best results of Christian education will never be reached without also some positive religious instruction. Ethics occupies a place in the curriculum of every reputable institution in this country. That is well, as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The best system of ethics is the Bible, and its best exemplar is the Lord Jesus Christ. The best educators are coming more and more to insist that the study of the Bible as literature should form an indispensible part of a liberal education. Dr. Rankin, of Howard University, writes: "The evident trend is toward more study of the Bible, if not toward putting the Bible into the regular curriculum." I venture the assertion that the day is not far distant when an undergraduate will not be considered well educated without a fair knowledge of the Bible. The Bible ought certainly to have a conspicuous place in our systems of education. Nay, we may go farther, and say that if the future of the state and Church is so undeniably dependent upon the moral and religious character of the young people who are thronging our halls of learning, then the claims of personal religion, the beauties and heroic grandeur of the personal spiritual life, may be pressed upon them, not obtrusively, but quietly and judiciously. May we not go still further, and maintain that optional courses of instruction in the system of Christian truth ought to be offered to our under-graduates? Our opponents may sneer at that as instruction in the

*Cf. Pres. Dwight's passage on "the spirit of the institution. The power of the community working upon itself."—*Cosmopolitan*, Aug. 1897.

catechism, if they will. But Germany has not found that a bad plan, nor Sweden, nor England, nor our ante-revolutionary forefathers, nor many of the best colleges in our land in these latter days.

But do you ask if the distinctive doctrines of a denomination are to be taught in colleges? Why not? If a college has been founded by the tears and prayers, and self-sacrificing gifts of a denominational constituency, and if that denomination stands for a distinctive system of religious truth, such as for example, the Lutheran, I can see no reason why its inquiring children shall not be taught those distinctive truths. Certainly such instruction should not be forced upon students not belonging to that particular household of faith, nor need it be done in any case in an offensive manner. But truth is truth. And if the truth cannot be taught without emphasizing the doctrines of that denomination, then by all means let it be taught at any rate. The truth is abundantly able to take care of itself. No education can be moral and religious which is not positively Christian. We cannot teach truth by negation. It must be positive, and if by being positive it emphasizes some of the distinctive doctrines of this or that denomination, who can say ought against it?

We have thus far taken our stand firmly and unequivocally for denominational as over against undenominational and state institutions. Some of the reasons for this position must have already appeared incidentally. Others of a more positive character may be strongly urged, for the maintenance of our denominational schools.

The religious denominations are invited to give up their institutions and unite their forces with the state universities. This is especially true in the West. We are informed that these institutions are already so much better equipped than our church schools are, or possibly can be, that the state can command a far higher grade of scholarship in its faculties, and that thus finer facilities are offered than can possibly be enjoyed in the church schools. The state universities urge us to co-operate with them by establishing homes or denominational colleges in

close affiliation with the universities. This is supposed to be a plan combining business and common sense. Prof. Richard T. Ely warmly commends it, and thinks that all denominations could thus unite in building up great universities that would be the glory of the state. But are we prepared to yield to this specious plea? Never. A great institution is not the end of an education, but a great character. And that end will not be necessarily attained by attendance at a so-called great institution, no matter how finely equipped it may be with a long list of professors, with most of whom the under-graduate never comes in contact.

In any comparison between church and non-religious schools several facts must be born in mind: (1) That non-sectarian and state institutions are not necessarily hot-beds of irreligion and infidelity. Wholesale condemnation is manifestly unjust. (2) That sectarian or denominational institutions are not necessarily vestibules of heaven. We cannot close our eyes to the rowdyism and sometimes immorality of church schools. Not at all. Not all the professors teaching therein are immaculate Christians; not all the students gathered in their halls are angels with budding wings. (3) That denominational schools need not assume an attitude of hostility to the state and non-sectarian schools. That is unreasonable and harmful. It would be a great mistake for the Church to draw away entirely from these institutions. Rather it ought to do something for the spiritual culture of the multitudes of our young people gathered in them for whom the state cannot do anything religiously. What that something should be does not enter into our present discussion.

The very first thing that strikes us is that the *denominational colleges have abundantly demonstrated their right to be.* The Church of Christ, emancipated from the fetters of an arrogant priesthood, has always stood for education. A well-known infidel made the assertion that "Christianity might boast a little if it had built some school houses." What an astounding assertion. As if the modern school system did not owe its existence to the Reformers of the sixteenth century. As if every great school founded in this country, in its early years, was not the

child of the Church.* The Church, the school, the college, went hand in hand in our early history. Harvard college dates from eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Dr. Nathan C. Shaeffer, of Penna., in his first Biennial Report, says: "The denominational college renders a gratuitous service to the commonwealth. The problem no longer is how to get students, but how to get money enough to educate those who knock at the doors for admission. From this source the commonwealth has received some of its most distinguished and patriotic public servants. There should be no legislation that will hinder the denominational colleges in their work or diminish their prosperity." Considering general results, the denominational colleges have abundantly demonstrated their right to be, and the day has not arrived when we dare to abandon them for any system of state education.

Again, the denominational colleges foster the cause of higher education in a large number of smaller communities. Any student of the subject knows how an institution creates an intellectual atmosphere about it; how it ministers to the general culture of the community in which it is located; how it awakens a desire for a higher education in the youth of its immediate neighborhood; and further how the easy opportunity operates to attract many students, who would otherwise never take a college course. Every college becomes a centre of intellectual culture, and of moral and spiritual power. Blot out the smaller denominational colleges, and the cause of higher education will suffer incalculable loss. It is true you may have a few more students at the universities, but you will have far less in the aggregate, and injure the cause irreparably among the masses. In this country of colossal dimensions, with counties and townships as large as some European sovereignties, the smaller, denominational colleges, wisely distributed, are an untold blessing.

*Harvard, in a sense, owes its foundation from a dread "to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches." Yale was to stand for a more orthodox Christianity than Harvard was supposed to present. The founders of Princeton designed to "supply the Church with learned and able ministers of the Word." Substantially the same may be said of all the great colleges of the country. See Pres. Thwing's *American Colleges*, p. 55.

Pres. Jones, of Hobart, in his inaugural, wisely says, "We have many equal centres. * * Our vast inter-continental spaces forbid the growth of a few great institutions for purely collegiate instruction. * * The university, strictly speaking, that is, an institution for post-graduate work alone, will be developed at the great centres, but the local college ministering to its own district is a necessity fundamental to our national culture."*

The denominational college alone fulfills the demand for a complete education. That, as we have seen, must take account of three-thirds of a man. It dare not neglect the highest, while attending to the cultivation of the middle and lowest third. I cannot resist the profound conviction of the immeasurable importance of positively Christian influences and instruction during the years of under-graduate work. Prolonged study but deepens that conviction. As a Christian citizen, as a Christian minister of a great denomination, as a Christian father, with children to educate, this is a subject of thrilling moment to me. In the matter of religious culture, there is, as a rule, scarcely any comparison between the denominational school and the non-sectarian institution. I am well aware that in the case of the latter, the President is usually drawn from the ranks of the ministry, but that can scarcely be said of the professors. Within easy reach of the writer is one State school where but one in-instructor is a Christian. The state of morals there is deplorable.

The avowed skepticism and indifferent morality of many of the instructors in our non-religious institution are well known. And it is just as well known how exceedingly ready so-called liberal teachers are to thrust their anti-Christian views upon students in the class-room, undermining the faith of the pupils, and sowing seeds of positive unbelief. The narrowest and most unreasonable bigotry to-day is that of these professed liberals. "No matter," says one, "how devout and strong in its heavenly simplicity a young man's life may have been under the parental roof, when transplanted to an institution where the critical and materialistic influences are active, it will in many, if not in most, instances, lose its strength and freshness."

**N. Y. Observer*, Aug. 12, 1897.

In order to ascertain some facts in reference to the religious atmosphere and instruction in some of our representative institutions of learning, I addressed letters of inquiry to about 65 college and university presidents representing every part of the country from Maine to California. Fifty-three answers have been received, thirty-six from denominational colleges, and seventeen from non-sectarian institutions. The inquiries were as follows: Name of institution. 2. Location. 3. Number of Protestant Church members. 4. Candidates for the ministry. 5. Do you have daily chapel exercises in which the Bible is read and prayer offered? 6. Is attendance required? 7. Does the study of the Bible as literature form part of the curriculum? 8. Is it required or elective? 9. Is devotional study of the Bible part of the course? 10. Have you a Y. M. C. A.? 11. Are class prayer-meetings maintained? 12 What in your judgment is the religious character of your institution? It was difficult to obtain satisfaction as to the number of Protestant church members in non-sectarian schools. But the following figures are significant. In thirty denominational colleges and universities, answering question No. 3, the average *per cent.* of church members to the whole number is 75. The highest *per cent.* is 99 in Thiel College; the next highest is 97 in Muhlenberg; then comes Wittenberg with 95.5, and Wooster University with 95. In five of these thirty the *per cent.* is over 90; in five between 80 and 90; in seventeen it is over 70. Two State Universities seem to stand out conspicuously in the number of church members. In one of these it is about 63.5 *per cent.*, and in another 56. Several others give 50, another 40, and another 33. Other statistics independently gathered, show the general average to be somewhat under 49. The Y. M. C. A. is established in all heard from except three. In every one of the denominational colleges daily chapel exercises are held, at which the Bible is read and prayer offered. In four out of twenty-seven Universities there is no daily chapel, and in the thirteen that do have it, attendance is compulsory only in four. In twenty-eight of the thirty-six denominational colleges, 77 *per cent.*, the study of the Bible as literature forms part of the

curriculum; in most of them it is required. Of the seventeen non-sectarian institutions it is part of the course in six. In answer to the question—Does the devotional study of the Bible form part of the course?—eighteen denominational colleges say "Yes," thirteen "No," and five give no answer: thirteen non-sectarian universities answer "No," and four do not reply. As to class prayer-meetings eighteen denominational colleges answer "Yes," eleven "No," and seven no answer; eight universities answer "Yes," three "No," and six do not answer.*

As to the matter of religious instruction in college, listen to the testimonies of such educators as these. I here make extracts from personal letters written to Chancellor W. F. McDowell of the University of Denver. Pres. Hyde, of Bowdoin, writes: "We teach religion here mainly through the chapel services for worship; through a Christian standard of character for faculty and students; through a study of the Greek Testament as part of the regular course." At Brown the Biblical courses include instruction in the Semitic languages and New Testament Greek, and Biblical Literature and History, on the basis of the English translation. "The numbers in the classes trebled last year, showing the wide interest in the work." The Biblical courses at Oberlin are quite full. Dr. Thwing, of Cleveland, writes: "In Western Reserve University we have a course in Bible and particularly upon the life of Christ. The purpose of these courses is, in a word, to make Christianity rational. * * I think it is of extreme importance to have Christian living before the students in the persons of the teachers." Pres. Tucker, of Dartmouth, writes: "We emphasize the traditions and purpose of the college as in its broadest sense founded and maintained in the interest of religion." Dr. Gates, of Amherst,

*It is to be expected that in church schools a larger proportion of students will be professing Christians than in state institutions. The argument here has to do simply with the bearing of the fact upon the religious atmosphere of an institution, and its influence upon non-Christian students. If to this be added the fact that in denominational colleges, as a rule, every instructor is a professing Christian, while in non-sectarian institutions many are not, the case becomes much stronger.

says: "The central idea of Amherst College is that religion is a life. * * * Amherst is avowedly a Christian institution. Its students and faculty meet at the beginning of each day for Christian worship. * * * And I should say that at Amherst, religion is taught most effectively by the life and manifest principles and purposes of the Faculty. * * The reverent and sound direction of the thoughts of the young men toward the Divine Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the hope that every man will voluntarily accept that supreme law of service which is the royal mark of every one of the King's followers, are our great reliance in all our work for the religious life of the college."*

Take these facts into careful consideration, the positive Christian character of the instructors in our denominational schools; the religious atmosphere induced by the religious exercises and the large proportion of Christian students, together with the distinctive religious instruction afforded there. They speak volumes for the Christian character of the denominational schools. They are profoundly significant of the fact that here the upper third of the man is not left uncultured, while his lower and middle third are developed. They demonstrate irrefutably that in our church colleges alone the full idea of an education, at least for the undergraduate, is realized. This position was greatly strengthened in the writer's mind by a conversation with a prominent and influential layman, resident under the very shadow of one of the most notable state universities of this country. This gentleman was himself a university man and officially connected with the above mentioned institution. He could thus speak *ex cathedra* upon the subject.†

*It is matter for profound congratulation that, in the colleges of our Lutheran Church, and especially in those under the care of the Board of Education, and appealing to our Lutheran people for help, positive religious instruction forms so large a part of the regular curriculum, Pennsylvania College was one of the first in the country to have a chair of Biblical Instruction. My investigations warrant the claim that in few denominational colleges is more, or more systematic, attention paid to the study of the Bible than Carthage and Midland Colleges.

†It may fairly be claimed that in the case of demoninational colleges

It thus appears that the denominational colleges supply, in the matter of education, what the public school system cannot, in the nature of the case, supply. Jefferson who cannot be accused of a strong bias toward Christianity, said to Mr. Webster, "Voluntary education in the principles of the New Testament is the only hope of a Republic in which religious instruction cannot be given by state aid." No thoughtful citizen and no true Christian, can complacently contemplate the divorce of religious influence and instruction from our systems of education, and if for no other reason, because of the simple fact that education in itself is not a safe-guard against vice and crime. A splendid educational system may educate splendid criminals. Dr. Griffin says, "To educate the mind without purifying the heart is to place a sword in the hands of a mad-man."

The natural man cannot be tamed by education. "Educate men without religion, and you make them but clever devils," said the Great Iron Duke. Knowledge is not synonymous with virtue, nor ignorance with vice. Statistics seem to prove conclusively that while education may tame the *savage passions*, it does not neccessarily reduce crime of a so-called more respectable sort.*

Christian colleges, Dr. Bashford suggestively claims, are the providential supplement of the public schools. They are more and more to safe-guard the Republic, and to be the hope of the Church. In view of all this, will any loyal Christian contend, for one moment, that our denominational colleges shall be merged into our state universities? That, it seem to me, would be detrimental alike to the cause of education and religion. And this I can say without depreciating, for one moment the splen-

increasing attention is paid to religious instruction; while in our State institutions, and in some of the non-sectarian universities the tendency is rather away from positive Christian influence and instruction. One of the early laws of Harvard is interesting: "Every one shall consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life." How does that accord with the Harvard of today?

*Cf. Prof. Peck's interesting paper in the *Cosmopolitan* for July, 1897. Henry George's words are significant: "The salvation of society is in the gospel of Christ."

did work our state universities are doing in their own legitimate field.

Denominational loyalty and perpetuity demand imperatively the maintenance of our denominational schools at the very highest standards. Denominationalism needs no defence. We may depreciate a narrow sectarianism. But we cannot read history, and resist the conviction that the great historic denominations display the guiding hand of Almighty God. They respond to some of the profoundest necessities and characteristics of our natures. With nearly four hundred years of thrilling history back of us, with fifty million souls bowing at our altars, with educational institutions the pride and glory of the educational world, with a body of doctrine that takes us into the very heart of the gospel, as we feel no other does, will any one question the right of the great Lutheran Church to be and to perpetuate itself along the lines of its historic development? And from the standpoint of the Calvinist, of the Arminian, and of the Anglican, will any one question the right of the Presbyterian, or the Methodist Episcopal, or of the Protestant Episcopal Church to be and to perpetuate itself?

And do we not here touch the very core of the matter? Being here, and rightfully so, for the glory of God in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, is it not imperatively demanded of every denomination that it shall perpetuate itself in full harmony with its own distinctive principles and church life, that is, in the way it can most effectively do the Lord's work? No one agency will so powerfully contribute to this end as strong and well equipped denominational colleges. This is simply fact of history. It is the soundest Christian philosophy. The imperial need of the Christian churches to-day is in the line of higher Christian education. The Church simply dare not abandon this field to the state. No more absorbingly important question confronts the General Synod to-day than this. Advance here will mean advance all along the line of aggressive church work.

From denominational schools the results of higher education more readily and surely accrue to the interests of religion in general and of denomination in particular. The history of

every one of the great denominations in this country is proof positive and incontrovertible of the proposition that denominational loyalty and perpetuation demand the maintenance of denominational schools. If a denomination has a right to be, and has a God-given work to do, and desires to extend its influence it must look well to its schools of higher learning. It must have institutions on the field. This is the logic of history. This fact has become increasingly apparent in the Home Missionary operations of our Church. Our Eastern institutions have been taxed to the utmost to meet the demands of their own territory. The West must largely educate its own cultured constituency, and provide for its own ministry. "The denomination that makes no provision for its educational well-being is doomed to progressive deterioration. We are bound as a matter of denominational self-preservation to make our colleges effective."

This matter of education under positively Christian influences is one of tremendous moment to us as citizens, as Christians, as Lutherans. Think what it means to conserve in the interests of truth and righteousness, the thousands of bright, brainy young men and women, who are crowding into the activities of life from our higher schools of learning! It is thrilling to think of this vast army of intelligent, high-spirited young people, with their inspiring and marvelous possibilities opening up before them. Oh, that every individual among them had the wisdom that cometh from above! What a power for righteousness in the world! And we may unhesitatingly contend that it is far more probable that they will be turned into channels of spiritual blessing to the world if educated under positively Christian influences than otherwise. And if they are to be held in enthusiastic loyalty to their own spiritual household of faith, there can be no question as the influence of training under positive denominational supervision.

It is all this which gives such importance to the work of the Board of Education of our General Synod. The few years of its work abundantly demonstrate the wisdom of its creation. Its record challenges our gratitude and sympathetic support. It

is a supreme pity that it could not have begun its activities years sooner. The institutions under its care exhibit an honorable record. They deserve our liberal and enthusiastic aid. There is scarcely a more important enterprise demanding the attention of the General Synod at this time than the proper equipment of our educational institutions. All other departments of our Christian activity will share in the success that shall attend our efforts in the line of higher education.

But one thing is plain. Whilst for the present we may depend upon the small offerings of the many for actual maintenance, we cannot rely upon these for a larger and better equipment. We must look to our wealthy constituency for generous gifts for buildings and endowment. Here is the golden opportunity for those whom God has blessed with large means. President Thwing's statement may sound a little strong, and yet I am persuaded it is within the bounds of truth when he says: "English and American history confirm the view that the agency through which wealth—be it ten thousand or ten million dollars—is most certain of doing the most good, to the most people, for the longest time, and in the widest realms, is the college and the university."

May God grant us a great quickening of the educational interest throughout the borders of the General Synod. May the blessed Lord inspire us all with vast enthusiasm in this work. And may those who have the means, in view of that sublime exhibition of devoted love and supreme self-sacrifice on far-off Calvary, yonder, be moved to come forward with princely gifts for the work of education in our General Synod.

ARTICLE VI.

THE VALUE AND RIGHT USE OF THE NATURAL.

By President S. A. Ort, D. D., LL. D.

The convictions we hold determine the cast of our life and its final outcome. Comprehensively speaking these are three in number; convictions concerning ourselves, convictions concerning God, and convictions concerning nature. As are these convictions so will we conduct ourselves, and accordingly will we achieve a destiny. In broadest terms we may say, that there are two orders of existence; one the supernatural, the other the natural. These orders sustain to each other a most vital relation. They are not independent, one of the other. They exist in most perfect unity.

It is to a discussion, in brief form, of the latter, namely, the natural, this article is directed. The specific points I mean to handle are its value and right use.

In the outset it is proper to inquire, what are we to understand by the term natural, and what are some views which have been and, even now perhaps, are entertained concerning it? In the widest sense, the word natural designates the entire universe of existence aside from God. This includes man not merely in his physical make, but also in his mental, moral and spiritual constitution. It embraces the entire range of the finite, of all derived existences, regardless of their capabilities. In the more narrow sense, the term natural signifies that portion of the universe that is without reason and free will or, in short, which lacks the power of self-consciousness. This definition excludes every moral existence and confines the scope of meaning to everything which is irrational. In the use we make at present of the word natural we limit its meaning to the more restricted sense. Men in their thinking on the natural, have, at times, adopted extreme views. It is a great world in which they find themselves, a world existent long before they stood among the

things that are, and with forces whose energy, when roused to fury, are irresistible by the hand of man. Out of this world they seem to have come. According to the processes of nature they are part of an indefinite series and continue in life by its helpful nurture.

Being, according to their supposition, entirely dependent on the natural for being here and what they are, they easily incline to the notion that nothing is greater than the universe of forces whose products we know through the intuitions of sense power. The natural for them is the chief existence,—the first and last of everything which is. In its primal state, it is the unconscious all. In brief the natural is the Absolute; it is God.

From this it readily follows that the natural is the chief good, in fact the only good. We are but the products of its moulding power and the children of its maternal care.

An opposite view regards irrational nature an evil. In essence it is the principle of the bad, and in its duration is eternal. There is with it no fondness for the spiritual. It is the sworn enemy of the rational, and wages perpetual warfare against its life. Under the impulse of this notion it is supposed by some that the attainment of a happy destiny can only be reached by severance of oneself from the association with the natural. In this wise freedom from bondage is gained and a liberty attained which is perfect independence from the despotism of nature. The natural in this case is thoroughly depreciated, thought of only to be detested and exhibited as the foe of every aspiration, every longing, every yearning of the human soul for the truly good, the all satisfying portion of the heart of man.

Between these extreme views, and assigning to the natural supremest worth, the other denying to it any value whatsoever, lies a third estimate. This assigns to the natural world its right place amidst the several orders of existence and finds in it an excellence which is both reasonable and praiseworthy. It neither views the universe of nature, on the one hand, as in eternal contradiction with the spiritual, nor, on the other hand, observes this universe to be so comprehensive in its reach as to

bound the rational, both in its beginning and consummation. It apprehends that the moral and material are neither co-extensive in duration, nor that the latter is the ground and source of the former. Positively speaking, it maintains that the spiritual in its beginning and in its essential nature is independent of the natural. At the same time, however, it teaches that the two are so truly adapted, one to the other, that they are capable of a most perfect union, and that, joined as they are in inseperable wedlock, each makes its appropriate contribution to the life they have in common, through all its stages of growth. The natural, hence, holds a most important place in the realm of existence, and possesses a value whose excellence is worthy the heartiest encomium.

In estimating the worth of this admirable existence, it is sufficient to note a few points, such as the following: First, its beginning. Strictly speaking there are two natural worlds, one seen and that is before our eyes to-day; another unseen and that is never object of physical vision. The first is known to be instrumentally the production of the second, an evolution wrought under the plastic hand of the divine, by means of irrational forces. The second is likewise derived existence. It is not self-existent. It is not an evolution. It owes its origin to the power of the self-existent one. It is a creation, and, hence, a creature of God. As such it possesses a peculiar value. Originally a conception of the divine reason, it must be the conception of a truth or principle inherent in the nature of the Deity. For God other subject of contemplation originally there is not. He himself, in the possibilities of his being, in the truth of his nature, as the sole object of his thought and, hence, it can with sound reason be said; he evermore sees all things in himself. The conception of a natural world, pertaining as it does to a principle of the divine, is not merely idea in the mind of God. It is also a fact external to the Deity, having a life of its own, and a most glorious destiny which it is capable to achieve. Such this conception has become, namely, a fact outside of God by that incomprehensible act of his called creation.

The natural, hence, is the embodiment of the idea of a principle of the divine nature eternally conceived by the Infinite Reason. It is not, therefore, speaking wildly when we say that the Universe of nature is the form according to which an element of the divine exists external to the Deity himself. On this account it has a priceless worth. It is an actual revelation of the Supreme Being. It exposes to the view of rational creatures, who, by virtue of what they are, have the power to apprehend in that which stands before their eyes, some truths of the living God.

Passing to another point, it should be said, that the natural is involved essentially in the plan, life and destiny of man. The plan of man is unique. Conception is that of a unity of the heterogeneous. Dissimilar elements are brought together in such a way that they make an existence distinct from themselves, with a life peculiar in its development and with the capability for the brightest conceivable destiny. These elements are the natural and the supernatural. The ideas of the divine mind are not only conceptions of the principles of Deity taken singly. In addition there are also those which are the unities of these principles. There are with God not only the conceptions of the natural and the moral separately viewed, but, beyond this, a conception of them as they actually are in him, of their most perfect unity in God. This conception, the idea of that which eternally is, is the plan of man.

It is plainly to be seen that, according to the thought just stated, the abstraction of the natural from the idea of the human creature is the annihilation of this idea. In that case the plan of man is an impossibility. The human creature is simply the summing up of two worlds, the natural and the spiritual. It is hence vain to suppose that this creature could or does exist without these principles as constituent elements of his being. The natural is no less essential to the existence of the human soul than is the spiritual. In truth without it there is no human soul, just as there is no plan of such an existence.

Since the plan of man necessarily involved the natural, it must be recognized that it is equally present in his life and destiny. A not uncommon opinion has been that human life in its

ongoing eliminates by degrees the natural and thus finally attains a state of perfection. In the earthly course its chief mission seems to be to suppress as far as possible the irrational, so that more and more as it approaches the climax, the natural will disappear, until at last this will have altogether vanished, and there will be manifest only the supernatural.

But life in any of its forms, is, for one thing, an appropriating activity. In its ongoing there is perpetually a gathering of suitable material from its environment. Otherwise it produces nothing and is as though it were not. Human life collects and uses elements from two sources, the earthly and the heavenly. Thereby it works out a development which clearly exhibits the the one as certainly as the other, not as separate and antagonistic, but in unity and harmony. Resulting as it does from the putting together of nature and spirit, it must ever in its activity evince an affinity for that which is like its constituent parts. In fact it ever needs the natural because of what it is—itself, and hence, in the progress of its development will always appropriate to its uses the irrational as truly as it does the rational. Otherwise it is inconceivable that it should be a true human life and proceed from the germinal state toward absolute perfection. This perfection is not that of nature life taken by itself, not that of abstract spirit life, but of that peculiar form of life which is partly one and partly the other, partly natural, partly spiritual. It would be wide mistake to judge that the upward movement of the human creature in the best sense means a getting away from the earthly. No matter how far on in his immortality this creature moves, he will always be found a human creature and, from whatever excellence he may possess, there will shine forth the glory of the natural in connection with the spiritual. So it must be and for the simple reason that the foundation of his being is not an abstract unit but a concrete unity.

In this connection it may be observed that the natural also figures conspicuously in the most wonderful work executed in human history. Redemption includes the entire man and with him the world of nature external to himself, but with which he is inseparably linked. This work of the divine mercy is the

most profound revelation of the depths of an eternal love. It surpasses any work God has ever done. It is the most glorious display of the excellence of his nature and life and, in its execution, drew much on the infinite resources of the divine wisdom and power. And yet it became fact and stands among the realities of the universe their chief through the use of the natural. When this divine enterprise was undertaken, the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. The only begotten Son of God clothed himself in the garment of the natural. He possessed a true physical body. When the Incarnate One reached the climax of his undertaking for sinful man, he experienced the agony of Gethsemane, and in that agony the natural sympathized so deeply with the spiritual that he sweat great drops of blood. And when a little later he was crucified on the cross of Calvary he bore our sins in his body on that cross. That same body was pierced for human iniquities, and poured forth its blood for the remission of sin. It died, and this was the death of Christ. In this event so prominent in the great atonement, unquestionably the natural is involved. Without its use as means there is no propitiation for sin, no reconciliation between God and the sinful soul, no true vicarious sacrifice. By his own blood shed on the cross hath the eternal Son of God purchased for us and men everywhere an all-sufficient redemption. In view of this incontestible fact need I for a moment stop to say that the natural possesses a value far beyond our ability to conceive? Rather would I hasten to remind the reader of an additional fact emphasizing the great truth to which I cite most careful thought. The dead body of our Lord was buried, but on the morning of the third day thereafter it was alive again, and now it is at the right hand of God resplendent in glory. On the cross the natural died, in the bosom of the earth it was entombed, on a grave riven and with bars broken, it presently stands fresh in the vigor of an immortal life, and now up yonder amidst the divine heights it dwells radiant in the excellence of the living God.

In connection with the foregoing a word should be said about the right use of the natural. There is a right use. This im-

plies that there may be a wrong use. So it is. In man's dealing with the world of nature, under the impulse of an immoral tendency, he has made most serious mistake. Instead of treating it as a noble creature of God, existing through the Divine wisdom and power to shew forth and declare its handiwork and glory of the spiritual, he now and then, here and there, prostitutes it to base ends and employs it in wantonness. He makes it the servant of sin, instead of the minister of the good. He falsifies it and thus renders it the means of inducing every sort of evil, instead of observes its truth and thus employs it as the agent of his moral powers in order to realize the highest good. The right use of the natural, for one thing, is to promote the interest of reason. Reason has an interest. This is real both for the infinite and finite reason. It is an inherent concern for the right, the true, the good. The promotion of this concern is the formal expression of these excellences. Human reason, like absolute reason, has its own ideals. These ideals are the pure forms of its perfections. As such they exist only in thought. They have no external existence. The interest of human reason, like the absolute reason, is to reproduce these ideals of itself under forms that are distinct and outward from itself. These ideals are highest conceptions of what it is, the deepest insight into its own nature. They are the presentations to itself not of external attachments, but of that which constitutes or is the self. The life of reason is not merely the activity which produces these inner presentations; for in that case it would be everlastingly hidden. It is in addition that energy which makes these self intuitions to stand out as real objects separate from yourself, myself and every self.

The builder conceives the idea of a house. As mere idea it is concealed in his own mind and is only when and where he is. But when he lays hold of some products of nature and shapes them together according to this idea, the idea is now manifest and exists independent of himself. By means of the natural he has reproduced in external, tangible form, a thought of his soul. So is it ever with the human reason. God made the natural, but only that it might be material for the expression of what is

good and true. It remains for the human soul to appropriate this material, and transform it into a world of its own design, which will exhibit in outward reality its ideals of the right, the true, the good, and be new creature made in the likeness of its architect. The right use of the natural, it can be fairly said, is then to reproduce man as in his life he ought to be. In this reproduction, hence, there must appear not only the intellectual and the æsthetic, but pre-eminently the moral and the religious. Under the moulding power of the human soul the natural should become the image of man, that it may be the image of God. This is the high dignity of which it is capable and for which in its creation it evidently was designed.

In view of all this how vast the undertaking of man. This world of nature it is his mission to transform and shape into an existence that will image himself in whatsoever is right and true and good. This is the work assigned a rational being and in the prosecution of which he is commanded of God to employ the energy of his powers. It is a use of highest moment and sublimest product to which the natural in its fulness must be applied. A use which serves not only the interest of the beautiful, as instanced in Attic civilization, but especially that of the scientifically true and morally good, as illustrated by that higher civilization which is the glory of the Christian centuries, and notably that of the century in which we now live.

ARTICLE VII.

THE WHENCE AND THE WHITHER OF EVANGELICAL DOGMATICS.

CONDENSED FROM PROF. KIRN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, LEIPZIG, JULY, 1896.

By Rev. S. Gring Hefelbower, A. M.

At first thought it may seem strange that dogmatics, in spite of its long history and the important place in scientific life which it has held for years, must ever contend with questions that concern its foundation and method. While other younger sciences have enjoyed fixed methods, and those branches of theology that are related to history are disposing of a respectable amount of undisputed matter, dogmatics, Penelope-like, must ever take up its work anew at the very beginning. In fact, this century alone has produced a motley variety of systems, of divergent characteristics: the schools of Rationalism and Supernaturalism, the religious dogmatics of Schleiermacher; the speculative theology of Hegelian influence; the renewel of Confessional Dogmatics; Biblical Dogmatics; that of the mediating school and Ritschlian dogmatics. And this divergence of schools indicates by no means a mere difference on individual questions, but rather a fundamental divergenee in regard to starting point and method. It has its ultimate roots in different conceptions of a system of things, and finds expression in determining the relation of faith and knowledge; revelation and reason; nature and history and transcendence and immanence.

Dogmatics could continue undisturbed if this want of scientific tradition came merely from the magnitude and subjectiveness of its object. For as a rule subjective sciences mature later than others, and dogmatics deals with the most transcendent

Note.—Professor Otto Kirn was born at Stuttgart, 1857; he studied at Tübigen, 1875–80, was repetent in the Stift there 1881–84, during the year 1884 he traveled in France and England; from 1885–89 he was pastor at Besigheim, Würtemburg, 1889–90 Privatdocent at Basel, 1890–94 Extraordinary Professor, 1894–96 Ordinary Professor and in 1896 he was called to Leipzig as Luthardt's successor.

relations of our spiritual life. But if we examine more closely the questions that hinder the certain course of dogmatics, we find that they are not the highest religious truths,—the being of God, the person of Christ, the work of the Spirit,—but such as lie on the borderland where faith and knowledge meet. They deal with the value of articles of faith in terms of knowledge; the compatibility of religious conviction with the principles of natural science, and the like. And while the former mysteries of faith hinder only the final perfection of dogmatics, it seems that these questions do not allow it to come to a beginning; that is, if dogmatics must rest on investigation according to a settled theory of knowledge.

This being the condition of affairs, it is plain that only the new theology desires to put these questions aside. It teaches that dogmatics should become a positive science. Instead of first going to other sciences (especially philosophy) for permission to work, it shall with confidence, from its own premises determine its methods and form its system. Other sciences do not wait with their positive work till their fundamental ideas are free from objection and the methods to be adopted are ultimately determined. The rule is rather that the successful explanation of a definite complex of facts forms the indirect proof of the correctness of the adopted course; and the more exact putting of the ultimate principles belongs to the results that grow from the work itself.

Accordingly two questions arise from the present condition of the work in dogmatics; is it possible to give dogmatics an independent starting point, and is it able to attain its goal without reference to the results of other scientific investigation.

The striving to establish an independent starting point for dogmatics enters upon different ways according to the relations contained in the dogma. Dogma is the expression of the Christian's faith-given knowledge that obtains in the Church. It derives its content from revelation, but its form is influenced by the scientific advancement of its age. And should this influence be limited as much as possible, we have as the result, either the historical foundation of dogma in divine revelation

and the doctrinal statement of the Church, or its inner conditionality through the subjective experience of faith. And in reality these are the methods of procedure that are adopted.

Before all others, Confessional Dogmatics reverts to the historical basis of dogma. It seeks to preserve to the Church its inheritance of dotrinal traditions, and thereby to counteract the subjectivism of a restless period which is groping in religious life and thought. The work of Rationalism in separating dogmatic work from the religious life and theology of the Reformation is thus undone. But Confessional Dogmatics is not satisfied with this. The Reformation established dogma on Scripture, and thus made it a dependent quantity whose highest norm was to be found in Exegesis. Consequently, the most noteworthy works of this school become in a sense biblical. We need but mention the names of Thomasius, Hofman and Kalnis to recall this tendency toward scriptural perfecting of dogma. But further; through the Reformation the truths of faith won a relation to the inner religious life of the subject and his experience of faith, which the next century in its zeal for pure doctrine neglected; against which neglect Pietism was a protest. And in renewing Reformation dogmatics it was impossible to neglect this genuinely evangelical position. Therefore the emphasizing of tradition in dogmatics demands and finds its supplementary counterweight in making the inner consciousness of the believing subject felt. It is well known how Frank's attempt to refer these two sides of dogmatic work to each other gave his system its peculiar stamp.

Biblical dogmatics goes one step further back. In order to preserve entire the fulness of biblical thought it would make its system biblical in form as well as content; for which the premise is basal that the scriptural declarations form an articulate whole, in itself coherent, and that the work of the dogmatician is merely to join them together according to the original inner plan. If this premise can be proven this method is the most consistent; for it insures scriptural fulness and freedom from foreign elements. But an historical completion of Scripture will

scarcely permit it. True, a uniform relation in the religious thoughts of biblical revelation extends through all Scripture; *e. g.* the idea of the kingdom of God and the redemption prepared through God's love. But these thoughts form no system, uniform from beginning to end; they rather appear in a gradation in which the content becomes elevated and their relation to other parts of the religious world changed. Biblical conceptions are much rather the degrees of an historical process than the elements of a system complete from the beginning. Even in the New Testament, the climax of this revelation, Biblical theology teaches us to recognize not the sytematic coherence of a uniform mode of thought, but the complexity of supplementary forms of conception of the same fundamental facts. Seeking a uniform system here, fails to recognize the inexhaustible richness of revelation and the human conditionality to which such a conception is subject. Thus then comes in a subjective philosophical element which influences the systematic connection. Even J. T. Beck is touched by a mystically theosophic method of thinking. Of course it is the duty of evangelical theology to be ever turning back to the pure biblical fountain-head; but with nothing more it is impossible to get a dogmatic system. Such a work demands the recognition of the history of Christian doctrine, and the use of certain religious and scientific principles.

The second way to insure dogmatics the independence sought proceeds from the knowledge of the inner absoluteness of the religious life; which was attempted first by Schleiermacher. Convinced that a certain province of the soul belonged to religion he attempted, from the pious self-consciousness to make a purely religious statement of Christian faith. He described the states of mind peculiar to Christian piety and developed their interpretation; since from them arise ideas concerning God's attributes and works. And since all declarations about God and the world refer back to the religious self-consciousness, he hoped to escape infusion of foreign (speculative) elements. But he failed. In fact the whole undertaking to base dogmatics on subjective experience betrays clearly the influencc of the critical Kantian

philosophy. The question as to the absolute reality of the objects of faith gives way to that of their appearance and their correction in consciousness. And the way in which declarations concerning God and the world are brought together shows clearly the pantheistic methods of thinking of the German classics. But there was still another difficulty. The relation of faith to the person of Jesus could not be a side issue if Christian faith was to reach a statement. Therefore it was necessary for dogmatics to include a doctrine of the Person and work of Christ which could in no way be gotten from the subjective Christian experience, but from the gospel history of the life of Christ. Thus Schleiermacher failed, in the strict sense, not being able to keep aloof from the influence of Philosophy, and to avoid contact with things of knowledge.

Albrecht Ritschl also tried to keep dogmatics free from the influence of natural science and philosophy on cognate though slightly modified premises. He likewise, before all else, emphasized the fundamental difference between religion and knowledge: Religion does not deal with the objective coherence of the world; nor is it guided by the need of explaining or understanding; it rather refers wholly to the practical relations of man to the world. Religious man with the help of God seeks to overcome the hindrances the world affords. Consequently, feelings are the important thing; for in them we come to a consciousness of the hindrance of our personal life. Even the judgment [conceptions] that belong to religion refer to this feeling of life as judgments of value.* Only on the basis of this

*The authority for suggesting "conceptions" as a possible translation for "Urteile" is found in the fact that this is referred to in the index under the head of Werthbegriffe. The German word "Werthurteile," here rendered judgments of value acquires a very technical use with Ritschl. It is therefore well to define it in his own words.

"Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung" 3rd ed., vol. III., page 197, "Religious knowledge in Christianity consists of independent judgments of value; since it deals with the relation of the salvation assured by God and sought by man; to the whole of the world created by God and guided by His purpose * * * p. 201, "That religious knowledge passed over into judgments of value is fortunately made clear by Luther [quotation from larger catechism] * * The knowledge of God can be proven to

practical interest can religious tenets he accepted and understood. In the Christian religion these judgments of value lay hold of the person of Christ and since it is the revelation of divine love, we are conscious of a divine love-directed will intended to elevate us over the burdensomeness of our empirical position in the world; and which in spite of sin fills us with trust in God's fatherly providence. Against this trust theoretical earthly knowledge can raise no objection, because it is finite and ignores the feelings and judgments of value which are essential to religion. Therefore it is just as impossible to base religious conviction on a theoretical procedure as it is to shake it by such a course. In fact it is absurd to compare religious and theoretical knowledge because they belong to entirely different parts of soul life; and because their declarations have different foundations. The objective sense of facts and the subjective feeling of value do not allow a reduction to each other. The truth of the Christian conviction of faith can only be proven when it is shown how the judgment of the world through faith is in harmony with the demands of moral consciousness, according as religion regards the great value of spirit over against nature as grounded in God, whose existence moral life presupposes.

This attempt to preserve to Christian faith its independent place is certainly worthy of consideration. Christian faith is based on the historic Christ more clearly than by Schleiermacher. It certainly should not remain in the subjectivity of human consciousness; but in the objective world should find God's hand, and lay hold of it and know itself to be in harmony with his revelation. But this valuable thought is dimmed by the uncertain conception of a judgment of value; in that this indeterminately great difference between our subjective impression and the objective reality makes uncertain the value of expressions of

be religious knowledge only when it regards him as assuring the believers such a position in the world as prevails over its hindrances. Outside of the judgments of value through faith there comes no knowledge of God. * * * It is claimed we must first know the being of God or Christ and then afterwards we can determine the value for us * * Much rather do we know the being of God or Christ only within the limits of their value for us."

faith in terms of knowledge. Faith which found in the historic Christ the revelation of God must go further. From the knowledge of God, of which it has become certain, it must have the logical conclusions for all reality. The Christian God being Lord not only of history but also of the whole world, it is impossible to find in history alone traces of divine control. Consequently faith must expect in nature definite though perhaps dark beginnings for the highest truth. Thereby it is of course made necessary for faith to defend its own distinct position over against a knowledge of the world based on other premises. But this necessity is not escaped by falling back on history; for not everybody has a Christian sense of history, especially the history of Christian revelation. And further, faith can determine our entire culture only when it takes a definite stand in regard to the problems of knowledge. To sum up the matter, if we dare refer to history for our judgments of faith, we must also be prepared to follow them out in the presence of all reality.

We have passed unnoticed a number of attempts that differ greatly in their inception, yet have one common aim; and that is to give to dogmatics an independent place in the sphere of scientific life. And this agreement of diverging lines in the same tendency proves a cetain inner justification. Dogmatics must insist that there is given to it a peculiar realm in experience, which on these facts builds up its tenets. But it must avoid the error of unconditionally accepting as its basis either biblical revelation (the churchly development of doctrine as the case may be) or the religious experience of faith. Only a living correlation of these two can form its starting point. But if dog matics must hold that its doctrines express plain objective truth and thus form a supporting frame-work for the only satisfying theory of things, it does not withdraw from every other science that touches it.

But these statements require stronger proof.

This independence of dogmatics has for its immediate premises the independence of religion which since Schleiermacher cannot be doubted. It is not a degenerate scientific explanation of things, nor a handmaid of ethics; but an independent ex-

pression of the life of personality. In it we seek with the help of a higher power, a renewal and an ennobling of personal life. If we are justified in assuming that man does not in time become, but from the beginning is a moral being by virtue of his self-consciousness and self-determination, religion cannot be entirely without a moral element. But even moral longing for purification and strengthening of will is embraced in our relation to deity and forms a condition for participating in life of deity. Thus religion is the most primal and central expression of human desire to be lifted up into a more perfect life. On it rests every striving of man's spirit after the ideal. Knowledge aims at comprehending the world as it is; religion seeks to transcend the world and attain a personal relation to a personal power over it.

But this yearning is merely the subjective root of religion in man's soul; and of itself it is not able to bring forth even the poorest form of real religion. Thus, seeking will become finding and having only when there comes to meet it a manifestation of God. That such a manifestation can be found in nature cannot be denied in the face of the fact that religions which are long-lived and wide-spread have been nourished on just such a religious interpretation of nature. Even these at every deficiency of revelation bore hints of the truth. Of course history offers this religious longing a much richer and clearer content. And Christianity is well aware that it owes to history all that which distinguishes it from other religions; for it is that form of religious life which springs from the relation of religious desire to God's revelation in Christ; in which revelation all its distinguishing features are found. Therefore Christianity has a well defined historically determined meaning. Yet not all is Christian which Christian people hold as good and true and beautiful; but only that which can be traced back to the fixed circle of facts connected with the person of Christ. Therefore Christianity has capacity for development only in so far as its fundamental facts admit of and require an uninterrupted work of permeating and unfolding; going beyond this would mean cessation of its very being.

Therein lies the second supplementary moment which establishes the independence of dogmatics and determines whence it takes its source. Christian faith has its independent source in biblical revelation. When this comes in contact with the religious need it analyzes an inner life to which belong not merely states of will but also definite conceptions. And this relation between the religious subject and the historical content of revelation forms the first problem of dogmatics. It appropriates everything that revelation has to offer religious man, and thereby circumscribes the content of the religious conceptions in Christianity.

But there is a difficulty here. An historical foundation always seems to possess merely a relative firmness; but not because, as Lessing would have it, the historical *per se* is casual. Appealing to religious sanction and tradition does not avoid the common lot of an historical report in the hands of the critic. For just here in sacred matters is the place for zealous study and severe testing. It is of great importance that our faith rests on pure historical truth and not doubtful reports. Yet how is it possible to find a sure foundation in this historical tradition. Is it not to be feared that historical criticism ends in the destruction of the foundation of Christian faith?

But it seems to some of us that the peculiar character of this religious history precludes all danger here. Though revelation belongs to history it is not merely a thing of the past; for in religious life it continues working. The outward facts of revelation are copied in the inward facts of religious consciousness; and thus we have an inner resort of religious judgment which historical criticism has not been able to touch. We dare and must ascribe that importance to our Redeemer which he attains in our inner life. When Christian tradition awakens and sustains religious life it proves itself to be revelation. The specific nature of this new life also disproves illusion; for faith brings self-condemnation, which we would gladly escape and raises us to a confidence, to hold which we must strive. Therein God's revelation proves itself to be the founder of a new spiritual value in life. If a man should doubt the national events of the

Franco-Prussian War we would hold before him the changed map of Europe and appeal to the fact that Germany once separated, is now a unity. Just so we can present the fact that God through Christ has given a new turn to the life of man. In both cases we rely on this: that the history spoken of continues to live in its workings and that these workings without the history cannot be comprehended.

By this correspondence between history and its workings we win a living relation to such events of revelation as can be experienced. We receive an impression of the power of the Redeemer though his work. Thus, first of all, access is gained to the doctrine of salvation. But when we depart from the points in which history and experience meet we must set down as real all that stands in neccessary connection with them; be it premise or conclusion. On the basis of our experience of faith and the corresponding history we project a coherent Christian confession of faith which has its hold in history and an inward reality. And in this we are conscious of traversing paths of knowledge which are specifically different from the genetic process of non-religious knowledge; according as the firm hold of our conviction is framed by our experiences which are possible only on the basis of religion and only under the influences of Christianity. But as we proceed from experience and history and from this standpoint unfold their further relations we are persuaded to comply with the methodical requirements that obtain in cognition of the real.

Thus the experience of faith awakened and determined by revelation forms the starting point for evangelical dogmatics. Here the reformers began their work. Melanchthon in his *Loci* of 1521 clearly recognized this true foundation. He did not begin with the mystery of deity but held himself to the facts of the inner change which led from consciousness of sin to certainty of grace; and thus entered upon an understanding of the ways of God that worked that change. And thus he showed dogmatics the way to independence which was in conformity with faith's certainty of itself. It is claimed that Melanchthon turned back again to philosophic dogmatics. True he opened

the door to Aristotle again and recognized the indebtedness of tradition to natural theology; from which teaching we are not yet free. Later in life he was not always found on the heights of the first plan. The overwhelming determinative power of Luther's religious strength and depth make place later for a theology which was too much influenced by learned cares and irresolutions. Yet it was absolutely necessary that the broken relation to historical development and contemporary learning be renewed. For Christian dogmatics was not to be a mere presentation of Christian doctrine: but from this as center it must plan a system of things and thus enter into relations to all scientific learning.

Though independent in its starting point, dogmatics cannot attain its goal without coming to an understanding with other sciences; especially philosophy.

This is evident from its development. As soon as Christianity met ancient culture it felt a need on its intellectual side in form of expression and apologetics. That in this there remains a difference between form and content, and that Greek thought, which was intellectual and toward natural philosophy, influenced dogma and partly obscured its religious core, cannot be denied. But in spite of defects the procedure was justified. True, Christian faith in the individual does not need scientific form; but among a people of culture it must have it if it is to become an historical power. And every shrinking back from coming into relations with other branches of learning means a relinquishing of the pervasion of the entire intellectual life by Christian thoughts. This might be conceivable with a religion that rested wholly on subjective moods and aimed at a merely aesthetic satisfaction; but it is untenable with a religion based on historic facts, that advances claims on the basis of the truth of its declarations.

This broadening of the task of dogmatics is chiefly demanded by the unity of our inner life. Even if religion is of the sphere of highest reality it is impossible for it to deal with the world in any way without coming into relations to sciences of the world.

Christian faith demands a theological view of the universe. It sees God's hand in history and nature, and therefore can unite only with science which recognizes this. We cannot think with Materialism and believe with Christianity. Our religious knowledge and our other knowledge must agree else we lose the inner coherence of our subjective possession; without which our impulse to think toward unity is not satisfied.

This likewise follows from the claim that faith makes on truth. We neccessarily project an all-comprehending truth each of whose integral parts is a working knowledge. Of course each realm has special laws, according to its special nature. But for this very reason it is after all embraced under a common system of law. Under all true learning there must be a bond of union. And if Christian faith is to pass for more than a mere subjective way of looking at things it must belong to this realm of truth; and, giving and receiving light, stand in union with the other parts of the One Truth.

The different origins of faith and knowledge and their indispensableness to each other is a strong element in Christian apologetics. Many a one who is estranged from faith by a broad, modern, half-way sort of education, is without doubt, much benefited when it is shown how much he has overestimated certain scientific ideas (*e. g.* the atomic workings or the doctrine of development), since he has made them his chief thoughts in his system of the world. And the needs of the soul and of moral living demand a higher conception of life. But the proper discriminating is only the first step on this way which demands for completion the proper combination, as second step. But after all the strongest Apologetics lies in showing how directly Christian faith leads to a conception of the whole in which the manifold elements of scientific truth find their places.

Even science, in its own interests, dare not despise this connection with religious thought. Its work ends in problems which knowledge cannot explain. Whence the intelligent order of things! Whence the designed harmony of life functions of organisms, for the explanation of which the supposition of an immeasurably long course of development is a very questiona-

ble make-shift? Whence the absoluteness of the moral demands which assert themselves against all impulses? Are not these questions hand-boards leading man out of a religion of knowledge into a religion of faith? Of course we do not demand that science go beyond its boundaries. But in stating these problems it shows the points in which faith and knowledge touch and supplement each other.

If we thus determine the aim of dogmatics,—the broadening of the Christian knowledge of faith to an entire system of the world, the gain seems to be lost which was promised by the efforts to give it an independent foundation. Thereby dogmatics takes up an element that yields to historical change. In revelation, which is historically closed, faith has an unchangeable content; while knowledge is a growing quantity. New systems and new methods arise. Does not dogmatics endanger the stability expected of it when it uses these changeable elements! We understand this anxiety, but we cannot sympathize with it, for no human science can be indifferent to historical development. On its connection with the tendencies of the age rests its ability to effect the age. But dogmatics has a counter influence which puts it beyond danger of losing its being in the current of history. Accordingly as it remains conscious of its starting point and center in historically founded knowledge of faith, it overcomes the danger of becoming estranged from its source. Because it works in close relation with exegesis and churchly development of doctrine, it is safe in allowing manifold external influences to work upon it.

Of course this wide extension of the task of dogmatics meets with special difficulties. Metaphysics, which moved along at the side of dogmatics, has disappeared from the scientific stage. Now, natural science is the all important thing, and for many its methods are absolute. The sciences that do not deal with matter are for the most part occupied in gathering psychological and historical material without as yet having come to final results concerning the being and laws of the inner life. Everywhere there is analysis and criticism, and a great want of constructive and systematizing work. In the midst of this mighty

tendency stands dogmatics, of course very much isolated, claiming to point the way to the highest truth.

But it is probably not saying too much when I add that we are standing in the beginning of a new period. At least the feeling is that after so much critical labor we need once more a positive work of construction. The reign of materialism in science has been broken and a more living dynamic understanding of nature obtains. The spirit of history and the being of the soul are considered anew; and a method is sought which will not force the inner life into formulas of science, but will fit its peculiar nature. Since this is the condition of affairs dare we not hope that out of these attempts there may come a scientific method of thinking, which, in proportion as it approaches the true nature of things, will also find again a close relation to religious truth? And is it treason against the independence of theology if we rejoice in these signs and attentively follow, not because we need a support for tottering faith, but because we would gladly help it to its full effect in the non-material life.

The inmost province of dogmatic work is little influenced by the tendency of the scientific spirit; but since dogmatics states Christianity's view of the world, it sees an ally in every tendency of thought that vindicates and makes clear the contents and nature of the spiritual, the moral and the personal life. For dogmatics represents an ideal system of the world based on experience and history, in which system the spiritually moral personality occupies the highest place, not only in the world but also over the world.

It should be the aim of the theologian to show that the faith of our Church rests on a foundation independent of the favor or disfavor of the age; and that it is so lofty as to stand in connection with every valuable possession of heart and mind. And this conception was that of the first theologian, who was indeed more than a theologian; who comprehended the limitations and the breadth of Christian life and thought in the words; "All are yours and ye are Christ's."

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

A History of Anti-pedobaptism from the Rise of Pedobaptism to A. D. 1609. By Albert Henry Newman, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in McMaster University, Toronto, Canada. 1897. Price $150.

Prof. Newman has made us all debtors by this fine piece of historical work. He entered a field whose widely scattered and difficult material needed collection and an orderly exhibition. His task required examination of many of the obscurest and most confused portions of history, and the particular phenomenon itself had to be traced out and disentangled from an immense mass of discordant teachings and practices which, in many countries and for centuries, kept up varied protests and often fanatical strife against the prevalent order of the Church. But his work shows him possessed of the true historical spirit of patient and laborious investigation, discriminating judgment and ability to do fair justice to the complex motives and forces which appeared in those who were the actors in the history. Writing as a Baptist and with full sympathy with anti-pedobaptism, he has given us a history worthy to be read by both sides of the controverted view—a work marked by scholarly ability and full of information drawn from wide and difficult sources, a real and valuable addition to our historical literature.

Prof. Newman begins by devoting several chapters to an explanation of the rise and establishment, in early Christianity, of infant baptism, which he regards as a departure from the apostolic norm. "If the apostolic churches were baptist churches, the churches of the second century were not. Still less were those of the third and following centuries." The change is viewed as a part of the broader perversion that came into Christian doctrine and practice through the ideas and philosophies which the conversion of pagans introduced into the Church, especially their notions of priestly power and the magical efficacy of external rites. It came naturally out of the idea of the absolute necessity of the baptismal act for the washing away of sin. "When Christians had come to believe that no salvation was possible apart from baptism, it was inevitable that infant baptism should be introduced." He dissents from the view of many Baptist writers who have thought they can find in the Montanists, Novatians, Donatists, Jovianists, Vigilantians, Paulicians, Bogomiles, etc., a true succession of Baptist view.

From this introductory explanation, the author passes over to the

twelfth century where the history of Anti-pedobaptism really begins in the Petrobrusians and Arnoldists. In successive chapters he gives account of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, and in the Reformation period of the Zwickau Prophets, Münzer and the Peasant's War, the different anti-pedobaptic leaders, agitations, successes, persecutions and dispersions in the Swiss Cantons, the multiform strifes in Germany, Silesia, the Tyrol, Austria, Moravia and Bohemia, the Netherlands, Westphalia, the episode of the Münster Kingdom, Menno Simons and the Mennonites, the movement in Italy and Poland, and the rise and fortunes of the Baptists of England down to 1609. Altogether, whether viewed from the pedobaptist or the anti-pedobaptist standpoint, it is a most interesting and instructive record of a peculiar, serious, and significant course of events in the history of Christianity.

M. VALENTINE.

The Great Poets and Their Theology. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., LL. D., President of Rochester Theological Seminary. Author of "Systematic Theology" and "Philosophy of Religion." pp. 531.

Dr. Strong brings to the discussion of the theology of the great poets some eminent qualifications—fine theological erudition, large general culture, and poetic insight. He modestly says that in these essays he is doing business mostly on borrowed capital, but his readers will feel that his capital has been well worked and that in his hands it has yielded large usury. There may be lacking the technique of the distinctively literary craftsman, but the lack has its compensations. It is a relief to escape the hyper-criticisms and the discussion of minutiæ that occupy so much of professional literary criticism, and get out into spaces where the air is freer and the outlook larger. Form is only one element in poetry; substance is the other, and while there is treatment of form in these essays, the whole view is broad and generous, discriminating but appreciative, utterly free from trivialities and self-consciousness. It is a positive delight to walk in the company of the poets with such an interpreter and guide. There is a quality of justness in the treatment, of wholesomeness, of freedom from obtrusive subjective bias, that puts us on the best of terms with our interpreter and makes us willing to frankly hear what he so frankly says. Our fellowship with him is altogether pleasant; he stimulates our thought; he instructs us; he entertains us with incidents well told; he lightens serious discussion with flashes of humor.

We have been particularly pleased with the essays on Homer, Gœthe, Browning, and Tennyson. The treatment of the unity and authenticity of the Homeric poems is convincing. The method employed in dealing with the matter is the method that has been used with good effect in in heading off some of the claims of Higher Biblical Criticism. The essay on Gœthe is one of the best in the book. It is appreciative of

Gœthe's literary art and great dramatic power, but reprobates his unmoral philosophy and his immoral life, tracing with fine insight the reactions of his life on his philosophy and of his philosophy on his life, and the vitiating effects of both on his art. Dr. Strong's analysis of the poet as first a creator, secondly an idealizer, and thirdly a literary artist, enables him to approach the study of Browning in a way that makes it possible to do justice to the product of Browning's constructive imagination, which is undoubtedly great, without committing one's self to his style, which is often abominable. It must ever remain a pity that such strength and penetration of thought should have been joined with such neglect, almost scorn, of clearness and form; the plan of compelling readers to wrestle for the meaning is a thing that can be overdone. It is worthy of note that Browning's greatest obscurities and eccentricities of style belong to the last period of his work, when he was attempting a unifying philosophy of the world. A great poet must needs be a great philosopher, but the philosophy that can speak in verse is the philosophy in which the emotions are strongly involved and uttered, not simply the excursions of the discursive reason. Browning's later poetry was too consciously metaphysical. Tennyson is ranked as the greatest poet of the century, which is altogether according to our way of thinking. His development from the period of "dainty grace" unto the period of "subtle thought," and thence into the period of "broad humanity" is unfolded through analysis of the poet's inner experiences and of his poetry as recording his experiences. Dr Strong's handling of these matters shows that the eminence he has attained in theology he might have attained in literary criticism, had he chosen that field for his talents.

Of course, as the title shows, in this volume biography and literary criticism are meant only to prepare the way for an examination of the theology of the great poets. And it is an inspiring thing to have laid before us the way in which the poets, the mighty seers—*seers* into the realities of things—have had their theologies, their conceptions of a God behind and above phenomena, of a moral and spiritual element in man, of relations sustained between God and man, and of a moral order in the universe. From the confused gropings of Homer and Virgil in the twilight of reason to Tennyson's cry "Strong Son of God, immortal Love," in the sun-light of the gospel, the great poet-prophets have been feelers after God and his purposes and order as expressed in nature and life. And their poetry has gained in sublimity in proportion as their spirits have been dilated by the supreme thoughts of God, immortality, duty; and it has dwindled as these thoughts have lost vitality and meaning. Gœthe is an illustration of this. His powerful drama, "Gœtz Von Berlichingen" was written before a pantheistic philosophy had robbed him of the materials out of which a great drama can be made, a personal God, moral responsibility, the sense of remorse. "The operation of conscience is the very essence of tragedy.

Pity and remorse and repentance touch deeper chords in the heart than do any representations of love or joy. But these deeper chords Gœthe found it increasingly hard to reach" as his monistic philosophy led him to deny freedom in God or man, thus making the reproaches of conscience an illusion. This is why in the second part of "Faust" there is such a falling off from the first in point of power. The first part was conceived, and at least partially written, under the influence of his earlier beliefs. The second part belongs to his last days and shows everywhere the withering blight of his pantheistic conceptions. "In form as well as substance, we must hold the second part of 'Faust' to be the most striking of judgments upon the philosophy which it seeks to express. The tree is known by its fruits, and we have in Goethe the proof that pantheism not only depraves the poet's life, but withers his art." On the other hand "In Memoriam," the greatest poem of the greatest poet of the century, is instinct with spiritual thought, for if "Goethe's 'Faust' reflects the materialism and skepticism of the nineteenth century, Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' expresses its faith triumphant over doubt." It is full of questionings, indeed, and of the deep yearnings of the spirit to find the underlying order that will bring into unity all the fragmentariness of human life, but it believes in Incarnate Love. The "one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves" gives far stretching perspective to the poem and in that perspective God and immortality are discerned. And it is this great background against which life is seen that gives "In Memoriam" its glory. In it "deep calleth unto deep"—the deep in man to the deep in God.

In the essay on Milton Dr. Strong reveals his Baptist's proclivities in the claim that Milton's development brought him to the acceptance of immersion as the proper mode of baptism. And the claim can unquestionably be sustained, as any one can see by turning to Milton's "Christian Doctrine." But if it be claimed that Milton's development to this is presumptive evidence of the final truth in the matter, it might prove too much. In the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," written in 1629, he speaks of Christ having been wont to sit "at heaven's high council-table" in "the midst of trinal unity." In 1641 he addresses prayer to the "Tri-personal Godhead." But in "Paradise Lost" and "Christian Doctrine" he has developed into Arianism. He developed also a Quaker element with its disregard of ordinances. Dr. Strong would agree that these were developments backward. May it not be that his development into acceptance of immersion was another case of retrogressive evolution? The question is worth raising, though Milton's views one way or the other have no bearing on the main question.

M. H. VALENTINE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

God: Nature and Attributes. By Randolph S. Foster, D. D., LL. D., A Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1897. 8vo. pp. xxxvi, 280. Price $3.00.

This is one of the author's series of "Studies in Theology," of which "Prolegomena," "Theism," "The Supernatural Book," and "Creation" formed earlier volumes. They have been appearing in an orderly connection and sequence of subjects, though each volume forms a work distinct and complete in itself. In his prefatory statements the author indicates the close connection of the subject of this volume with that of the second, on Cosmic Theism, vindicates the scientific claims of theology, points out the relation between subject and attribute, and defines the Christian conception of creation.

Dr. Foster has conducted his discussion of God's nature and attributes upon the basis of the distinction, which he emphasizes, between modes or facts which are predicable of God, and what are properly termed his attributes. "Not every predicate of God, even when it is a necessary predicate, and entirely peculiar to him, denotes an attribute. God is, but existence is not an attribute; God is a spirit, but spirit is not an attribute; both are predicates, but neither denotes an attribute. The same is true of other predicates, as: God is one, God is a trinity, God is unconditioned, God is absolute, God is self-existent, God is independent, God is a necessary being, God is a person. These are all true predicates, but not one of them denotes an attribute." Not everything that is descriptive may be ranked as an attribute. Hence in first part of the work, he treats of God with respect to his essence as Spirit, his Unity, Eternity, as Absolute and Unconditioned Being, as a Person, the truths of his Freedom and Moral Nature. He then discusses the generic subject of the Divine Attributes, and specifically of Omnipresence, Omnipotence, Omniscience, Goodness, Justice, and Truth. Infinity is not classed as an attribute, but viewed as a predicate expressing the perfection of all God's attributes.

The work is moulded in the views of conservative theology, though the treatment shows the light of modern and recent thought. It recognizes both the rational and Biblical sources for the determinations of Christian theism. The author opened a decided advantage for himself in designating his work "Studies" in theology, as it affords a freer and more varied handling, as well as introduction of many quotations and comparisons of view. And he has made good use of this advantage, adding generally to the worth and interest of the discussion of themes so abstract and metaphysical. Justly he finds much to criticise in the representations of many of the writers quoted or referred to. Most of the criticisms are fair and discriminating, and sometimes they are given with a polemic vigor that enlivens and stirs the interest of the reader,

as, for instance, when he replies to Dr. Shedd's statement: God's acts of power are successionless. God creates all things from eternity by one act of power," by saying: "There could be no bolder contradiction," etc., or, when to Dr. Hodge's assertion: "God is in place repletively. He fills all space," he answers: "This phrase is absurd and self-subversive." The presentation of both sides, through this testing of opposing views, though marked by frequent repetitions, brings the difficult problems under fuller consideration and constitutes one of the valuable features of Dr. Foster's work.

Dr. Foster rejects the Calvinistic teaching which explain the divine foreknowledge of the free acts of men as based in the divine foreordination as inconsistent with moral government and responsibility. He also discards the views of Rothe, McCabe, and Martensen that God does not foreknow such acts. He maintains, with Dr. Dorner, and as rightly demanded by the interests of both morality and religion, that the divine omniscience embraces a true knowledge of the time relations and successions which belong to human life and history. He has insisted on this view in clear and happy statements. "These are always present but in their true order. Those past are present with him as past; those now existing are present to him as now existing, those to come present with him as to come. The whole order of succession lies under his gaze or in his consciousness perpetually. While there is no change in him his knowledge or consciousness forever conforms to the changing facts." But Dr. Foster, it seems to us, is neither so clear nor so happy when he undertakes to explain God's prescience of the free choices or acts of moral agents—finding an explanation in the truth that God is eternal, or as he designates it "exists in the mode of eternity." The explanation cannot be counted a success, though elaborated and variously repeated. If we use the author's own frankness and freedom of criticism, it must be said that his offered explanation involves absurd and contradictory conceptions.

But the volume is able, stimulating and helpful, and deserves a wide welcome. M. VALENTINE.

The Story of the Church. By George R. Crooks, D. D., LL. D. 1897. pp. XIII. and 604. $3.50.

This book is made up of lectures on Church History delivered by Dr. Crooks to his classes in Drew Theological Seminary. "The manuscript was in an advanced stage of preparation, and the book was partly in type, when death put an end to the labors of the distinguished author." Dr. Crooks treats the story of the Church topically and monographically; but the separate subjects chosen and discussed are so connected with their antecedents and consequents, as to form a continuous narrative. This method of treatment tends to secure greater objectivity, and to free the book from the dry details of history.

The style is pure, simple, graphic. If on the one hand it is never

brilliant, on the other it is never dull. If the treatment is not profound, it is at least instructive. If it never exhausts its subject, it as little exhausts its readers. If it does not exhibit original investigation, it shows familiarity with the best writers in general and special Church History. The spirit of the book is that of Neander and Schaff, who are frequently quoted; but the researches of Lightfoot and Hatch, the confessions of the churches, the best treatises on theology and philosophy, the standard biographies of the great actors in Church History, have been freely employed. The result is a book that is comprehensive in content, catholic in spirit, impartial in treatment and reliable in its conclusions. It is only in its discussion of Arminianism and of the Synod of Dort, that one begins to suspect the theological affiliations of the author. As a book for theological students, for ministers, for general readers who wish to acquire an intelligent knowledge of the most charming and profitable of all stories, we regard this as the best work which has been produced in America. Yet it will not please everybody. Very high Churchmen will not like the following: "The government of the Church by the ministry is not a government of exclusive divine right. The loss of the idea of the priesthood of the people, was the first great apostasy. The recovery of this truth was one of the important gains of Protestantism; and the restoration of the laity to their proper place in the Church lifted them out of a state of pupilage and made them once more God's freemen." Those who hold the doctrine of the common priesthood of believers, will be glad to have their views expressed so tersely.

Lutherans ought to be pleased with the following characterization of the great reformer: "We know Luther as we know King David; he is so rich in his endowments, so many-sided, so frank in the communication of his experiences, that he comes very near to us all. Poet, musician, orator, theologian, he seems providentially chosen for the work to which God called him. He is an intense conservative summoned to achieve a radical reformation of doctrine. When he has won the victory for the people of God, on which he has set his heart, he stops; he will do no more. He will not break wholly with the past; affection and imagination have made much of the past beautiful to him, aud he clings to it with the fondness of a loving heart," p, 457. He calls "the Augsburg Confession the venerated symbol of the Lutheran Churches. Both it and the Apology for it shows the masterly hand of Melanchthon; the latter is one of the noblest defenses of the reformed faith ever written," p. 485.

But it will be news to liturgical scholars to learn that "Luther composed a form of service in 1533 for Brandenburg and Nuremberg," p. 557. The "form of service" in question was composed by Andrew Osiander and John Brentz. Equally mistaken is our author when he says on p. 488 that Melanchthon adopted Calvin's view of the Lord's

Supper. Melanchthon never abandoned the Lutheran type of doctrine, and never wrote a line which shows that he endorsed Calvin's view. To the latest day of his life Melanchthon affirmed "the true presence of Christ in the Supper," and always maintained that the communion is enjoyed at the place of the sacrament. Calvin's view is that the communion occurs in heaven, to which the soul is lifted by faith. Calvin's principal idea is that the Supper is a food of the soul. Luther's principal idea is that the Supper stands in immediate connection with the pardon of sins. This position was as resolutely maintained by Melanchthon as by Luther.

Dr. Crooks's discussion of "the Reformation in England," which covers thirty-five pages, is exceedingly readable. The discussion of Arminianism is perhaps as tranquil as the subject will admit of. Hardly any two persons will be found to agree on the merits of that controversy; but Dr. Crooks has given the essential facts with equal impartiality to both sides. The value of the book is enhanced by several maps, and by a good index. J. W. RICHARD.

Illustrative Notes, A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1898. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Robert Remington. pp. 396. $1.25.

This volume comprises "original and selected comments, methods of teaching, illustrative stories, practical applications, notes on Eastern life, library references, maps, tables, pictures, and diagrams." The Outlines and the Hints to the Teacher have been prepared by Dr. Hurlbut, while the Explanatory Notes, Backgrounds of the Lessons, Illustrations for the Use of the Teacher, and Practical Thoughts are the work of Dr. Doherty. These Notes have been most carefully prepared, and the volume is one which will be of service to any teacher.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

The Christ Brotherhood. By Louis Albert Banks, D. D. pp. 323. $1.20.

This volume is composed of a series of sermons and essays, dealing, for the most part, with practical questions of the Christian life. The author is especially happy in his use of fine illustrations. The introductory sermon on "The Gold of Human Land" is, perhaps, the best of the series. H. C. ALLEMAN.

The Revelation of St. John the Divine. An Interpretation. By A. H. Ames, M. D., D. D. pp. 280. Cloth, 90 cents.

In the view of the author the Revelation was "designed to serve as a sacred clasp to bind together and hold in harmonious coherence the whole of God's wonderful volume." With great force he points out that the revelation was one, not confined to particular epochs, but of continuous application to all ages of the Church militant. He rejects, therefore, those theories of interpretation which could make of the

book an epitome of history, and which presuppose its design to be the prediction of events in the progress of the world or of the Church. It is not a prophecy whose fulfillment is to be delayed for indefinite centuries, but a revelation of "things which must shortly come to pass." The last book of the New Testament, like its canonical companions, was meant for the people of all times, and for the times of all peoples, until the great enemy should be overcome, and the kingdom of God be brought in. It is thus with evident force the author discredits the view of the book which makes it a syllabus, or table of contents, of Christian history.

The first "Wild Beast" Dr. Ames interprets as "the Spirit of Worldliness." And it is with exceeding probability that the interpretation is so made, for the characteristics of this Beast harmonize with that spirit of worldliness which we see, as the implement of Satan, everywhere evervating the Church and threatening its very life. The second wild Beast the author interpretates as *False Prophetism*, this, in essence, being a destructive individualism, with its usual accompaniment of a scrupulous and rigid asceticism. This at least is a more charitable interpretation, and far more probable, than that which finds the counterpart of the second Wild Beast in the Church of Rome. He identifies "Babylon," not with the Roman Empire, nor with the Church of Rome, nor with any specific body or association of men, religious or secular, but in "the incarnation of a spurious and apostate Christianity which assuming the appearance of the true is animated by principles wholly destitute of, and antagonistic to the power and life of Christianity,"—and its marks may be found in the Protestant as well as in the Roman Catholic Church. This chapter is presented with profound impressiveness.

Under the caption: "Progressive Steps by Which the Ideal Kingdom is to be Realized," the author specifies, as one of the "steps," the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of "Resurrection;" union of Christian believers in the *sanctification of the truth* as another; and the final victory over "Barbarism,' under the emblem of "Gog and Magog," as the third.

Respecting the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, the author thinks it is strongly probable that there is here laid open to our faith and hope, a purified earth, rather than the future heaven that awaits the just,—a prophecy of the spiritual peace and glory that shall prevail universally when the ascendancy of the gospel shall be complete.

Dr. Ames shows himself a profound student of the Scriptures, especially of the apocalyptic and allied prophetical writings. Moreover he is a sympathetic student of the Word, and as an interpreter approaches his task in love and personal submission to the truth, with such a measure of ecclesiastical fairmindedness, and intellectual courage, that, whatever his conclusions may be, to which his investigations lead

him, he is fearless in their enunciation. His qualification for interpretative work is clearly evident. He brings to his task a full heart, and a mind that is broad, deep, philosophic and scholarly. His style is pleasing in the highest degree and cannot but prove a stimulus to those who read his admirable volume which should find a place in every pastor's and theological student's library. But over all merely intellectual stimulation, the reader will find spiritual incitement in its pages, and occasion for the deepest thought. A. R. STECK.

A Harmony of the Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. By Rev. William Day Crockett, A. M., with an Introduction by Dr. W. J. Beecher of Auburn Seminary. 1897. Price $2.

In the volume before us we have, first, a clear and comprehensive analysis of the historical material embraced in the Books named in the title.

This analysis is printed by itself at the beginning but is afterwards incorporated with the text and made the basis of its separation into paragraphs. The larger and smaller divisions are distinguished from each other by the use of different kinds of type and their relation to one another is thus readily perceived.

Not counting the more general headings there are no less than one hundred and eighty-three subordinate sections and the greater part of these are again subdivided into from two to a dozen points. This Outline alone covers as many as forty-five good sized pages.

The remaining three hundred pages are taken up with the Scripture text itself. This text, which is that of the Revised Version, is broken up into larger or smaller sections according to the analysis already memtioned. Each separate event is presented in a paragraph by itself; and the substance of each paragraph is condensed into a short phrase or sentence and printed in peculiar type at the head of the paragraph to which it belongs.

As much of the history in Samuel and Kings is contained also in I and II Chronicles, these two accounts are printed on the same page in parallel columns; and the events of the two records, moreover, are so combined as to constitute a continuous history of the periods of which they treat. This same parallel arrangement is adopted also in relating the history of Judah and Israel after the division of the kingdom. Such is the work, as we observe it, in the volume under review.

The value of this work to any particular reader of the Old Testament will depend very much upon the purpose he has in view. If that purpose be what Dr. Beecher in the Introduction rightly says it ought to be—"to understand the things which the Old Testament says"—then the Harmony prepared by our author will be found helpful and be duly appreciated.

The helpful features referred to are mainly the following:

The arrangement whereby the separate accounts of the same subject

are brought together on the same page and besides, so combined as to make one continuous narrative in chronological order. This is a convenience every reader will readily perceive and no one will lightly esteem.

The separation of the text into distinct paragraphs with conspicuous headings that embody their substance. This division of the Biblical material is a great assistance in mastering the contents, and in addition enables the reader at any moment to see what connection any particular event has with other events as well as with the general subject.

But, possibly, to many the greatest value of this work will be found in its adaptation to the purpose of reviewing. By means of the full, and well-arranged out-line it has been made possible almost at a single glance to take in the whole scope and subject matter of the books we have studied. The whole field with its various objects lies spread out at our feet, and we are in a position to run the eye easily and quickly over the whole ground and review the events we have learned, with facility and with satisfaction. Without this help, such reviewing would require much longer time and become a piece of drudgery in place of a pleasing task.

In view, therefore, of the foregoing considerations we do dot hesitate to recommend the volume before us to all earnest readers of the Scriptures, and especially to young men who study the Bible as a text-book in our colleges and seminaries. E. HUBER.

How to Make the Sunday-School Go. By A. T. Brewer, Superintendent Epworth Memorial Sunday School, Cleveland, Ohio. pp. 199. 60 cents.

By experience we learn how work in any field can be done to the best advantage. And while each one has methods which succeed in his own hands the methods successfully used by others often suggest improvements and modifications of our own. With this principle in mind Sunday-school workers will derive advantage from a careful study of this little volume. The book consists of thirty-nine chapters each on different topics covering nearly the whole field of Sunday-school work. Nearly one-half the subjects are treated by Mr. Brewer the remainder by sixteen others, who "have achieved distinction in the particular work by them respectively set forth."

While the title of the book is distinctly the language of the business man and the style of the book is lively the discussions are as a rule animated by a high moral purpose. The writers give great emphasis to the important fact that in all plans for the promotion of the success of the Sunday School it must be remembered that the first and only purpose of the school is "to train the religious natures of its scholars according to the teachings and life of Jesus Christ," "anything else is failure." To accomplish this the teachers must be faithful, permeated with the truths they would teach—the teaching must have in each les-

son a well defined object—and the Bible must be the great text-book. There must be respect for the pupils as young people who have intelligence and are each of spiritual worth.

While the several writers treat their respective topics unequally each gives practical suggestions as to how these great purposes are to be accomplished in the various departments of the Sunday School, so that the book will be of real value to any one engaged in any way in Sunday School work. We therefore cordially commend the book to our fellow workers. E. S. BREIDENBAUGH.

The Story of John Wesley. Told to boys and girls by Marianne Kirlew. 168 pages. Price 75 cents.

The book is what it claims to be, a story of biography for children. The chief scenes in the eventful life of Wesley are depicted in a bright winning style. The types of English life and the lessons drawn therefrom cannot fail to be of interest even to the older reader.

John Wesley as a Social Reformer. By D. D. Thompson. pp. 111. Price 50 cents.

Wesley's influence upon the social life of England is shown by his work among the poor and his fearless preaching among the laboring classes. The author quotes largely from articles of a similar nature and from Wesley's own works.

Digging Ditches, and other Sermons to boys and girls. By Rev. Frederick B. Cowl. pp. 158. Price 50 cents.

The volume contains twenty-eight sermonettes adapted to the capacity of children, and written with consideration for the real life of boys and girls. The book will be found helpful to pastors also, in their talks to the little ones. STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences. By G. Frederick Wright, D. D., LL. D., F. G. S. A., Professor of the Harmony of Science and Revelation, Oberlin College, Author of The Logic of Christian Evidences. The Ice Age in North America, etc. pp. 362.

This is one of the very best of the recent books in the department of Christian Evidences. But what we want to know of a new book is not simply that it is a good work but whether or not it is worth our while to buy and read it. Very few of us have time to read every good book that is published in this prolific age of authors. Outside of a small circle of subjects we cannot read all of the best books. We are glad, therefore, when the name will tell enough about the range of topics discussed and the manner of treatment to enable us to determines its relation to our work.

The aim of the author of this volume is best expressed in his own

language. "The present volume contents itself mainly with the preliminary discussion of numerous fundamental assumptions which vitally affect the arguments and with the elaboration of the important new lines of evidence which have come to light during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. * * It can but be profitable for all to go over the ground afresh in the light of recent investigations and discoveries." Its style and scope are only partially indicated by the fact that it is an elaboration of Lowell Institute Lectures. The style is more that of a writer than that of a lecturer. There are only a few chapters where we find the amplification of the orator. He is like a teacher before his class of whose attention he is assured without any of the arts of rhetoric. He states his facts concisely but clearly, proves them fairly and draws from them only legitimate conclusions. One reads the very last line with unabated interest.

The subject of Christian Evidences, even limited to its scientific aspects, is a broad one, and one must turn to the table of contents to see what particular subjects have been chosen. We find here Limits of Scientific Thought, The Paradoxes of Science, God and Nature, Darwinism and Design, Mediate Miracles, Beyond Reasonable Doubt, Newly Discovered External Evidences of Christianity, The Testimony of Textual Criticism, Internal Evidences of the early Date of the Four Gospels, and Positive Results of the Cumulative Evidence. Unlike lectures, these chapters are not all of equal length. Nor are they of equal value. The first four have only a remote bearing upon the specific subject of Christian evidence. One does not see just why they were introduced in a volume not longer than this. Such topics as the origin of matter, the origin of mind, the continuity of nature, possibility of immortality, the existence of evil, the unknown capacity of the human mind, the theory of gravitation, the atomic constitution of matter, and the mystery of life are directly involved in the proof of the divine origin of the world but only remotely with the supernatural origin of Christianity. It is surprising that so much space should be given to the subject of reasonable doubt. A whole chapter has not made the matter plainer than a page or two might have done. The long chapter on mediate miracles is one of the most interesting in the book. In the distinction between real and alleged miracles we are not prepared to accept his classification of the manifestation of Jesus to the ten when the doors were shut and his sudden disappearance from the company at Emmaus as simply alleged miracles. He treats in this chapter of the passage of the Red Sea, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the Noachian deluge. These were clearly mediate miracles,—the increase and direction of natural forces for special ends. With Dawson he holds in regard to the overthrow of their cities that the reservoirs of gas and oil were tapped by natural agencies and then the stream or the vapor was ig-

nited and came down in a shower of fire and brimstone. We believe that this tis true, but the statement of Lartel that the subsidence has been gradual from a period long before historic times leaves a problem still for Christian geologists. With Dawson also he holds that the Loess in Europe is in some way proof of the Noachian deluge. He gives new facts and a stronger argument than Dawson but the relation between the records in the Bible and in the earth remains to be worked out. In comparing the Biblical and Assyrian accounts he incidentally throws down a nut for the higher critics to crack. The Assyrian has the same double statement that we have in Genesis which our critics have divided into the Elohistic and Jehovistic parts. As the Assyrian antedates ours by at least several centuries and is purely theistic, how did it happen that the Elohist took out one part and the Jehovist another? Indeed one loses confidence in the infallible correctness of the results given out by the critics with so much dogmatism. The last four chapters are the best part of the work. He has made good use of the recently discovered Apology of Aristides, Tatians Diatessaron, the Syrian Version found lately on Mt. Sania and the Gospel of Peter. He fills up a gap in the external evidence and puts the genuineness of John's Gospel almost beyond question. This is followed by a review of the methods and results of textual criticism and in that finds another strong argument for the traditional view of the comparative date of the writing of the New Testament books. We laid the book down, glad that it had fallen our way. We are sure that even those quite extensively read in the science of Apologetics will be amply repaid by a careful reading of it. L. A. FOX.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

Inequality and Progress. By Prof George Harris, Andover Theological Seminary. pp. 164. $1.25.

In this volume Professor Harris has presented a very striking and original contribution to sociologic thinking. His thesis is, Inequality a condition of progress; and he develops this, within the narrow limits he has set for himself, not with technical and tiresome research, but with every-day facts which must appeal to every reader. His method is, as he himself says, "empirical, not philosophical; illustrative, not theoretical."

The author devotes the first six chapters to correcting popular misapprehensions of equality. It is the catchword of every Utopian scheme, the last resource of every demagogue, the vague ideal of all sentimentalists. Progress is thought to consist chiefly in a nearer approach to political, economic, social and intellectual equality. This assumption the author sets himself to answer. He does not spend much time arguing the materialistic ideal of absolute and universal equality of possessions. He spends more time on "equality of opportunity" and "a fair chance." It is not political equality which is in question, for it cannot

be denied that our institutions regard all citizens alike, so far as privilege is concerned. And one might think that any other differentiation would seem of "too slight importance to be regarded." But it is to these differentiations that the demands of social reformers are directed. Professor Harris's contention is that inequality, or, more correctly, variety, always has been and always will be the *condition* of progress; "that a state of equality would be a state of stagnation, a reversion to savagery and the tribe; that should certain kinds of equality which are talked about and aimed at be realized, the result would be an arrest of the onward movement of society; that equality of opportunity is impossible and undesirable; and that progress can be made only through differences and unlikeness."

This offer is made good by abundant citations from race, social, human conditions, aspirations, failures—the author closing his argument with a calm and clear exposition of the Christian doctrine of inequality and progress in the members of the one body whose Head is Christ. It is a strong book, a wise book, a profound book—a book which preachers who are delivering themselves on the social problem would do well to read and digest. H. C. ALLEMAN.

A. C. ARMSTRONG AND SON, NEW YORK.

The Book of the Twelve Prophets. Commonly called "The Minor Prophets." By George Adam Smith, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. In Two Volumes. With Historical and Critical Introductions. pp. XIX., 541. $1.50.

The books of the Bible included in this commentary are Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah I–VIII, "Malachi," Joel, "Zechariah," IX–XIV, and Jonah. It is the second of the two volumes on the "The Minor Prophets," and the last of the forty-nine volumes that constitute the series of commentaries, published by this firm under the general title of "The Expositor's Bible."

The excellent plan of Dr. Smith in the first volume is followed by him in this. Each period has an historical introduction. Preceding the exposition of each prophet there is given an introductory chapter presenting to the reader a careful, critical survey from the author's standpoint. Each book is translated anew, and the translation is accompanied by critical and explanatory notes. Among these notes are included, also, the questions of interpretation, texts, dates, etc., thus excluding the more purely technical matter from the expository chapters and rendering them more satisfactory to the general reader.

These books have opened quite a wide field for the introduction of Old Testament Criticism, and Dr. Smith evidently had no aversion to entering it. With entire confidence he sets off Malachi with quotation marks as an anonymous work, and does the same with Zephaniah, so far as the last six chapters are concerned. These he assigns, in agreement

with Slade, to the early years of the Greek period, which began at the time of the Syrian campaign of Alexander the Great, hence written two or three centuries after the first eight chapters. The same freedom of treatment is manifest everywhere, but with it all a thoroughly devout spirit. And so marked are the evidences of scholarship that the conclusions reached by Dr. Smith, however startling sometimes, are entitled to be treated with more than common deference, even if not accepted.

The two chronological tables that we find inserted are quite satisfactory and of great value. The whole commentary finds a fitting completion in this volume. P. M. BIKLE.

Introduction to the Study of Sociology. By J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D. Author of *The Age and the Church. The Social Problem*, &c., &c. pp. 150.

The volume is just what it professes to be—an *introduction* to the study of Sociology. It is not a hand-book of results nor is it a dogmatic treatise purporting to settle forever even the outlines of the study. Its whole temper is that of the student, and its author expresses its purpose when he says in the preface: "Teachers and students who use this book are of course expected to exercise the same independence respecting its contents as I claim for myself. It wants to lead to inquiry, not to imitation; and its results will best be accomplished by promoting investigation, however much the conclusions may differ from those here presented. Sociology needs thinkers, not echoes."

Dr. Stuckenberg comes to his task particularly well equipped for what he has undertaken. His many years of European life with their peculiar advantages for study and investigation, followed by the years spent in this country studying social conditions and influences, gathering facts and data wherever they were to be found, have prepared him to speak with a ripeness of judgment and a clearness of vision as to the problem which he approaches, second to none in America. Sociology is defined as "The science of associated humanity *i. e.* of humanity so far as it is united, so far as it is associated. It involves humanity as it is, has been and ought to be, and it "will be incomplete as its interpretation leaves any principle of human association unexplained."

The chapter on the relation of Sociology to the other social sciences is exceedingly interesting and important as justifying the existence of this new "discipline." Political Science, Political Economy, History, &c. &c., are social sciences, but each with a separate, distinct aim. "Sociology treats individuals, societies, social phenomena and institutions not for their own sake, however important that may be in itself, but solely for the sake of determining their organic connection as constituent parts of the social system." The social system of Marx and the social democracy, communism, &c., are but movements to be studied as showing forces that have been and are at work in society. Several

chapters are devoted to an analysis of sociology, with a full explanation and justification of the division which the author adopts and of each of the parts into which he would divide the subject.

1. *The Principles of Society per se*, he would determine by a study of the social aims and media, the personal social forces and the social products. 2. *The Historical Evolution of Society* he would have include a study of the lower orders of men to-day as well as of the records of the past. His clear arrangement of Herbert Spencer's application of biological law to the evolution of society, under this head, is specially interesting and valuable. 3. *Sociological Ethics* he clearly distinguishes from social ethics in that the latter "proposes to give a system of social morality," while "in sociological ethics we aim to give the principles of social progress." "The view thus taken in sociological ethics is thoroughly ethical, considering what ought to be, in distinction from what must be and from what has been, in order that the utmost social progress may be promoted." Sociological ethics thus has no place for an evolutionary movement in society over which society has no control.

One of the interesting points developed in the discussion of the Principles of Society is that, regarding man as both "social" and "private," sociology has nothing to do with the latter part of his life—only with that which affects and is affected by society. This throws light on communism, socialism, etc. The neccessary limit of communism is what men have in common.

The latter part of the book is devoted to the development of a scheme for the practical work of sociological study, and emphasizes the necessity of exactness and of avoiding primitive generalizations. There is not space to develop his plan in the compass of a book review, but the outline drawn both for the general work and for the study of the age, as well as the scheme for the sociological study of an individual community, is brought to such definite clearness, that the vast scope of the subject, which in the earlier parts of the volume at time almost oppresses one with its apparent hopelessness, resolves itself into special lines which offer most enticing and attractive fields for study.

Dr. Stuckenberg's book grows on one as he reads it and enters into its spirit; and while we might wish that some of the chapters were more condensed, the book well repays careful study and will prove a most practical aid to students of sociology, as well as a valuable contribution to sociological literature. E. G. MILLER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Outlines of Psychology. A Text-Book of Mental Science for Colleges and Normal Schools, By Geoge Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. 12mo. 1898. pp. 428. Price $1.50 net.

The study of psychology has undergone a revolution within the last twenty-five years. This has come to pass in part from the large prevalence of evolutionist thinking and in part from the tendency to apply in

all branches of study the natural-science principle of experimentation. Though the change appears largely as a change of method it implies, to some degree, altered conceptions of the psychological facts, especially in their relation to the human physiology. It shows a revolt against the old terminology, either as misleading or at least as inadequate to express the psychical realities as required by our present understanding of man. Instead of the term "faculties" as expressing the mind's capacities of acting in distinctive ways, it prefers to use the designation "functioning" for this reality, and it lays large stress on conceiving of this "functioning" as genetically *developed* instead of being independent of the principle of growth It cannot be questioned that the new Psychology, despite its various mistakes and one-sided excesses, has, by its earnest study, especially of the physiological conditions and relations of the mental phenomena, shed much helpful light for the full understanding of these phenomena.

Prof. Ladd's volume exhibits the best results attained in this movement. It is meant specifically as a text-book and is moulded under scholarly mastery of the latest investigations. He writes in strong sympathy with the new trend, but it must be added that he maintains a thoroughly independent critical and eclectic attitude with respect to what shall stand in his teaching. His progressiveness which welcomes all helpful light is balanced by a conservatism that uses the fresh light not for the overthrow but for the vindication of long established truth. He accepts the aid of physiology and experiment, without surrendering the principle of introspection as the fundamental mode of studying psychologic truth. "Psychology must stick to the facts of consciousness, discover and describe them just as they are, and then, if it can, explain them." He adopts a new terminology and division of the subject-matter, but when the specifications and descriptions are gone through, these are found to be full recognition and explanation of the same old Mind, with its fundamental forms of activity as Intellect, Sensibility, and Will, in their varied, conjoined, and progressive action, which the psychologies of the past have made familiar to its students. The change brings both gains and losses—among the latter of which must be counted a failure to throw into the old impressive prominence the great factors of human personality. A distinct loss comes from the restriction of psychology to simple description and explanation of the mind's conscious states in themselves, excluding the metaphysics of the science. The presentations of the categories of Space, Time, and Causation end in some measure unsatisfactorily from this reason. The author seems to have felt this in writing his closing paragraph about Space.

The work exhibits the earnestness and art of the true teacher. It is everywhere clear and suggestive, and cannot fail of a wide service both in the class-room and among intelligent readers who desire to keep in touch with the progress of Mental Science. M. VALENTINE.

T. AND T. CLARK, EDINBURG.

Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Christ of History and of Experience. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1897. By Rev. David W. Forrest, M. A., Wellington Church, Glasgow. 1897. pp. 497. Price $4.20.

This fine volume cannot fail to give the author a good introduction to American readers. For it is both timely and a high-grade work. The Kerr foundation on which these Lectures were delivered to the students of the United Presbyterian College, Edinburg his designed for the promotion of the study of Scientific Theology in the United Presbyterian Church. It thus opens a wide range of subjects for discussion, including important phases or theories of current religious thought bearing upon Evangelical Theology. The subject presented by Mr. Forrest, it will be observed, lies close to present agitations in theological thinking, and thus not only demanded large and varied scholarly resources and a steady discriminating judgment, but allowed and indeed called for a review of many of the recently proposed modifications of Christian doctrine. A careful reading of the lectures, with the appended valuable notes, gives evidence of a rare adaptation to the task to which he was called. In this will be found the satisfaction and charm of reading them.

The whole discussion, as the title of the work indicates, is based upon the fact that Christianity, as the saving religion, inseparably blends together the objective historical realties centred in the mission and position of Christ as the incarnate Son of God, and the subjective spiritual receptivity for grace and the new life of faith. On the one side it is connected with facts established by the history of a remote past. On the other it becomes identical with an immediate reality in experience. The latter, it is sometimes objectingly said, is dependent on acceptance of asserted facts which men generally have no means of verifying. The author's plan is best expressed in his own words:

"My purpose in these lectures is to discuss the relation between the historical and spiritual in Christianity, with special reference to their alleged incongruity. The argument is necessarily a gradual and cumulative one. In the present lecture I shall try to show that the moral self-consciousness of Jesus was incontestably of such a character as to make it impossible to account for him by any theory of normal development, and in the next that his self-consciousness, as interpreted by the claims he made, implies his eternal or transcendent Sonship. In the third lecture I shall deal with the growth of this self-consciousness, and then with the method which he adopted in his self-manifestation to men as the incarnate Son. Under the latter head I hope to show that Teaching formed but one of the media in this manifestation, and that the selection of a special circle of associates, like the twelve disciples was necessary for the reception or recognition of such a revelation of personality. The fourth lecture will treat of the Resurrection as the

transition point from the historical to the spiritual. I shall there discuss the question of the Christophanies, and endeavor to prove that they present just those characteristics which were required to verify to the disciples, not only the persistency and continuity of Christ's life after death, but its transformation, the entrance of his total personality into a higher and permanent mode of existence. The fifth lecture will deal with the view of Christ's person and of the Godhead to which his earthly life as interpreted by the Resurrection and Christian experience inevitably leads. In this connection I shall treat of the Christology of the apostles, and of the true nature, as it appears to me, of the decisions of the great Church Councils, and the degree in which modern Kenotic theories tend to modify or elucidate them. The sixth lecture will be a discussion of the Objective element in the work of Christ relative to human redemption, and specially of its relation to the receptivity of the individual soul. In the seventh I shall speak of the new life of Sonship which Christ mediates, of the Church as the home in which it is fostered, and of Humanity as the total sphere in which alone it realizes itself. In the eighth lecture I shall endeavor to show that the union of the historical with the spiritual in the Christian Faith does not make it an incongruous amalgam, that the same union pervades the entire moral life of man, and that the historical element in Christianity is of such a nature as renders it capable of exceptional verification. The final lecture will deal with the problem, how far the view of Christianity which I have presented is reconcilable with the undoubted fact that a moral character of peculiar excellence and attractiveness is often possessed by those who reject the historic faith of the Church."

Mr. Forrest's work will prove exceedingly valuable both by its positive setting of Christian truth and its penetrative criticism of ideas and contentions which have recently been urged for reconstructing Christian theology. Though he writes under a keen appreciation of scholarly progress and full readiness to admit all that has the signature of truth, this same love of truth holds him in thoroughly conservative position. Sometimes, indeed, it seems as if he were conceding unduly to yet unverified views and theories, as, for instance, the evolutionist origin of man and certain claims of the "Higher Criticism." But such concessions, seemingly only provisionally yielded, do not mean any surrender of the great doctrines of redemption and salvation as substantially established and held in the teaching of the Church. This is seen in the clearness and vigor with which his treatment reaffirms them, and his decisive showing of the untenableness and falsity of many of the offered skeptical or reconstructive claims or theories. Some of the finest work in the volume is in the clear and illuminating criticism of such theories or ideas, as, say, the notion of Incarnation apart from sin, Prof. Green's attempted detachment of Christianity's message from historical entanglements, Dr. Dale's asserted non-necessity of even the Gospels themselves for the creation or vindication of faith, the extreme development

of Kenotic formulations, denial of a real propitiation for sin in Godward bearing, belief in a future probation, and other forms of reconstruction theology. The clear light thus incidentally cast on many of the pending theological problems makes the work very opportune, and surely not the less so by the fact that the author's evident theological and critical ability and labor act not at all for destruction of the orthodox faith but for its elucidation and enlargement. While not accepting every view or statement of the author, we take great pleasure in recommending it for a place in the library of ministers and theological students.

M. VALENTINE.

The Life of Philip Schaff. In part Autobiographical. By David S. Schaff, D. D. With portraits. 8vo. pp. 526. $3.00.

There are few readers in any walk of life who would not be charmed with this volume. The subject was a most interesting, genial and vivacious personality, and this biography is a very life-like picture of the original.

"A Swiss by birth, a German by education, an American by choice," Dr. Schaff comprehends and impersonates the characteristics of three nationalities. Ardent as was his devotion to his adopted country, he retained to the end of his life an unabated attachment to Germany and Switzerland. He was one of the rare minds who could fully appreciate the good of the three countries—and of England also. He was also a man who had intimate associations with scholars of all countries, of all Churches, and of all Richtungen. Besides, he was an inveterate traveler, and whether proceeding from city to city in this country, or going to London, Edinburg, Copenhagen, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Constantinople, everywhere he is found in the circle of the savants and the magnates of the places visited. He breakfasts with Gladstone, spends an evening with Metternich, and dines with the King and Queen of Prussia where he was evidently bored, as he later expressed his pity for "those who have to dine with the King every day."

Sincerely affiliating with all the denominations, and often saying that we had none too many, his biographer testifies to the warm esteem which he always expressed for the Lutheran Church. "It was there he was confirmed, and the influential religious friendships of his youth in Würtemberg were within its pole." He pronounced the Augsburg Confession "the most churchly, the most catholic, the most conservative creed of Protestantism." Not to speak of the numerous Lutheran Professors in Germany, with pretty much every one of whom he appeared to have a personal acquaintance, and of the Rev. Dr. Mann, with whom he maintained through life an intimate friendship, he found, after his arrival in this country, in his first circle of friends outside the Reformed Church, Drs. S. S. Schmucker and C. P. Krauth. The biographer fails, however, to discriminate between the elder and the younger Krauth,

and to our mind he commits an error when he charges Dr. Walther with "resisting like a mighty bowlder the adoption of the English language." Those who stood very close to Walther quote him fondly as saying, "We must build golden bridges for our English children.

E. J. WOLF.

Studies of the Mind in Christ. 8vo. pp. 300. $2.50.

A full notice of this solid contribution to Christological thought will appear in our next issue.

Christian Institutions. By Alexander V. G. Allen, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. pp. XXI, 577. $2.50 net.

This volume is the sixth of the International Theological Library series edited by Doctors Briggs and Salmond. It is "a summary of the Church's history from the point of view of its institutions." It is an effort to show how "organization, creed and cultus are related to the spiritual life and to the growth of Christian civilization." The field is immense and the author warns us that the selection of subjects and the proportion of space assigned to each must reflect his own personality. In reply it must be said at once that while it is sometimes difficult to follow him in his wide survey because of the rapidity of his advance, while at other times he causes us to wonder at his emphasis and detail, the spirit which characterizes the study is so admirable that we close the book feeling that its perusal has been a real privilege.

An idea of the scope of the work will be given when it is said that the study falls in three parts, or "books;" The Organization of the Church; The Catholic Creeds and the Development of Doctrine; and Christian Worship.

In tracing the external development of the Church the author treats with equal care the development of Catholicism and the changes effected by Protestantism. The first seven chapters have to do with the ministry in the first century. The local character of the episcopate is admitted. Dr. Allen thinks he has found the clew to the elevation of the bishop above the elder in the growing importance of the Eucharist in the second century. If the bishop presided at the table, "it may have been for this reason that James was chosen to preside over the Apostles in Jerusalem, and thus fulfil, as the Lord's brother, the injunction to keep the feast in memory of Christ."

The author develops at some length the work of Cyprian in the development of the episcopate in the first half of the third century. It was he who formulated the doctrine of Apostolic succession, of the episcopate as a close corporation, and finally of the absolute authority of the bishop of Rome, thus laying the foundations of the Catholic Church. With no less fairness, however, the author traces the work of Jerome who laid the foundations of monasticism. Monasticism nourished the germ of individualism and became the forerunner of the Reformation.

The chapters on "The Episcopate and the Papacy," and "The Organization of the Church in the Age of the Reformation" reveal the author's love of institutionalism and his concern for the fortunes of the episcopate; while, at the same time, he does not fail to appreciate the real genius of the Reformation movement or to give due credit to all of the various tendencies which entered into it. The first Book may be described as a study of the conflict between the episcopate and the presbyterate.

Book II is a history of doctrine, giving in the narrow limits of two hundred pages an admirable survey of the history of the Catholic Creeds, the Trinitarian controversies, the place of the doctrine of the Trinity in history and its relation to human progress, and the rise of the distinctively Reformation tenets. The latter are traced down to our own day in the chapter on "The Person of Christ in Modern Thought," in which the difference between the Anglican and the German types of theology is set forth.

Book III is a history of Christian worship, and here the author in the highest sense is in his element. In the chapter on "Baptism," the author portrays the Protestant revulsion from the sacerdotal discipline of the Middle Ages with noble eloquence, giving to Luther a place in the whole movement with which no Lutheran can find fault.

In giving the history of Christian cultus the author writes as a churchman with a warm love for the liturgies of the Church. On the whole, the spirit of the book is judicial, and not controversial; a digest, and not an apologetic. It is a worthy study of a wide field of inquiry by a masterful scholar, and as a hand-book on the institutions of the Christian Church we believe it to have no superior. H. C. ALLENAN.

The Claims of the Old Testament. By Stanley Leathes, D. D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in King's College, London. pp. 73. $1.00.

This little volume consists of two lectures delivered in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of Princeton University. The author believes that the Old Testament is the Word of God and that it was written, not by unknown individuals and conscienceless redactors, but by men who were moved by the Holy Ghost. The Old Testament claims to be a record of God's dealings with a chosen people, and it substantiates this claim by an appeal to the miraculous, the supernatual. If the credentials are rejected the record becomes untrustworthy. "Faith," says our author, "does not create its basis of belief but must rest on an external and objective ground. If Exodus is an unknown and unauthorized narrative of the ninth century B. C., it offers no objective basis for faith. Revelation is not a matter of demonstration but depends on man's faith for its acceptance. If therefore its accuracy is called into question the ground of our belief is destroyed." The arguments in favor of the traditional view are well marshaled throughout and given in a crisp, concise, and original way and the book is a valua-

ble contribution to the increasing literature in defense of the Divine origin and authority of the Old Testament. T. C. BILLHEIMER.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Annotations on the Revelation of St John the Divine. By Revere F. Weidner, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. pp. LXV, 365. Price, $1.50.

With this volume the Lutheran Commentary under the editorship of Dr. H. E. Jacobs, of Mt. Airy Theological Seminary, is completed. The Book of Revelation is a mysterious and puzzling one, and its exposition no easy task. And yet, to many minds, it has a peculiar fascination. Some of these have read into its pages many fanciful notions. But if there is any one book of the New Testament that ought more than any other, to be studied with the mind free from preconceived theories, it is the Apocalypse.

Dr. Weidner seems to have taken the book in hand without any special preconceptions. Following an inductive method of investigation, and allowing it to lead whither it would, this book may be considered the product of an unbiased mind. If, however, any one should wish to place Dr. Weidner in one or the other of the principal schools of interpretation, he must classify him among the Futurists, but as free from the gross chiliastic views entertained by many of the Pre-millenarians among them. The Apocalypse, with the exception of the first few chapters, is in the form of prophetic vision, and he considered it proper to treat it just as the New Testament treats the prophecies of the Old Testament. He has no sympathy at all with the Preterists, and very little, if any, with what have been named the "Spiritual" and "Continuous Historical" Systems. He regards "the personal coming of the Lord at his second advent" as the great theme of the Apocalypse, and believes that all schools of expositors will admit this, "no matter how diverse may be the views with reference to the *special* aim of the book, whether it is a prediction of the overthrow of Paganism, or of the downfall of Papal Rome, or of the destruction of some future Antichrist." As the "great theme" is still an event that is to transpire, the Futurist system of interpretation is the one best adapted.

The Introduction is a clear and careful study. A feature of it is a list of twenty-five works that the author regards as specially helpful in the study of the Apocalypse. It is much more than a list, for the line of treatment in each work is given quite fully. The other part is devoted mainly to such subjects as the authorship and genuineness of the Book of Revelation, its canonicity, time of writing, text, general aim, structure, etc.

The different books of the series that make up the Lutheran Commentary vary in merit, but all are good. This is the twelfth volume in the series and is highly creditable to its author. The Lutheran Church may take just pride in the commentary as a whole. P. M. BIKLE.

THE

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JULY, 1898.

ARTICLE I.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER.

By Prof. F. D. Altman, D. D.

The obligations and qualifications of the Christian minister are manifold, and cannot be too strongly emphasized. The pulpit will never become obsolete. While human nature remains the same, and sin is sin, and the Gospel continues to be the power of God unto salvation, there will always be a place for the herald of pardon and hope. What the flower is to the plant, the ministry is to be Church. It is the measure of the Church's life, and the secret of the growth and perpetuity of that life. Its importance and efficiency in any land or age depend largely upon its ability to adapt and apply saving truth to the needs and ever changing conditions of mankind.

Ministers are still in demand. There is not an over-production within the Lutheran gates. And there is no surplus of the right kind within any gates. If all our available men were employed, there would yet be, according to the most recent and reliable statistics, two per cent. of our charges pastorless, and no reserve force with which to meet the new and urgent calls for extension. The great denominations of Christendom had their origin in a revival of the preaching of the Word. The command of our Lord was, "Go *preach* my Gospel." The Apostles obeyed it and *preached.* The great reformers in all ages have obeyed it. In seasons of awakened interest men obey the command of Christ and *preach* it. Whenever and wherever the power of Christianity has been dominant, preaching has come

to the front. It is by the "foolishness of preaching" that the world is to be saved. There is a charm, and impressiveness in the human voice, as it narrates its own heart's experience, which nothing will ever be able to supplant. We cannot, therefore, insist upon too high a standard of character and equipment.

I. The first condition of efficiency on the part of the true minister is, that *he know his Bible.* This is his chief text book. Whatever else he may be ignorant of, he should be familiar with this. Here are the fields which he must explore—depths which he must fathom, heights which he must ascend. If he wishes to lead others to Christ, he should know the path to the King's high way. Give me as a guide over a dangerous road, or through a dense forest, one who has often threaded the winding way and is familiar with its perils. The minister should be master of the books of the Bible as they appear in their completeness on the sacred pages. He should also know the Bible as the word of God, the one complete, consistent revelation of God's plan of redemption for a lost world. It is not enough that he should study all about the Bible, all around the Bible, but he should study the Bible itself, as one great and comprehensive thought of God. He should study it and grasp it as a whole, in relation to its great center. He should master it in its every book, until every book is understood in itself and in its relation to the whole Bible. He should study it throughout grammatically, logically, prayerfully, by the help of the Holy Spirit, until it becomes a living book, quick and powerful in all its range of revealed truth and fact.

Such study will help the minister more in his work of answering objections than all his knowledge of science, and of human investigations and speculations. In truth, to most of the objections brought against it and its religion, the Bible is its own best answer. When the light shines the darkness will be dispelled. Only a few years ago one of the greatest preachers of the whole world passed away. For almost half a century he had crowded audiences and thousands who had never seen his face or heard his voice, read with profit the products of his pen. What was the secret of Mr. Spurgeon's success? I judge that

it was his remarkable familiarity with the Word of God and his wonderful mastery of its truth.

It was this knowledge of the Word of God and his loyalty to it that made Martin Luther the greatest preacher of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Men filled the aisles and pulpit altar to listen to his message, for they felt and believed it came from God's Word. His supreme aim was to help his hearers to see the Word of God as it is in itself. When he succeeded in doing that, he trusted God to take care of the ordinary objections, and to make the Word by his Holy Spirit a saving power. Doubtless one of the reasons for the cry of the age against theology is, that the preachers and the people have had so little living theology from the Bible. That is a suggestive statement made by an eminent American lecturer, that he takes his illustrations from the Bible, because they are new to most audiences.

The attempt in some theological seminaries to get in everything but the Bible, has not proven beneficial. The result is that the minister, in his training period, fails to get such a grasp of this greatest of sciences as will give it an interest to himself; and so he must of course fail of the ability to infuse into it any interest for its hearers. No wonder men cry out against "dry theology," and insist that they want no more of it. It is the lack of genuine theology that is the matter with much of the preaching, and against which the people protest, and against which they are right in protesting.

The minister of to-day needs especially a living system of theology. The people are hungry for the true bread, and they like it well baked, not raw dough. They want to inhale the odor of it when it comes warm and fresh from an oven heated by the fires of earnestness and faithful study. They starve on conjectural criticism. They need strong and generous feeding, not flogging. When a minister fails to supply nourishing diet, the liabilities greater than the assets, and loses his grip on God's Word, and the people lose their grip on the Word also, there is danger of a spiritual death from heart failure. But where the people are well fed, and there is a prepared pulpit, the pews fill

up, and the people fill up. Our churches need an enlarged and deeper experience and knowledge of the Word rather than an increased membership.

II. The Christian minister must be *positive.* Mainly concerned in the teaching of truth, rather than the refutation of error. The best way to expel error is to occupy its place with truth. He must have a sincere conviction of that which he preaches. He must believe it. We have fallen upon days when there is a disposition to admire *doubt*, as though it were a sign of superior cleverness to be sceptical. But no man is a preacher of power who can not say, "I *know* whom I have believed," and what I believe. All uncertainty here is a fatal defect. Empirical preaching is that which carries with it power from on high. The sceptic will honor such and exclaim, "That's the man for me; he speaks as if Jesus Christ were at his elbow." Such preaching no scholarship nor oratory can assure. Nothing but a deep experience of God can make the highest sort of preacher.

Christianity's greatest peril grows out of its own bosom; this danger consists in the slow and gradual neglect of the faith in the facts which have caused its birth and sustained it, that faith which alone can perpetuate it. It is not persecution which threatens the Church to-day, but suicide. A positive preaching will secure positive results. Not that preaching which simply draws a crowd, or which simply draws to itself human praise, or which simply draws wealth and fashion, or which simply draws tears by arousing deep feeling and stirring the emotions. If these are the limits of its effectiveness there will be disappointment. By positive and effective preaching we understand that preaching which draws men to Christ, and which builds them up in Christ, which makes bad men good, and good men better, which edifies, or builds up the Church, which does, indeed, arouse deep feeling and stirs the emotions, but which does it as a means to an end. And it so does it that when feelings and emotions have passed away like the morning dew, as they surely will, there shall be left a substantial basis for an earnest and abiding purpose to live a better

life. There is need that the trivial and petulant temper of the time be met with sincere and thorough restatement of the fundamental doctrines of grace. Shallow plowing leaves old weeds. The sub-soil plow of conviction and repentance still needs to be put in up to the beam. This may be a day of telegrams, steam and electricity and we may move rapidly in thought and transportation, but human nature is not yet sanctified and needs the application of the Gospel in a positive manner.

One reason why there are so few men, comparatively, in attendance upon the ministrations of not a few pulpits is, that there is a marked lack of true manliness in the preaching, for it is a fact that there is a good deal of the jelly fish composition in a very large number of pulpits in the land. Manly men of the world, even though they try hard to remain unbelievers of the Gospel, in a practical sort of a way admire manliness in the pulpit. Bishop Phillips Brooks was preëminently a manly preacher, and drew a very large number of strong men to his ministry. When he preached at midday in New York it was stated that brainy, hard-headed business men and many others of mental ability, in very large numbers heard him with eagerness. The pulpit of to-day needs a man in it.

III. The Christian minister must *make progress.* There is a reasonable and just demand on the part of the Church for vigor of manhood, mental acuteness and enterprise, in those who claim the leading places as the molders of society. Other men are every where awake and alive, full of activity and research, in science, in philosophy, in business and in pleasure hunting—there is no time for the man in the pulpit to sleep. He needs to keep abreast of the age, if he is to hold his place. Continuous and progressive efficiency in the ministry requires continuous growth of powers and of resources, and requires them, because of his exposure to an almost omniscient and a merciless scrutiny. The apartments of no man's soul are so completely laid open to the public gaze as are his. Whoever will, may take an inventory of their furnishings. Every sermon mirrors them. Every act is a window through which they may be seen. The gauge of no other man in the community is, on the whole, so

correctly taken. The intellectual and spiritual poverty of no one is so quickly detected, and the riches of none are so gladly recognized and so loyally appreciated. But the moment one is seen to have exhausted his little store, and to be making no new acquisitions, the moment it is known that he has no mental and moral reserves, his usefulness is largely gone. No one can hold the attention or command the respect of a people to-day who cannot instruct them, who is not in this special line of knowledge, in advance of them, and is not every day taking in more rapidly than he is giving out. The larger his growth, if it be symmetrical, the more efficient will he become. It would add immensely to their power if all ministers could rise to higher aims at development of all their capabilities, and at enlargement of their resources by gathering from every open field of knowledge. Wide awake men have no patience to-day with the fighting of dead enemies. Life is too short. There are living foes to take up our time and strength. There are giants opposing us in the present. Forgetting the past the minister must move on to that which is beyond. He is living in the nineteenth century, and near the close of that. He must be a student of the times, must know what men are thinking about. He must acquaint himself with the social problems of the day, so that if any of those problems are vexing his hearers he may be able to help solve them. Sociology and theology have vital and inseparable relation. The one is the science of social well-being; the other of spiritual well-being. The second commandment is as important as the first. We must give attention to men's environments as well as to them as individuals.

The minister has the best opportunity to study social conditions. He goes among all men. All doors are opened to him, if he has the spirit of ministry to all. Nothing can be more wholesome for him than to study men as the botanist the flower, and the geologist the rock. It will keep him from speculative theories and hysterical reforms, and give his service both directness and adaptedness. He can make a true diagnosis of conditions and needs; for he goes as no curious experimenter, but with the cheer and confidence of the sovereign remedy. The

minister should never stand in his place, deaf and dumb to the questions and movements that are forming the life of the generation. We want no new gospel, but a right and practical application of the one already given to the ever-changing requirements of the Church and the world.

There are good men who need direction as well as bad men who need correction. There are earnest and good men who are not conscious believers. There is a large true church outside the denominations. They are scared at our doctrinal requirements; they are offended at our want of practicality; they are in a false position where, alas, we have helped to place them. The minister is to be that brave, broad soul that can understand their mistaken attitude and bring into the army of Christ those who under doubtful misapprehension sometimes fight on the other side.

IV. The Christian minister should be *well equipped.* In view of what has been said, it seems to me as clear as sunlight that thorough preparation is demanded by the spirit of the age and the genius of our holy religion. I do think that our young men called of God to preach the Gospel should enjoy the best facilities for improvement that our seminaries can afford. Long and laborious preparation is required in almost every other department of human effort. In mechanism several years apprenticeship is a necessary condition of respectability and success. If preparation for any given work is essential in proportion to the value of the interests at stake, then the ministry assumes unusual importance, for its responsibilities exceed the power of human conception. Other things being equal, the best educated in all the pursuits of life succeed the best. It is trifling with deathless hopes to intrust such responsibilities to the care of the ignorant and inexperienced. If the sculptor must spend years in preparing to infuse life into the chiseled marble, and clothe with intelligence the semblance of human lineaments; if the painter lingers long upon the nature and blending of colors, that he may transfer to canvas the breathing expression of life; ought not the minister, whose mission is the salvation of the immortal soul—the most responsible calling in

the universe—have extensive and peculiar preparation, when a mistake may involve consequences so appalling?

The literary qualifications requisite for the ministry cannot be acquired by supernatural agency, but by hard study. The grace of God quickens our dormant powers, purifies and strengthens the mind, but it furnishes no such supernatural aid as to preclude the necessity of faithful study. The minister's mind is no widow's cruse that fills up with scriptural truth as rapidly as it is emptied; this must be done by the slow and laborious process of hard study, careful observation, prayerful meditation, and profound thought. The lawyer naturally asks whether a man who has the spiritual estate of men to deal with ought not to be as industrious and as well equipped as one who has to deal only with their temporal estates. The physician naturally asks whether the man who has the cure of souls ought to be less strictly engaged and furnished than he who has only the cure of bodies. These men of mental and bodily labor reasonably despise an idler or ignoramus in any department, particularly in a calling the most pressing and important.

The ministry is no place for the man of elegant leisure, for the laggard or the sluggard, or for any man who is not prepared under God to do as Paul enjoins, "spend and be spent" in the service, and to be as he was, "in labors more abundant, in weariness and painfulness, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." This however, must be said after all: that there is no calling on earth in which it is better to wear out by hard work, than in that of the Christian ministry. Magnify its toils and difficulties as we may, it is the best service to which a man can give his hand, and heart, and head.

To fulfill the work of this calling successfully, we need all of preparation, all of culture, but we need somethig more. The source of power is in the baptism of the Holy Ghost. The apostles knew all the facts of the gospels, all the doctrines of Christ, when their Lord ascended; but they were not qualified to preach, did not preach, dared not preach, were forbidden to preach, until the Spirit gave them utterance. Paul's culture did

not make him a minister, but after God made him a Christian, his culture made his ministry effective. We need for the instruction of the minister all treasures of knowledge, but they must be brought to the font and baptized into Christianity. We need to understand the secret of this old power. All of our engines and appliances for a spiritual work and warfare will be utterly useless, unless and until filled with the fire and energy of the Holy Ghost. We may have the presence of this power with us. The measure of our possession of the Holy Ghost is exactly equal to our readiness to receive him.

Given this firmer grip of the Bible with its glorious living theology and practical life, this positive and manly exhibition of divine truth, this better intellectual and sociological equipment, this enduement of the Spirit, and we have the means suited, rationally and scripturally, for bringing the world to heed the Gospel.

ARTICLE II.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.

By Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, A. M.

The end of the century finds the varied votaries of politics, science, art and literature recording the gains and losses of their respective vocations. We have presented *fin de siecle* colonial policies, the Victorian strides of biology and surgery, the impressionist and symbolist in art, and the decadent and realist in literature—all shouting their varied advances and shibboleths. The end of the century finds human thought and activity in a different temper and position than at the opening of the last hundred years. It is small wonder then, that thoughtful men are seeking to measure and state the missionary advance and situation at the end of the century. Practically, this century covers the whole period of Protestant missionary activity. As we come to reckon the expenditures of money, time, wealth and lives, one is forced to ask "to what end was all this human sacrifice." Can we press the Church to repeat, yes, quadruple her

gifts in the coming century? Do the results justify our exaltation of foreign missions, and the reiterated appeals for larger investments of money and men? It is true, something of the early heroism has departed from present day work in the foreign field. Missions move on, now, as a siege rather than as a daring attack upon a bristling fort. It is also true that they are still being severely criticised respecting their methods and results. The luxurious and hasty travelers from the artistic and commercial centers of the West do not find themselves in accord with the missionaries' code of morals and ideals. It is true that some of the Church's representatives have attempted to force Occidentalism, rather than Christianity, upon their converts. It is patent also that the mere numerical results do not seem commensurate with the output of dollars and energy and faith. We admit also that the time is drawing near when the work, in some places, must be handed over to the native church. We do not desire to ignore the national peculiarity and method of adapting Christianity to the needs of Japan or China. A native church is stronger than a foreign church, when the native church holds the truth as given by Christ and Apostle. These changed conditions have chilled the enthusiasm of some. Others discovering, for the first time, that the more advanced nations of the East have a civilization and a religion, in many cases, of high ethical and philosophical claim, have hesitated about impressing our youthful Christianity upon their hoary faiths. Can we, then, on the threshold of the twentieth century move forward with the old time assurance, and enthusiasm? Do Christian missions at the end of the century, warrant us in making the old, stupendous claims for our faith? In reply to such inquiry I would say:

I.

The end of the century finds us reassured that Christianity is the one absolute religion for all the world.

Our first studies in comparative religion aroused the thought that, perhaps, the great ethnic religions of the East were sufficient faiths for their respective peoples. The exaggerated claims made by certain leaders of modern pagan thought tended to sap

the enthusiasm of many who were not acquainted, at first hand, with the sacred books and practical morality of Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism and Confucianism.

Confucianism does present a beautiful and effective filialism for our emulation. The devotion of child to parent inculcated by Confucius, and actualized in China, is an impressive and helpful social and national power. True, their reverence for parents becomes idolatry, and mars the spirituality of the Chinese nation, but, when we consider the flippant disregard of paternal honor and rights in America, we may well turn to China for a lesson in filialism.

Buddhism does present a winsome humanism as the ethical and religious goal of man. Its subversion of tyrannical, social and religious castes, its concentration of the mind upon the spiritual life, and its gospel of pity for the poor and wretched everywhere, relates it very closely, on the moral side, to him "who went about doing good."

The revived Hinduism of our day does declare a theism distinct and clear, as compared with the atheism and pantheism of Confucianism and Buddhism. From the purely philosophic standpoint, it is a great satisfaction to learn of this monotheistic revival among the savages of India. The recovery of the early Vedas has aroused a longing among the better classes in India for the ancient faith in the one creative and beneficent God of their fathers.

Mohammedan monotheism is a commanding belief so closely allied to Judaistic theology that had not the ruthless military crusade of Mohammedanism bred an intolerant, despotic amalgam of Church and State it would have been a mighty religious force for the uplifting of the barbarous tribes of Arabia and Africa. Its constant testimony to the one creator of the universe is an incalculable help in the winning of the Dark Continent to the fuller light and life of Christianity.

But when we have said so much for the great ethnic faiths we have said all in their favor that an unbiased critic can say. On fuller comparative study, when viewed in the light of the demands of a rational philosophy, and the best ethics, the insuffi-

ciency and positive corruption of each ethnic faith becomes evident.

Confucianism does not attempt to answer the eternal questions: "From whence, what, whither." The problems of creation, sin, and futurity it declares are beyond its ken, and urges a sane utilitarianism as the wisest attitude to sustain toward these great mysteries of life. Sin, as sin, has no place in its conception of man. Irreverence for parents and the state are the supreme crimes. Neither in its philosophy or ethics can it satisfy the Christian-bred thinker and moralist. Buddhism looses both God and morals in a pantheistic maze. Its God is impersonal, and so thoroughly identified with humanity, that its immoral action is but a part of the expression of the creative world power, which we understand as God. Practically it has no theology and no consistent theory of morals. It is thoroughly pessimistic. Life here, and hereafter, is a thing to be escaped, and the end of all religious development is absorption into the serene nothingness of an unconscious All.

Hindu theism is so nebulous that it results in a practical polytheism. It offers no salvation to humanity—save the philosophic belief in a God, and love for this super-rational power. It lacks the grappling hooks of redemption, and recalls a Concord Summer School of Philosophy, rather than an active propaganda for the salvation of lost men. The exotics in Hindu beliefs recently presented to American audiences by Vivekananda and his fellow religionists, is a mass of physiological and psychological nonsense. Let any trained student of body and mind read his "Raga-Yogi," and all his esotoric spiritualism becomes religious moonshine in the light of the established science and philosophy of our nineteenth century.

Mohammedan monotheism is abortive for two reasons. It does not present a heavenly father, but an inexorable autocrat, as the centre of its religious system. And its moral code becomes a practical fatalism by reason of its theology. In the light of our Christian faith and character it is seen as the arrested development of a great thought. Christ, not Mohammed was the true fulfiller of Jewish type and prophecy. Des-

torting this fact, all the crudities of his personal thought and character were engrafted on the faith of Moses, with the result of a stunted and cruel faith dominating a naturally peaceful, independent people.

But it is asked: "Can there not be some eclectic religion fashioned for these peoples, a religion which will have Christianity at the summit of the pyramid, yet utilizing the best in the ethnic faiths, in order to attract and hold those outside the Christian pale?" I would answer, first, that religions can not be manufactured; they are organic in their structure and growth. They root themselves in the temper, needs and history of a nation. They start from historic facts and grow from a deeper principle than aggregation. We recall the answer of Talleyrand to the group of humanists who came, after the revolutionists of Paris had enthroned a harlot in Notre Dame as the goddess of reason, bringing a closet-made scheme of religious faith and worship: "Yes, yes, gentlemen, this is all very fine on paper, but when you can get one of your number to die for this faith, and rise again the third day, you may be able to get the people to accept it."

My second reply to such a question would be, whatever of value we find in the great ethnic faiths Christianity already possesses and combines in a higher and in an absolute way.

No other faith approaches in fulness, majesty and tenderness the Christian conception of God. He is the self-existent, conscious, all powerful Creator of the world. He is the all-wise and constant Preserver of the universe. He is the one holy Judge of all peoples, into whose life his redeemed children shall come, at last, to perfect strength and joy. Compared with the Christian view of God and the world, the theism of paganism becomes pitiably nebulous and futile.

Christianity offers a positive revelation of God's being and will in the Incarnation of his Son, begotten and loved from all eternity. This God-man, Jesus Christ, comes as the world's Saviour from sin. He is no tribal redeemer, but a universal Saviour for a sinful, guilty humanity. He comes not to crush life, but to give us a richer, complete life. From sinfulness to sonship with God, that is the movement of his kingdom in the heart of

men. He furnishes not only the ideal for humanity but also "the power of God unto salvation." What has the ethnic faiths to offer in comparison to Jesus Christ—as ideal man and divine Saviour?

Christianity declares with no uncertain voice what social life should be here, and declares the endless blessing and the endless curse after this life. It dignifies our present conception of man by the declaration of the immortality of the soul. It promises fulness of life as the goal of the Christian race, and declares that searching, retributive, punishments await the rebellious and sinful children of God in the great hereafter. The future, as the present, is to be one of self-consciousness raised to its highest power.

What has a vapid Buddhism or Hinduism to match with this impressive and sublime view of the man? A comparative study of the ethnic faiths, made in the light of a rational philosophy and satisfactory ethics, at once reveals the partialness and crudity of pagan faiths. and enthrones Christianity as the one absolute religion for the world. Says Sir M. Monier-Williams: "I have said enough to put you on your guard when you hear people speak too highly of the sacred books of the East, other than our own Bible. Let us not shut our eyes to what is excellent and true and of good report in these books; but let us teach Hindus, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Buddhists, and Mohammedans that there is only one sacred Book that can be their mainstay, their support, in that awful hour when they pass alone into the unseen world. There is only one book to be clasped to the heart—only one Gospel that gives peace to the fainting soul then. It is the sacred volume which contains that faithful saying worthy to be accepted of all men, women, and children, in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, 'that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' "

The ethnic religions of the East are not the only critics to be answered. In the warfare of science with theology, there have been those too ready to declare the defeat or discomfiture of theology. They have declared that Christianity, though the superior of all other religions, has no real or abiding message for

the future. That her dogma has evaporated into poetry, and her facts into a bare idealism. If all this were so, then indeed the nerve of missionary activity would be cut forever. But as long as a man of the supreme scientific standing of the late George John Romanes boldly declares his belief in the imperishable elements of Christian faith, we need fear no effective contradiction from the scientific world. In his *Thoughts on Religion*, Romanes says: "One of the strongest pieces of objective evidence in favor of Christianity is not sufficiently enforced by apologists. * * It is the absence from the biography of Christ of any doctrines which the subsequent growth of human knowledge—whether in natural science, ethics, political economy, or elsewhere—has had to discount." This testimony is the most striking contribution to Christian apologetics made during the decade. From the purely scientific stand-point, Romanes stands in the same place with Huxley, Tyndall, Kelvin, Morgan and Cope. His words are an indication of the more sympathetic attitude of modern men of science towards the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. Backed by such testimony the missionary of to-day is reënforced, if any such need exists, for his confident advance into the centres of Eastern culture and agnosticism, assured that there is no proven positions in science to destroy the truth and force of the Christian view of the world and man. On the basis of the "survival of the fittest," Christianity is bound to win.

II.

Our second answer to the question is, that the end of the century clearly demonstrates Christian missions to be the most influential factor in modern civilization.

Rome had a civilization. In some features, especially in the formulation and administration of law, she stood high on the scale of culture. But who would seek to recall even the Augustana era, and establish its code of political, ethical and religious life in America? The economic and political authorities that crushed the independent, provincial life of Rome's staunchest citizenship, coupled with her enervating customs and man-

ners, were the main causes of her decline. Both of these aberations had their rise in corrupt hearts. Rome had no sufficient moral force to conserve her civilization.

China has a civilization. One of the surprises of the traveler in the far East is to find a vast, complex, persistent civilization which has existed thousands of years. Arts and manufacturing interests, schools and laws, literature and religion, armies and civil servants, abound on all sides. China claims the oldest extant civilization. But what of it? Compared to England and America it is a clear case of arrested development, or something worse. Who would care to repeat it in the United States?

The truth is, that only where the transforming touch of an Evangelical Christianity has been felt, do we find the highest types of modern civilization. This claim has been and is still denied. The one-eyed political economist finds the heart of progress in the adoption of the mechanical and financial devices of the most advanced nations. The secret, he says, of civilization's advance is the wider and more equable distribution of national wealth.

The secularistic statesman urges an enlarging sphere of liberty, and the judicial administration of law, as the most needed reforms in the march of civilization.

The agnostic educator declares a broader education for all classes as the heart of civilization's advance.

That each and all of these developments are sorely needed no sane citizen will deny, but they are only the secondary expressions of a much deeper principle of reform. They all rest upon the creation of a keener and a fuller sense of brotherhood—a Christian brotherhood which will extend and share with each and all the blessings of wealth, liberty and education. The most profound students of sociology, though recognizing the immense part played by a sound economy, rightful freedom, and a wise education in secular studies, find the religious instincts and beliefs of a people the deepest and most potent factor in their civilization. Mr. Benjamin Kidd's main contention is unanswerable, *i. e.* that for the enforcement of social duties, every people have had some sort of supernatural sanction above and

commanding their actions. Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Israel down to American Indian and Zulu, have had their ethics inextricably united with their religious conceptions. A people's morals and theology move upward, or downward, together. Even Mr. Herbert Spencer has declared that the "anti-theological" bias has caused many anthropologists and historians to fall into error in the interpretation of social evolution. "Ignoring the truth for which religions stand," he says, "it (this bias) undervalues religious institutions in the past, thinks they are useless in the present, and expects they will leave no representatives in the future." It is one of the signs of the times that all sociologists of weight have of necessity to treat the question of religion as one of the abiding dynamic forces in the progress of society. There is an unalterable law of progress and decay *i. e.* that when the material forces of society triumph over the moral and ideal, that epoch marks the arrest and decline of a civilization. Prof. Nash in his study—"The Genesis of the Social Conscience," clearly demonstrates that all the contributions made by Greece and Rome to a healthful altruism were insignificant, compared with the ideal and condition created by Christianity. Christ, both in his conception of "The Kingdom of God," and in the regenerating spiritual power given, furnished the only genuine ideal and dynamic of civilization. This claim is not a mere matter of philosophical reasoning, but rests on evident facts, facts that confront us at the close of nineteenth century history. It would be impossible in a paper written for a review to present a full, or even partial, series of historic illustrations of our claim. The one book which has taken its place as a classic on the sociological effect of Christianity upon pagan, national and social life, is Dr. Dennis' "Christian Missions and Social Progress." Mr. Edwin Hodder's "The Conquests of the Cross," the concise summaries of Dr. Bliss in his "History of Missions," the scores of missionary reports of the London and other missionary societies, together with the multitudinous biographies of unbiased travelers and resident governors of foreign colonies, all furnish us with the material for our study of the social advance stimulated

and guided by Christian missionaries and Christian literature. The work of Father Damien in Molokai's leper colony, the mitigation of war horrors, the gradual liberation of women in India, the banishment of child sacrifice, the recent testimony of Julian Hawthorne to the fidelity of the missionaries in India's famine, as compared with the Hindu merchant's indifference in the midst of the staggering skeletons about the well-filled grain baskets, the marvelous change made by the introduction of Christian medical missions in China, the enlarging sphere of liberty which Christianity always breeds in a people, the new conceptions of truth and purity which dominate a nation accepting Christianity's moral code, the aroused love of study and respect for law inculcated, are but a few reforms which could be illustrated indefinitely, had we the space at our disposal. Even in Turkey, that most obstinate of missionary fields, Prof. Ramsey, of Aberdeen University, who has spent twelve years in archaeological study in that country, speaks of the great educational organization which the American missionaries have built up in Turkey with admirable foresight and skill, and adds: "Beginning with a prejudice against their work, I was driven by force of facts and experience to the opinion that the mission has been the strongest, as well as most beneficent, influence in causing the movement toward civilization which has been perceptible among all the peoples of Turkey." That Jesus had a distinctly social, as well as an individual regeneration in mind, no student of New Testament literature can fail to see. Mr. Shaler Matthews has collected, and systematized, in his "Social Teachings of Jesus," all the principles and precepts of Christ which pertain to the domestic, political and social duties of life. We might call it a specific, social ethics—a book which finds its illustration in every society which has fully adopted the Christian law of love as its guide in life.

Already attempts have been made to secure the social fruit of Christianity without the acceptance of Jesus Christ as an individual and social saviour. Japan, seemingly, wants the kingdom without "The King." But all such attempts at the divorce of ethics from religion is as futile as the attempts to ripen grapes

by moonlight. Christian civilization can not be acquired without Christ.

III.

The end of the century points to Christian missions as the controlling force in the realization of international peace and the federation of the race.

Let us glance, for a moment, at the international situation of the day. Germany, Austria and Italy have their "Dreibund" for defense and, if need be, aggressive warfare. France has at last coquetted Russia into a counter alliance, in order to recapture her coveted Alsace-Lorraine. England by her isolation and determined colonial policy is vexatiously pushing up the Nile, the Niger, the Himalayahs and South Africa, jostling as she goes, the Germans, Russians, French, Soudanese and Boers. Turkey, still reeking with her unrebuked butcheries and Greecian spoliation, has grown insolent and self-assertive. All European eyes and hands are greedy in the hasty partition of Africa. Even America feels she must have far-away Hawaii, though if we have to quadruple our fleet in order to hold the islands in time of foreign wars. And above, and over all looms the greatest of all conflicts—the antagonism of the Oriental nations towards the Occidental. These two civilizations are antagonistic. Captain Mahan in his thoughtful and commanding article in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1897, has thus spoken of the impending conflict between the Orient and the Occident: "They have existed apart, each a world of itself, but they are approaching not only in geographical propinquity, a recognized source of danger, but, what is more important, in common ideas of material advantage, without a corresponding sympathy in spiritual ideas. It is not merely that the two are in different stages of development from a common source, as are Russia and Great Britain. They are running as yet on wholly different lines, springing from conceptions radically different. To bring them into correspondence in that the most important realm of ideas, there is needed on the one side—or on the other—not growth but conversion. * * The great task now before the world of civilized Christianity, its great mission, which it must fulfill or

perish, is to receive into its bosom and raise to its own ideals those ancient and different civilizations by which it is surrounded and outnumbered—the civilizations at the head of which stand China, India and Japan."

This is the testimony of a cultured, military critic, which weighs heavy in the continued attacks upon heathendom.

Recall the attitude of Japan. She has grown recklessly independent and hilariously patriotic. Armed and trained according to the best European models, and intensely ambitious, she stands to assert afresh the integrity and right of her self guidance and national expansion of territory. China—vast, sullen, resolute, immovable in her pride and cunning, is adopting the material advantages of Western culture.

Within the last six months a sinister light has been cast over the future of China. The Chino-Japanese war revealed her weakness and disorganized condition. Russia has now taken from Japan Port Arthur and its hinderland. Germany has practically a limitless lease at Kias Chan and its abutting territory. England, not to be outdone by her great Northern rival, has checkmated Russia by seizing Wei-Hai-wei, and France asserts her right to more territory. Ultimately this game of grab may be of inestimable benefit to pagan China, but for the present generation of Chinamen it affords a disgusting spectacle of greed on the part of nations which pose as Christian. It is not Christian. It is straight, brutal force which has acquired the territory and planned the partition of China. To appease the hate and distrust aroused by this international brigandage the Church must redouble her efforts to impress the true Christianity upon distracted China.

India in semi-revolt, is slowly being welded into a nation, is crying out for legislative representation and pressing her mystical, religious claims upon her political masters. This is the far Eastern situation to which Captain Mahan refers as the overshadowing conflict of the age. He warns Europe not to disarm, for none can tell when all the European armies and navies may be needed to hold in check the New East. So let us say to the Christian army of missionaries—"Do not disarm, but struggle

all the harder for that spirit of justice and peace which shall preserve both international and continental harmony." For Christianity holds the key to the situation, first, in its ideal of history, and secondly, in the motive power which makes for peace. It declares that the kingdom of God is the goal of history. The history of the world has proved that there can be no genuine brotherhood without divine Fatherhood. Paul declares: "He (God) hath made of one blood." Here we have the first great centre of international reconciliation—God the Father. Then Paul sweeps on to the recognition of nationality in the words—"All nations for to dwell on the face of the earth." A common divine origin, a common ideal humanity, and a genuine nationality are the three elements of the Christian answer to the continental and international greed and conflict of our age. The only effective reconciliation will be found in him who said "And I if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me." Thus, and thus alone, shall we realize that state

> "Till the war-drum throbs no longer and the battle flags are furled
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

IV.

The final and most convincing answer to our question is the fact that the end of the century finds Christian missions more widely accepted and effective than at any other period in the history of the Church. We are still in the seeding time of modern Christian missions. The Reformation, and European wars, consumed the energies of the Church for two centuries. But, at the close of the last century, the revival of missionary work was accomplished by a few earnest souls. Christianity is the only religion which has not deteriorated in religious practice and vitality. Its very aggressiveness of to-day is the supreme evidence of its divine conception and propulsion. The impossibility of giving in barest outlines the geographical and racial distribution of missions in this short paper is obvious. One can but mention sources of information. And first to be named is the small but complete work of Dr. Bliss, "A Concise History of Missions." This fresh statement is within the reach of all.

Dr. Dennis' "Foreign Missions After a Century," Dr. Pierson's "The Miracles of Missions," Dr. Leonard's "A Hundred Years of Missions," are worthy contributions, easily secured, and replete with the modern conquests of the cross. Permit a summary of forces:

The Bible is wholly or partially translated in three hundred and twenty languages. This work of Bible translation and circulation creates the atmosphere for the more personal campaign of preaching. Two hundred and eighty-three societies are now organized in Protestantism for the sending of the Word and the pastors. There are now thirteen thousand missionaries in the various lands. Sixty thousand native helpers are associated with them. Five millions of people once without Christ are directly or indirectly under the influence of gospel teaching. There are one million and fifty thousand communicants in the various Protestant fields. Six hundred and seventy-eight thousand children are in the mission schools. I venture to add a few statements from Lovett's "Primer of British Missions," upon India, Africa and China. Some of the fruits of missionary labor in India may be summarized as follows:

1. A Protestant native Church has been gathered numbering half a million, and increasing at a very rapid rate. This Church is officered by 797 native pastors; and furnishes 3,491 other preachers.

2. Uplifting has been brought to the women of India. The immolation of widows and female infancide has been stopped. 102,000 women and girls are now in the schools of the land.

3. The fifty millions of low castes (Panchamas) of India are rapidly being emancipated from the hard serfdom in which they have been kept for untold centuries.

4. Missionaries have taken the lead in every branch of education of the people of India.

5. Scholarly dictionaries and grammars have been prepared of most of the languages; their literature studied; a new literature set on foot, adapted to present-day needs, consisting of newspapers, periodicals, school books and other works.

6. There are abundant signs of the decadence of idolatry.

The mythology and cosmogony of the Puranas has been thoroughly discredited in the light of English education. Pantheism is being displaced by Theism and the caste theory of creation by the brotherhood of man. The authority of conscience, the claims of righteousness and the spirituality of true worship are generally admitted. The fear of Christianity is in every temple of the land.

7. Mohammedanism has been profoundly affected. Its theology and institutions are becoming rapidly liberalized.

In studying Africa as a great mission field, we may freely claim the following as the chief permanent results of a century's work:

1. Had it not been for Christian missions, Africa would still have remained very largely a *terra incognita.* In every part the heaviest burden of pioneer work has been borne by the missionaries. Commerce has succeeded, not preceded the Gospel. Vanderkemp, Moffat, Livingston, Barnabas Shaw, Krapf, Rebman, and their colleagues in exploration, were only the leaders of a great Christian host who have opened up the highways into the heart of the Dark Continent.

2. Missionary effort in Africa has from the first thrown its influence strongly on the side of native rights. This action has rendered missionary enterprise still more obnoxious to those who believe that the best way of dealing with native races is to clear them off the face of the earth as quickly as possible, either by rifle or by the even more deadly alcohol of "civilization." Vanderkemp had hardly set foot in Africa when he and James Reed began that battle on behalf of the Hottentots, so nobly continued in later days by Dr. Philip and his helpers. From Livingstone, possibly more than any other man, did African slavery receive the mortal blow from which it is slowly but surely dying.

3. Missionary labor and example have brought a new life into Africa, have given its people fresh hope, have placed before them an attainable ideal of life. The century's work has been largely preparatory. It is no easy task to lift humanity in the scale of thought and life.

4. Wherever the missionary goes there literature follows. It

is no small feat to have unlocked the door into the Bible for scores of African languages and dialects.

May I add one word concerning China—one of the most obstinate opponents to the introduction of Christian civilization. The increase of the Church has been remarkable. In 1850 there were about 200 communicants; there are now about 40,000 in addition to very many Christians (clerical and lay) who have been called to their rest. In 1892 an imperial decree was issued, bearing on the toleration of Christianity. For the first time Christianity was placed along with Buddhism and Taoism among the lawful religions of China. The Empress Dowager of China lately received a copy of the New Testament, and the Emperor himself sent to the depot of the American Bible Society to purchase a copy of the Bible and other Christian literature. Who can tell what the influence of the interest of these royal personages may be upon the literati and the people generally? The late war with its rude awakening of China to its own weak and backward condition, will probably foster a spirit of inquiry, and will help to remove prejudices. The last six months has witnessed a marked revival of religion and thousands have been baptized into the Christian fold. The native newspapers are coming under Christian control. Slowly the eyes and heart of China are opening to the glories of the Christ. As go China, Japan and India so goes the whole field. Space forbids even a glance at the magnificent work accomplished in other sections of the globe. I would close this crude presentation of missions at the end of the century with the thrilling words of a cautious, learned, Christian student of Eastern religions—Sir Monier Williams. "Go forth, then, ye missionaries, in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and, after studying all its false religions and philosophies, go forth and fearlessly proclaim to suffering humanity the plain, the unchangeable, the eternal facts of the Gospel—nay I might almost say the stubborn, the unyielding, the inexorable facts of the Gospel. Dare to be downright with all the uncompromising courage of your own Bible, while with it your watchwords are love, joy, peace, reconcilation. Be fair, be charitable, be Christ-

like, but let there be no mistake. Let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsee, Confucianist, Buddhist or Mohammedan, and that whosoever wishes to pass from the false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise, or by the help of faltering hands held out by half-hearted Christians. He must leap the gulf in faith, and the living Christ will spread his everlasting arms beneath, and land him safely on the Eternal Rock."

ARTICLE III.

WHAT THE PASTOR OWES TO HIS PULPIT.

By Rev. T. B. Birch, A. M.

Some have thought that the evangelical churches have given preaching a position of too great prominence in public worship, and that too frequently other functions of the minister are partially, or entirely ignored; but the mission of the apostles was primarily that of teaching and preaching. The apostles gave themselves "continually to prayer and the ministry of the word." By continually turning to God in prayer, they were able to receive his message in its purity; then, by turning towards men, they were able to deliver their "glad tidings" most effectively by the "foolishness of preaching." And when the Reformers gave to Protestant preaching the central place in public worship, they emphasized the prominence which must be given this function of the minister. We will not state that the Word is the chief means of grace; but that it is the means of grace most efficaciously employed by the pastor in instilling and developing faith, is quite evident from the testimony of experience, and the direct statement of the Bible—"Faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God."

The Reformation was very largely the result of the preaching of the Word with power; and ever since, as the Gospel has been the power of God for the salvation of men, it has been a

Gospel proclaimed chiefly by tongue or pen; it has been a Gospel interpreted by the experiences of redeemed men, and heralded most efficiently by the voice of a consecrated ministry influencing the hearts and consciences of men by all the skill that art and science could furnish.

We are led to believe that the pulpit is the minister's throne of power, that the productiveness of his ministry is largely dependent upon his public preaching, that by good pulpit-service the pastor is able to reach and nourish more persons than through any other channel. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession says: "Nothing attaches the people to the Church more than good preaching." A minister may be well trained in the use of the liturgy, may have the ability to govern well a congregation, may be endowed with all the social graces and tact necessary to perform satisfactorily his pastoral duties; but the exercise of these abilities cannot supply the place of good preaching.

We do not intend to underrate the other functions of the man of God, or to separate preaching from his other duties; by no means, for all his other ministrations supplement and give tone and point to his preaching. We seek to emphasize the position preaching holds in the vocation of the ministry, and what may render it efficacious for good.

From the pulpit the pastor can best teach and instruct all of his congregation. When we remember that a large portion of the flock is regularly taught by pulpit-preaching only, we can readily conclude that the minister should give his best energies to preaching to the congregation and not to other labor, especially to that of those many smaller services. Suppose the preacher does not preach well on the Sabbath, but labors diligently and earnestly during the week—makes many calls, attends some meeting every evening and directs the work of all; does he reach more persons if the Sabbath congregations go away dissatisfied, and the other small audiences well pleased? Would it not be wise to utilize the best energies in teaching and feeding the larger congregations rather than allow them to go home dissatisfied with the sermon? This may not mean that the less important duties and services should be neglected, but

that the pulpit must never suffer for the sake of less important labor. The Confession says: "If you wish to attach the Church to you, you must try accordingly to teach and preach aright; thereby you can produce a good-will and constant obedience." A pastor cannot be guilty of any greater fault, as pastor, than that of neglecting his pulpit-preaching, either from dissipating his strength in minor work to the neglect of the major, or in being negligent in both. Jeremiah says: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently," and with greatest force does this apply to the special and chief work unto which the minister is dedicated, for he is sent to preach the Gospel; and only from the sacred desk can that large, silent part of the congregation be instructed, and a spirit of good-will and constant obedience be developed and promoted; therefore, the congregation must be given the best that the pastor by prayer, meditation, and study can bring to them, and with all diligence must he labor for that which will make successful all the efforts of this most important of his duties—public preaching.

Most diligently should the pastor strive to come into the pulpit with the best personal preparation, with choice knowledge compressed into the most beneficial discourse based upon the Word of God, containing nothing but the Word of God simply and plainly stated and expounded, and also having that practical and theoretical knowledge of rhetoric and oratory which will aid him to communicate his message in a most forcible manner; that with the blessing of God attending him, he may be able to establish a bond of sympathy between himself and his people, to convince and convict them of sin and of righteousness and to stimulate their intellectual and emotional natures, that interested thought may be developed and deep emotions may be aroused which will place them upon a higher plane, promote a better manhood and establish Jesus Christ in their hearts as the ruling power.

But frequently we speak of a preacher as a skillful performer, and his efforts as a most creditable performance; even pastors are inclined to be more interested in criticizing the minister and his preaching in the light of the skillful application of the rules

of rhetoric and oratory. It is ordinarily necessary for every one who aspires to success in the ministry to have studied these rules, and to be proficient in the exercise of them; but that which should chiefly "occupy the thoughts of a preacher are piety, knowledge and the blessing of God." There are those towards whom have been attracted the eyes of men who delight in the performance of the preacher, and around whom arises the fascinating incense of applause; but if they are masters of words only, and have not great thoughts which arise from a "close, large, varied and original life with God," and have no high sense of the tremendous responsibility which is revealed by a near, pietistic life with God, or if they do not have that holy enthusiasm which arises from a close, spiritual communion with Christ, there will not long be any in their congregations who love Christ more than words; and, by and by, that applause which was constant, will become meteoric, then die out entirely; for the supply will fail to meet the ever increasing demand. But when the fragrance of the pietistic life of the preacher is revealed in his preaching—all other things being equal—there will be a large spiritual life in the congregation, and an earnest desire for food which will supply the demands of a hungering and thirsting after Christ and his righteousness.

But this spiritual power of the pastor as exercised in preaching must be acquired in secret. He must first know God before he can rightly and clearly tell others of him. Unless he ever seeks by prayer, devotional reading and meditation to condition his own mind and heart, ever strives to live a truly pious life and to experience the power of the Holy Ghost's influence in leading to desire and strive to know more and more of God's power experimentally, and to grow day by day in all the Christian graces—unless he learns in this experimental manner of the power of God's truth and grace, he will not be able to make another to understand, that he may be influenced to accept Christ as his personal Saviour. The pastor must be able, not only to teach the precepts as precepts, but be able, by having experienced the power of the truths in his own religious life and soul-building, to teach them as facts of which he knows full

well the truth and the certainty of similar results being wrought in his hearers if they will hearken unto and give good heed to the Word of God. The minister must live the Christ-life, then he can be made the receiver of a divine communication, and be best prepared to deliver that message from the pulpit in language intelligible to his congregation. St. Paul, that intellectual giant, cultivated a close acquaintance with that Incarnation of truth and piety. Three thoughts he uttered show the progress he made in humility and grace as he came nearer. As though boasting he first said: "Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God;" then five years later he wrote: "Unto me who am less than the least of all saints is this grace given, that I should preach among the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;" then five years later, he called himself "the chief of sinners." The nearer he approached Christ and the more his thoughts were permeated with him, the richer became his knowledge of Christ crucified and his relations to him and to others. Coming close to Christ, his soul first drank in the great truths of Christ's messages, and while the warmth of the message was in his heart and the glow of it lingered upon his face as in a more pronounced way the face of Moses shone, Paul turned to his audience, and this man, whom some thought had an impediment in his speech, took the truths of Christ and so interpreted them unto his hearers that they marveled at his learning and persuasive eloquence, and many accepted the Christ he lived and taught. Surely, such preaching and such sermons must have measured up to Tholuck's high ideal of a sermon, he says: "It must have heaven for its father and earth for its mother;" that it should be "a word which is at the same time both a message from God and a message to men." And how can this be possible, unless, like Paul, the pastor lives the life of Christ, unless there is a deep-seated piety in him which will radiate in all directions, permeate thought, word and deed, the very act of delivering the sermon!

But the work of the pastor is not merely to live close to Christ, to catch his message and to be able to interpret it spiritually, to know the truth and language of heaven; he must

know the language of earth and the best methods of conveying the heavenly message unto beings of earth. For this purpose, the minister must have a breadth of knowledge such as is demanded of no other profession.

While we seem to have unduly emphasized piety as a qualification of the pastor, we do not intend to do so at the expense of other important qualifications. We sometimes hear that most fallacious idea advanced, that if the heart is right, our desires are pure and we are sincerely interested in the work of saving souls, we are fully prepared to occupy the pulpit, and that, when we wish to speak, the Lord will supply the words of life. The colored Bishop, in Baltimore, answered that argument. In addressing several applicants for ordination, he said that if they were to go unprepared into their pulpits, and expected that, when they opened their mouths, the Lord would "fill them;" they would discover that the Lord would "fill them, but with wind." The preacher must be a man who has *something to say* as well as be in the proper mood to formulate what he desires to speak; and he must know how to express it. Knowledge is fundmental for and gives rise to the play of the inspiring mind. Those who have become men of inspiration have usually been men of great learning or those who earnestly sought knowledge, men of large experience, men who knew the ways of reaching men. A Moses learned the art of speaking, but only that he might the better express the accumulated learning of the Egyptians, and his constantly increasing Jewish and divine wisdom. Paul was learned in all the Jewish lore; he sat at the feet of Gamaliel. The disciples, although unlearned in the wisdom of the schools, were men who had been trained in the school of experience and especially trained for their mission during those three years of sitting Mary-like, at the feet of Jesus. Luther pondered long and studiously over and delved deep into that unchained Bible. All those who have made any durable impression upon the religious world have been men of knowledge and rich experience, and were ever learning; so must the preacher of to-day be a man ever studiously inclined, ever engaged in searching for knowledge that he may prepare it to

instruct his people, ever going out into new, safe fields that his matter may be crisp, attractive and strengthening.

The nuggets of truth found by hard, earnest, prayerful digging into the Scriptures must be laid upon God's altar.

Theology must yield her treasures unto the earnest student, that he, directed by the Spirit, may lead his hearers to God through Jesus Christ. The pastor owes his congregation the fruits secured by a most diligent, honest study of systematic theology. The fundamental Christian doctrines must be thoroughly studied and understood that there may be no contorted teaching of the plan of salvation, or a one-sided development of it.

Church history should be given its due amount of studious attention that its abundant stores of information may also assist the pastor in preparing for his pulpit ministrations.

We cannot enumerate all of the many sources from which the pastor must draw if he would place God's message before his congregation as attractive, helpful, well-seasoned food, which will be easily assimilated, and will satisfy the hunger of the soul, and strengthen it spiritually. The sources of knowledge are so varied and so helpful and the demands upon the pulpit so emphatically urgent for this varied, well-assimilated knowledge, that a young preacher, like Jeremiah, may well say he is tongue-tied, that he lacks something to say; but God says to the one who is willing to study, not only willing, but is a student in the best sense: "Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth," for all truth is of God, and, if by hard study we gain knowledge, it is in accordance with God's law of increase:—"God helps those who help themselves." We have no reason to believe that God will perform for the minister what he can do for himself by study. The day of miracles will never dawn upon the pastor if he passes the dead line and falls asleep. The indolent need not expect the aid of the Holy Spirit if he will not study. The Spirit will lead and aid the one seeking to move forward, but he will not drag him along; therefore, the most diligent study is demanded of the minister; not only that of books, but also that which he may gain by observation of

nature and human nature, and by constant reflection upon all the information gained by thinking, feeling, observation, hearing, reading and by study. The results are expected to be brought into the pulpit, that the congregation may be well instructed, and directed in matters religious, moral and also social, by teaching them in what realms the golden rule holds sway and how best to apply it practically.

We will not emphasize the need of knowledge of rhetoric and of oratory, both practical and theoretical; not that we undervalue it, but because the average minister is not so apt to fail in these respects as in gathering material for the sermon.

But all is not done which is due the pulpit when the pastor has lived a life of Christian piety, has gathered the material for the discourse, has cultivated that style of composition and delivery which will be best adapted to reach the waiting congregation through his own personality. The pastor owes it to himself and his people to seek and secure the blessing of God upon the use of his Word, the pastor's personality, the results of the labor expended, and that his blessing may attend him in the delivery, and the congregation in the hearing and reception of the message. God's blessing must attend all the efforts put forth, or all is a failure; and how can the pastor confidently approach God and ask his blessing upon his labors and expect an answer to his prayer unless he has faithfully performed his duty? That he, privately and publicly, presumes to ask God's blessing upon his pulpit ministrations presupposes that all the essential conditions have been met; that he has been living the Christ-life during the week, that he has been earnestly and wisely laboring to make the best preparation for this chief function of his Father's business. That his ministry of the Word may be eminently successful, God's blessing must be invoked, and that it may be obtained, the conditions must be met, and the preacher must have that large faith in God's perfect willingness to bless this function of his ministry in all its relations and faith in his almighty power to make the work efficacious for good, to make his Word accomplish that whereunto it is sent and not return unto him void of results. Did the pastor possess such faith

coupled with the rightly combined proportion of good works, he would go about his Father's business as though he fully believed that all the bread cast upon the waters would return again even if after many days.

We believe that the preceding thoughts are consistent with the method which Paul justified by its results, ever emphasizing the agency of God. "God hath chosen" the minister; "Of God are ye in Christ Jesus;" "Of God he is made unto you wisdom;" "After that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believed." The pastor "determined not to know anything among men save Jesus Christ and him crucified," and equally resolved and persistent in acquiring that material and method and power which may best set forth the simple story of the Cross, and even seeking the blessing of God upon his ministry, will realize the truth of that encouraging declaration: "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things which are; that no flesh should glory in his presence."

The pastor realizing the truth of the passage, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts," ever recognizing the agency of God, and becoming a willing, intelligent, faithful instrument in the hands of God, will labor in the fear and power of the Lord unto the glorifying of his name and the salvation of men.

ARTICLE IV.

CONFESSION.*

By Rev. J. A. Singmaster, D. D.

The XIth Article of the Augsburg Confession reads as follows: "*De Confessione* docent, quod absolutio privata in ecclesiis retinenda sit, quamquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis juxta Psalmum: Delicta quis intelligit?"

The German text is: "Von der Beichte wird also gelehret, dass man in der Kirchen Privatam Absolutionem erhalten und nicht fallen lassen soll, wiewohl in der Beichte nicht noth ist, alle Missethat und Sünden zu erzählen, dieweil doch solches nicht möglich ist, Psalm 19 : 13: Wer Kennet die Missethat?"

The English Version is: "Concerning confession they teach that private absolution ought to be retained in the churches; although an enumeration of all our offences is not necessary in confession. For this is impossible, according to the declaration of the Psalmists: Who can understand his errors? Ps. 19 : 12."

THE OCCASION OF THIS ARTICLE.

The question that waits for the first answer in considering the article on Confession is, Why does it find a place in every ven-

*The Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., June 1, 1898.

The following are the principal works consulted in the preparation of this lecture: Various Cyclopaedias, especially Herzog's Realencyklopädie, edition of 1897; Die Privatbeichte und Privatabsolution, Georg Edward Steitz; Luthardt's Kompendium der Dogmatik; Fisher's History of Christian Doctrine; Kurtz's Church History; Geschichte der Speciellen Seelsorge von August Hardeland; Hutter's Compend of Lutheran Theology; Hodge's Systematic Theology; Schmidt's Dogmatics; Martensen's Christian Dogmatics; Chemnitz's Enchiridion; Krauth's Augsburg Confession; The Book of Concord; Dr. Hay's Translation of Köstlin's Theology of Luther; Miller's Clerical Manners; Hoppin's Pastoral Theology; Baxter's Reformed Pastor; Maclaren's Cure of Souls; Daniel's Codex Liturgicus.

erable Augustana? Does it not compromise us as Protestants with its apparent Romish flavor? And must we explain it away or at least make apologies for it? Such inquiries should be fairly met, especially in view of the fact that private confession as contemplated by the Reformers is practically unknown to-day in any Lutheran country. Was it, therefore, a mistake to include private confession among the doctrinal articles? We may reply that the very evident reason for the existence of this article was the prominence and the gross abuse of the Confessional in the Romish church. The absence of any reference to it would have been very strange, and might have been construed into a tacit approval of it. The Reformers, therefore, very properly assaulted this stronghold of Romanism, captured it, purified it, and temporarily occupied it as a training school for its fresh, young forces.

But how shall we explain away the incongruity that the Reformers seem at first sight to "have made an article of faith" out of private confession which has now ceased to exist as a distinct institution? Were they in error? The answer is that the "doctrine" to be maintained in this article is found in its negative rather than its positive statement. It is not so much private confession and private absolution that are retained as it is Romish confession that is condemned. "Enumeration of all offences is not necessary in confession. For this is impossible, according to the Psalm, who can understand his errors?" Thus the Augsburg Confession forever repudiates and disowns Romish auricular confession. The doctrine, therefore, taught is that auricular confession is not only "not necessary" but "impossible" and unscriptural.

That this explanation is no subterfuge but entirely in accord with the spirit of the Augustana may be seen by a comparison with Article XXI, in which "the worship of saints" is repudiated in the same negative manner.

The positive statement that "private absolution ought to be retained" does not differ essentially from the doctrine taught in Article XII, which declares "that the Church should give absolution unto such as return to repentance." There is no doubt

that the Lutheran Church does teach and practice absolution. Indeed rightly understood, all churches believe and practice absolution, though not as a part of their *cultus*. The "private" part of confession and absolution as taught in this article is merely incidental and temporary. It belongs to the *adiaphora*, things indifferent, the category of human rites and ceremonies which may be accepted or rejected according to convictions of expediency. Article XXV. very plainly says "that confession is of human right only, not commanded by Scripture, but instituted by the Church." The Reformers were undoubtedly the best judges of what was proper and useful in their day. And as they have made confession purely voluntary, why should they be blamed? Moreover, they had, as we hope to be able to show ample ground for holding on to an institution, divested of harmful and objectionable features. It was entirely in harmony with the conservatism of the Lutheran Reformation that this should be done. It rejected nothing that was not morally or scripturally wrong in their churches or in their worship. The wisdom of some of these things may be questioned, but their design and motive are unimpeachable.

THE DOCTRINE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

A consideration of the matter of private confession and absolution demands primarily a right understanding of Romish or auricular confession, which our article so strenuously rejects. It was and still is one of the chief pillars of the papacy. It was one of the principal sources of its corruption and thus gave occasion for the Reformation. The Ninety-five Theses are practically a challenge to its false teachings in regard to indulgences and the whole subject of repentance.

The Romish Church regards penance, *poenitentia*, repentance or penitence as one of seven sacraments as well as a virtue. "As a virtue it consists in sorrow for sin, a determination to forsake it, and a purpose to make satisfaction to God. As a sacrament it is an ordinance instituted by Christ for the remission of sins committed after baptism, through the absolution of a priest having jurisdiction. The *matter* of the sacrament is the

act of the penitent, including contrition, confession and satisfaction. The *form* is the act of absolution on the part of the priest. By contrition is meant sorrow or remorse. It is not necessary that this contrition should be anything more than a natural as distinguished from a gracious exercise or state of mind; or as the Romanists express it, it is not necessary that contrition should be '*caritate perfecta.*' The confession included in this assumed sacrament must be auricular; it must include all mortal sins; a sin not confessed is not forgiven. This confession is declared by the Council of Trent to be necessary to salvation. * * * In sin there is both a '*reatus culpae*' and a '*reatus poenae.*' The former together with the penalty of eternal death, is removed by absolution; but the '*reatus poenae*' as to temporal punishment, to be endured either in this life or in in purgatory, remains or may remain. Hence the necessity of satisfaction for sin in the sense above stated. The absolution granted by the priest is not merely declarative, but judicial and effective."

"On this point the Romish Church teaches: first, that Christ blots out sin by the ministry of the priests; second, that the priests sit as judges on the tribunal of repentance; third, that their sentence is confirmed in heaven; fourth that in virtue of this power the priests are above the angels and archangels themselves."*

Auricular confession, therefore, is one of the links in the chain of salvation. Without it there can be no remission of the temporal or eternal consequences of sin. The priest holds absolute sway over the destiny of the race. Every soul must bow before him as a mediator and obey his mandates. To him must be confided not only every act committed, but also every intention and feeling. To omit in confession even a forgotten sin is to leave it unforgiven. To hide from him anything from a sense of modesty or shame is only to increase one's guilt. Can anything more imperious, tyrannical, terrifying, yea diabolical be conceived of? Then to commit such unlimited power into the hands of men who were in many instances ignorant, unsympa-

*Hodge's Theol. Vol. III., p. 493.

thetic and sensual was to produce results which history blushes to record.

THE HISTORY OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

The development of auricular confession was very gradual. The exact point at which it originated is not easily determined. The Romanists trace it back to the apostles. Some attribute its rise to Origen in the third century. As a matter of fact it is the slow outgrowth of a perversion of a good, scriptural idea. The Bible enjoins confession. It conditions the forgiveness of sins on it. Luther speaks of three kinds of confession: first, that which one makes to God; secondly, that which he makes to his neighbor, whose rights he may have transgressed; and thirdly, that which he makes voluntarily to a minister or Christian brother for the sake of his advice or comfort. It is this last kind of confessisn that drifted into the Romish auricular confession. Beginning as a voluntary act, under the encouragement of the priests it became a custom, later a law, and finally an iron yoke, which was broken by the hammer that nailed the Theses to the church door at Wittenberg.

There is no evidence that confession existed as a part of the cultus of the Church during the first century of the Christian era. "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," belonging to the second century contains no allusion to auricular confession. It inculcates, however, great reverence for religious teachers. It says (Chap. IV.), "My child him that speaks to thee the Word of God remember night and day, and thou shalt honor him as the Lord; for where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken, there the Lord is." The exomologesis or general confessions of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian of the third century, which have some times been quoted as favoring auricular confession, pertain really to the treatment of penitents.

In the third century, however, it became the custom to appoint a special priest, whose duty it was to direct the exercises of penitents guilty of secret sins which they voluntarily confessed to him under the seal of secrecy. But on account of gross abuses the Patriarch Nectarius of Constantinople abolished

the office, A. D. 391. The practice, however, continued in the West until Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century, introduced such changes in the mode of dealing with penitents that the office ceased to be important. He prohibited bishops from demanding public confession for secret sins; and in place of it introduced private confession which every priest was entitled to hear. But private confession was intended only for those mortal sins, which having been publicly committed, would according to former canons have required public penance. Jerome denounced as a piece of pharisaical arrogance the assumption that the power of the keys implied any judicial authority. While Leo claimed that the forgiveness of God could not be obtained without the intercession of priests, and guaranteed their efficacy, yet he does not venture to claim any judicial power for the Church.

The practice of private confession as a regular and necessary preparation for the communion was wholly unknown at that period. In the meantime, however, private confession had been fostered in and required of the inmates of cloisters, where it was comparatively easy to enforce what the laity resisted for a longer period. The Synod of Liege (A. D. 710) demanded that confession be made at least once a year to the parish priest.

During this period the formula of absolution was only of a deprecatory not of a judicial character."* This view prevailed for centuries. As late as the middle of the twelfth century Peter the Lombard said, Forgiveness is ever the work of God. The signification of absolution is only the announcement of what God has done. This he derived from two passages of Scripture. The cleansed leper was to show himself to the priest. Matt. 8 : 4; and the disciples loosed the grave clothes of the awakened Lazarus. John 11 : 44.†

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) confirmed the now almost universal custom of confession by elevating it into an absolute requirement. All persons of both sexes, after reaching years of discretion, were commanded to confess all their sins alone at

*Kurtz's Church History, Vol. I, p. 348.

†Hardeland. Gesch. der spec. Seelsorge, c. iii. 136.

least once a year, to the parish priest. "This is the first canon known which orders sacramental confession generally, and may have been occasioned by the teachings of the Waldenses that neither confession nor satisfaction was necessary in order to obtain remission of sins."

The formula of absolution was now changed from the intercessory, *Dominus absolvat te* to the judicial, *Ego te absolvo.* Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) later defended this, though he declares, *Solus Deus remittet culpam.*

The Synods of the sixteenth century urge the laity to confess frequently; and required the clergy to confess once a week and the nuns once a month. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. It decreed further, as a matter of good order, that confession must take place in the church and in the confessional. Later enactments of the Roman Catholic Church have not materially changed the form or character of auricular confession.

THE REJECTION OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

The disenthrallment of Luther from the bonds of Romanism was naturally gradual. As a loyal son of the Church, he cherished all her teachings at first as inspired. Before the indulgence controversy he seems to have entertained no doubts in reference to the received doctrine concerning confession and absolution. He protests, however, in his *Lectures upon the Decalogue* "against such a minute analysis and classification of sins as to burden the memory of the people and weary the confessor. He does not consider it necessary, for example, to make exactly seven classes of mortal sins. Especially noteworthy is his declaration that it is not necessary to confess any inclination to pride unless one has yielded to it, since we are all constantly inclined in that direction; we ought, therefore, to mourn over it in secret and confess it before God. He maintains, moreover, *acedia* (disinclination to that which is good—indolence), being a spiritual infirmity, is not a proper subject for the confessional, but is to be made known to God alone, who is the only one who can provide a remedy. Thus Luther already assumes that there

is at least a certain sphere of the inner life which may be exempt from the supervision of the confessional, and that within this sphere the sinner may himself deal directly with God."*

The indulgence controversy, inaugurated by the Ninety-Five Theses, led Luther into a fuller examination of the so-called sacrament of penance and to sharp discrimination in regard to forgiveness and absolution. This culminated in the full development of his views on that cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, justification by faith. "If" during this period of his development "he always assumes that the regular and proper place for the reception of forgiveness is the confessional of the Church, and that the general and regular administrators of the power of the Keys are the priests, it is equally clear that he does not regard the dispensation of the divine forgiveness as a matter committed to the priest *alone*. Already in the German *Sermon vom Sacrament der Busse*, he places upon the same plane as that assigned to the official annoucement of the priest, the declaration made by *any Christian brother* who assures us of the divine grace. * * He declares, yea where there is no priest, any Christian brother, even a woman or child, may do just as much; for when any Christian person can say to thee: God forgives thy sins in the name of Christ, &c., and thou canst receive the word with an unwavering faith, as though God spoke it to thee, thou art certainly absolved in this thy faith: so utterly and entirely does everything depend upon *faith in the Word of God*."† This idea he maintains most firmly and revolves it in various forms of expression. In all his subsequent career he never departs from the truth that "Christ did not wish to have the power and will of a man."

The more Luther examined the matter the clearer did it become to him that auricular confession was a torture of the conscience, and that it obscured the grace of God. He warns against the delusion that confession frees from guilt and that it is possible to confess all mortal sins. "He explains that confes-

*Köstlin's Theol. of Luther. 1 : 204 f.
†Köstlin's Theol. of Luther. 1 : 260.

sion is for him, essentially and chiefly a calling upon God to fulfil his promises, and an exercise of faith, which endeavors to lay hold of the promises without doubting, in order that to God may be all the glory. He even gives, with an appeal to Gerson, the seemingly paradoxical counsel: We may now and then approach the altar with a scruple of conscience, *i. e.* without first confessing, even if we have gone somewhat beyond proper bounds in eating, drinking or speaking. This we may do in order to accustom our consciences to depend entirely and alone upon God, and not be alarmed at every falling leaf."*

"Whether secret sins of the heart should also be confessed to the priest or only to God is an open question with him." In his controversy with Eck, Luther expressed the opinion that sacramental confession had no divine right. He positively maintained that it was not appointed by God, but by the Church. Even the latter did not at first employ auricular confession but only public confession. Luther was, however, not prepared to reject the former, but laments that it was made such a means of torture.*

He is also indignant at the cupidity of the unprincipled priests and beggar monks who degraded the confessional into a money-making machine. He inveighs in his usual emphatic way against the priests who worked upon the fears of women that they might reveal their secrets. That his denunciations of the coarse sensuality was abundantly justified is witnessed by the history of the confessional in later times. Lastyrie, a French nobleman, in his *History of Auricular Confession* says that the abuses of the confessional became so scandalous in Spain that Pope Paul IV. (1563) issued a brief to the inquisitors of Seville to prosecute the offending priests. This gave rise to such numerous denunciations of confessors by women that it took one hundred and twenty days to register them all. Nor are these abuses the product of a dark age alone. The late Dr. Kendrick, archbishop of Baltimore, one of the most learned of Catholics, says in his *Papal Conspiracy Exposed*, We scarcely dare to speak concerning that atrocious crime in which the office of hearing

*Köstlin's Theol. of Luther. 1 : 357.

confession is perverted to the ruin of souls by impious men under the influence of their lusts. Would that we could regard it as solely a conception of the mind, and as something invented by the enemies of the faith for the purposes of slander.*

Luther's final rejection of Romish confession rested upon dogmatic grounds which may be summarized as follows, and which might be illustrated with abundant quotations did not space forbid.†

1. It was not voluntary, but enforced as a duty.
2. It was limited to a particular time in the Easter season.
3. It required the enumeration of every sin.
4. It made repentance to consist of contrition, confession and satisfaction, while faith and consolation are barely mentioned.
5. It separated contrition entirely from faith, and made even a half-contrition, called *attritio* to suffice.
6. It rested absolution upon the sufficiency of contrition, and thus made it uncertain.
7. It rested satisfaction not upon the renewal of spiritual life, but on senseless works of man's invention.

THE PRIVATE CONFESSION OF THE REFORMERS.

It is true that the word *private* is not used in connection with confession, but only with absolution. Hence it has been intimated that the Reformers did not advocate private confession, yet this is contradicted not only by the plain construction of the article, but by facts. It was taught and practiced. The Schwabach Articles plainly say, "Private Confession" (XI). Nevertheless, it is true that the Reformers desired the confession not for the *privacy*, but for the opportunity of granting private absolution. There was, when properly understood and practiced, as little harm and as much good in private confession in the days of Luther as there is to-day in a private personal conference of a pastor or Christian layman with a sin-sick or troubled soul.

The outward form was retained. When it is asked what did the Reformers "retain," it may be said that they kept the custom

*Barnum's Romanism, pp. 511, 514.

†Steitz: Privatbeichte, pp. 90–97.

and external form of confession. The people were not dissuaded but encouraged to keep up their former custom of coming to the pastor to confess. The confessional boxes or cells or chairs (Beichtstühle) were also retained. However singular, to say the least, this would be to us as an innovation, it was entirely natural then and would cause no revulsion of the public mind. Besides the confessional other apartments in the Church were used. Most of the old Church Orders provide that formal confession must never take place elsewhere than in the church building, and generally in the choir, where the participants could be seen but not heard by others waiting in the body of the church.* The object of such an arrangement was to secure privacy that each individual might feel unconstrained by the presence of others. The justification for such a private interview, if any be needed beyond common sense, is found by Chemnitz† in the example of Christ who not only preached the Gospel publicly but also proclaimed pardon privately, particularly and individually (privatim, insonderheit oder personweise).

It was entirely voluntary. The Marburg and the Schwabach Articles, which are the foundation of the Augsburg Confession, both leave private confession voluntary. The former says it "should indeed be unconstrained and free;" the latter it "should not be enforced by laws, just as baptism, the sacrament, the Gospel should not be forced, but be free." Luther himself declares that he once in awhile takes the communion without first confessing, in order that he may not be tempted to exalt the custom into a necessary matter of conscience, and in order to show his contempt for the devil.‡ In one of his sermons against Carlstadt, who opposed even the Protestant idea of private confession, he says: "Confession is strictly enjoined by the Pope, and made a necessity. This necessity and compulsion I reject, and have severely attacked it. * * Hence I will not confess because the Pope has enjoined it or wants it. He shall leave confession free to me, and shall not make a command of it."

In the Larger Catechism, he says: "In reference to Confession

*Steitz, Privatbeichte, p. 133. †Enchiridion, p. 185.
‡Köestlin's Theolo. ii, 532.

we have ever taught that it should be free, that the tyranny of the Pope should be put down, and that we should be liberated from all constraints, and relieved from the intolerable burdens imposed on the Christian community. For hitherto, as we have all experienced, nothing has been more grievous than the compulsion of every one to confession. * * * For this [private] confession is not embraced in a command * * but is left optional with every one who needs it, to use it to his necessity."

It was not regarded as a Sacrament. This statement requires some qualification. Luther and Melanchthon both speak of absolution as a sacrament. The Augsburg Confession does not give the number of the sacraments, but the Apology mentions absolution as a sacrament. In reducing the number of the sacraments from seven, as held by the Romanists, to three Luther took a very long step. When he speaks of repentance or absolution as a sacrament, he uses the word in a very wide sense. "He remarks that the conception of a sacrament might appear to be applicable to a very wide range of subjects, to everything to which a divine promise has been given; as for example, prayer, the Word, the cross of the believer, etc. Yea, who can enumerate all the divine promises? But, in the proper sense of the term we speak of sacraments only where we have promises with signs attached to them. * * He remarks further, that if we should speak strictly we could not call repentance a sacrament, since it lacks a visible sign appointed by God.* The Lutheran Church has always recognized only two sacraments. Chemnitz says: "Absolution is not properly and truly a sacrament in the way or sense in which Baptism and the Lord's Supper are sacraments."†

No enumeration of sins was required. Luther and the Confessions are particularly severe in their condemnation of the Romish requirement of a minute recital of all sins. Article XI. expressly declares that an enumeration of all offences is not necessary in confession; for it is impossible according to the

*Köestlin's Theol. I., 403 f.

†Schmid's Dogmatics, p. 542.

Psalm; Who can understand his errors? Article XXV. speaks in the same general way. Further quotations do not seem necessary on this point.

It was retained for the sake of the Absolution. "Absolution," as defined by the Apology, "is the Word of God, announcing to those who seriously confess their sins, the forgiveness of the same in accordance with the divine injunction. Private absolution is the application of this principle to the individual. Chemnitz says, When an ordained minister or in case of need an ordinary Christian, proclaims forgiveness privately to a poor sinner, who in true repentance and faith seeks and desires God's grace in Christ, this is private absolution.* The right to pronounce such absolution either publicly or privately has been conferred on the Church, by virtue of the power of the Keys, or by virtue of the words of promise: "Whosoever sins ye remit," etc, "What ye loose on earth," etc. This power has been given to the whole Church, to all Christians as a universal priesthood. For the sake of order, however, Luther would not allow a layman publicly to exercise this right, but privately he may do it to the fullest extent. Absolution, with Luther, has a very broad meaning. "The Gospel is a general absolution. The same Word, which in preaching is proclaimed publicly and in general terms, is then addressed particularly in private absolution to such individuals as desire it, This is nothing more than declaring the Gospel to a single person, who thus receives comfort in view of the confessed sin."† This absolution must be received in faith. "If thou believest, thou hast it; if thou believest not, thou hast nothing."‡

"Private absolution retains for Luther an exalted and peculiar value, from the fact that in it forgiveness is imparted to me as one particular person—privately, specially, individually. Thus I can be right certain of it as intended *for me*, and can grasp it for myself, whereas in the congregation it floats out over the whole assembly, and may indeed reach me with the rest, but I

*Chemnitz's Enchiridion, p. 185.

†Koestlin's Theol. II., 526. ‡Ibid. 522.

am still not so sure of it as when addressed to me alone."* In saying this, Luther speaks out of the fulness of his experience. "Melanchthon and Mathesius tell us of an aged brother in the monastery through whom the word of grace in this way first found deep and effectual lodgment in his heart."† He had also himself frequently comforted others in the confessional.

It was retained as a preparation for the Communion. Confession was originally not specially connected with the Lord's Supper. But it was quite natural that the evident need of self-examination should have gradually made confession and absolution a kind of an introduction to the Communion. The Reformers found and preserved this relation; and after awhile made it obligatory upon all communicants first to confess. But this latter was intended not as a burden to the conscience of the worshiper, but as a high privilege, and also as a safeguard to the purity of the communion.

Chemnitz, the prince of Lutheran theologians, a profound scholar and devout Christian, gives the following reasons for the retention of confession before the communion.‡ Their bearing is so general as to be practically a vindication of the system.

Confession should be practiced, according to Chemnitz:

1. That the pastor may ascertain whether his people have right views of the principal doctrines of the Christian religion; and if they have not, that he may have the opportunity of instructing them.

2. That he may discover whether they are truly penitent, and that he may teach them the nature and consequences of sin and the nature of true repentance.

3. That he may know the character of their faith, the ground and earnestness thereof, and with whom and through whom they seek forgiveness; and that in this interview he may explain the nature of the true faith and the importance of self-examination.

*Koestlin's Theology II., 529.
†Koestlin's Theology I., 62.
‡Chemnitz, Enchiridion, 189 f.

4. That he may learn the character of their resolutions of amendment and explain the nature and urgency thereof.

5. That he may be able in the most fitting manner to bring counsel and comfort to burdened and sorrowing consciences.

6. That Absolution may be sought, received and used in true repentance through faith.

"Because all these things are necessary," says he, "having the approval of God's Word and command, it is clear that such a confession has a good foundation. And when the people are properly instructed in these things, they will cheerfully and without compulsion come to such confession for their own good. And the pastors may very readily also inform themselves from these things how they should deal with those who confess."

THE DECAY OF PRIVATE CONFESSION.

The hopes and plans of the Reformers in reference to confession and private absolution were doomed to disappointment, if they indeed ever regarded it in the light of a permanent institution. Their repeated assertion that it was of human rather than of divine appointment, indicates the comparatively unsubstantial foundation upon which it rested. The conception of the Reformers was too ideal to be applied to a matter in which there were so many purely human elements. As an institution or a part of a cultus of the Church it has, therefore, passed away. The principle, however, underlying it abides and will always abide in the Church. The following are the chief reasons that led to its decay.

The impracticability of its application. Where congregations were small, it was an easy matter for the pastor to hold a personal conference with each member on the day preceding the communion. As the numbers increased into hundreds, it became impossible to give each one a satisfactory hearing. Hence, the mere perfunctory discharge of a sacred office lowered its tone, and made it an idle formality. In vain was it urged that confession was not intended so exclusively as a preparation for the Lord's Supper, and that it should be extended through the entire year. But an old custom was not easily changed, for at

no other time did the people feel the need of confession so much. One may easily understand how impossible it was for the pastor to counsel with several hundred people individually, and what impatience and even disorder might result from a gathering waiting to be heard one by one.

The worldliness of the Church. The proper use of private confession presupposes rather an advanced standard of piety, which did not exist then, and is rare to-day. The Church was just emerging from darkness, the people were ignorant and many of the preachers utterly indifferent to the highest welfare of the flock. Earnest yearning for spirituality on the part of the people, and a passion of souls on the part of the pastors, was far from being the rule. Hence, a spiritual conference was not much desired by many. Confession became a dead formality, and to many an *opus operatum.*

The effort to make it compulsory. Luther denied that private confession was obligatory. The symbols of the Church say the same thing, though earnestly recommending it. But an institution that may or may not be used, naturally loses its hold. The fanatics like Carlstadt refused to recognize it at all. Brenz and Osiander went to the other extreme, and insisted upon its sacramental character and its practice by every member of the Church. The Church Orders* (Kirchenordnungen) or Liturgies, almost without exception, demand attendance at private confession before being admitted to communion. "In some countries, as in Pomerania, the *public* confession was actually forbidden, and only *private* confession allowed. 'The Church enacted by law that no one should be admitted to the Eucharist without private confession and absolution' says Daniel, who quotes in support of his statement from the Prussian Agenda of 1525 and from the Wittenberg Consistorial Order of 1542 and from the Bergdorf Order of 1544."† In some of the more rigid Lutheran Churches it became a tribunal for the examination of the views of the

*Steitz, Privatbeichte, p. 110

†Dr. J. W. Richard in LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. 26, 355.

people on the Lord's Supper.* In examination of all this it may be said that the intention of the authorities was entirely evangelical, and that thus they sought to preserve the purity of their altars. Nevertheless it made a yoke of a privilege.

The exaction of a fee.† The payment of a fee for absolution degraded it in the eyes of the people. Even Luther's denunciation of it did not abolish it. The clergy was poor and felt the need of the perquisite. J. Gerhard defended the taking of the fee, Spener agreed with him, but preferred that it should take the form of a New Year offering. The Leipsic Faculty advanced eight reasons for its continuance. A. H. Francke quoted the example of cities like Frankfort-on-the-Main, Strasburg and Augsburg where the fee (Beichtgeld) was not in vogue. He personally refused it and justified himself for this course in a sermon on the abuse of the Lord's Supper (1699).

Dogmatic considerations.† Toward the close of the seventeenth century the doctrine underlying the subject and the formulas used was newly investigated. This agitation called the value and continuance of confession into question. The Reformed had since the sixteenth century maintained that absolution was *conditionata*, because dependent on repentance and faith, concerning the existence of which man is necessarily in doubt. Spener agreed with this proposition except that he held to the assurance of faith and did not hesitate to use the form, "I forgive," holding that it was practically the same as "I announce forgiveness." All these discussions strengthened a growing mistrust in private absolution. Public confession had prevailed in Württemberg since the sixteenth century, in Kursachsen since 1657. Schade, Spener's assistant, introduced it in Berlin in 1697. When taken to task by his colleagues, the Elector sanctioned it by an edict, making private confession optional on the ground that in numerous Lutheran Churches in Sweden, Denmark and North Germany and in all those of Holland private absolution was not practiced. The other state churches followed his example, except in Mecklenburg where, according to Kliefoth, it was never formally given up.

*Steitz, Privatbeichte, p. 116. †Caspari in Herzog on Beichte.

Thus there was a gradual departure from the practice of private confession until it has ceased to exist as an institution. Efforts to revive it in recent times have not been successful, and it must be quite apparent that an institution which could not maintain itself under comparatively favorable circumstances in the past can have no future at least in its fixed form.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE.

Private Confession as an institution and as a part of the cultus of the Church has vanished, probably never to be reinstated. But, we are sure that there has been some loss in the decay of a practice which brought every member into intimate touch with his pastor. Tholuck regarded its loss as among the "injuries and wounds of the Church" and appealed to the students of theology before whom he preached on the Augsburg Confession on this wise: Ye that are to be the ministers of the Word in time to come, regard it as your vocation to heal these wounds of our Church, and to restore to it *Private Confession*, not Auricular Confession, which this article rejects.* Martensen says, "It is a matter of regret that private confession, as an institution * * has fallen into disuse; and that the objective point of union is wanting for the many, who desire to unburden their souls by confessing not to God only but to a fellow-man, and who feel their need of comfort and of forgiveness, which any one indeed may draw for himself from the Gospel, but which in many instances he may desire to hear spoken by a man, who speaks in virtue of the authority of his holy office."

"It cannot easily be denied," says the same author, "that Confession meets a deep need of human nature. There is a great psychologicial truth in the saying of Pascal, that a man often attains for the first time a true sense of sin, and a true stayedness in his good purpose, when he confesses his sins to his fellow-man, as well as to God."† Said Dr. Büshsel‡ of Berlin: "In the midst of this great awakening, the felt necessity of private confession became apparent. * * Through this private con-

*Krauth, Augsburg Confession, p. 79.

†Martensen, Dogmatics, pp. 444, 445.

‡Errinerungen aus dem Leben eines Landgeistlichen, Vol. 1 : 262.

fession I obtained not only a clearer and fuller insight into the workings of human depravity and the deceitfulness of the human heart in general, but also of my own heart in particular."

The underlying principle of private confession is universally felt and acknowledged. To meet the object of the ministry, more than the public preaching of the Gospel is necessary, both to give the pastor a true insight into the spiritual condition of his people and to allow them to bring their individual perplexities to him for solution. The "cure of souls" must be the pastor's particular care.

Having allowed the institution intended to meet this want to lapse on account of its misuse, the problem of a substitute must be solved in personal conferences or consultations of the pastor and his flock, either in the study, in one of the rooms of the Church, or at homes of the members. An editorial in The Outlook* speaks of such personal conferences as the most important aspect of pastoral life. "The Roman Catholic priest furnishes most of his counsels in this way. The preaching is an insignificant part of the priest's work; much more important is that part performed through the Confessional. Compulsory Confession appears to us, as to all Protestants, morally dangerous and disadvantageous; but the personal conference of a religious counselor with the troubled or inquiring soul, provided by the confessional is of the utmost importance. * * If, instead of preaching to five hundred, each one * * could come to him personally and bring his doubt, his difficulty, his sorrow, his trouble, whatever it is, and the minister could give counsel or comfort to each, * * the work would be far more efficacious."

Good Richard Baxter† says, a minister is not only to be employed in public preaching to his people, but should be a known counselor for their souls, as the lawyer is for their estates, and the physicians for their bodies. * * Every man that is in doubts and difficulties about matters of importance, should bring his case to his minister for resolution. Thus Nicodemus came to Christ. * * But how few are there who heartily press

*Outlook, Vol. 56: 979. †The Reformed Pastor, p. 56.

their people to it! * * Were they but duly sensible of the need and importance of it, you would have them knocking more frequently at your doors, to open their cases, to make their complaints, and to ask your advice."

A recent lecturer at the Yale Seminary, Dr. Watson (Ian Maclaren),* who will not be suspected of Romanism or High Churchism, says: "The pastor must give much of his time to *consultation*, and it is likely that he will have to give more every year. It is the custom of Protestants to denounce the confessional, and not without reason, * * but it would be wise to remember that there are times and moods and circumstances when every person desires to open his heart to some brother man, when some persons cannot otherwise get relief. To whom are these persons to go? What they want is one who has had a wide experience of life, who is versed in human nature, who is accustomed to keep secrets, who has faith in God and man, whose office invites and sanctions confidence. Who fulfils those conditions so perfectly as the minister of Christ? and is it not good that there is within reach one ordained to be a friend unto every one who is lonely and in distress of mind?"

The practical application of this thought is often hindered by temporal inconvenience. To overcome this, Dr. Miller of Princeton† recommended a weekly or fortnightly meeting of inquirers at the pastor's house. "A faithful pastor will rarely pass such an appointed time without some visitors. And some will go perhaps, and be happily led to the Saviour, who, but for such an appointment, would humanly speaking, have lost their serious impressions, and hardened themselves in sin." The suggestion of regular times of visiting the pastor, not socially, but for religious conversation is worthy of consideration. While pastoral visitation ought to be assiduously pursued, it will fail in a large parish of meeting its end from its infrequency, the absence of many members of the household and the lack of privacy. What a happy and profitable variation it would be for the people to come to the pastor when he cannot come to see them.

The testimony of the eminent authorities cited in this lecture

*The Cure of Souls, p. 235 †Letters on Clerical Manners, p. 129.

is entirely confirmed by a pastoral experience of more than twenty years, if you will allow a modest reference to my own humble work in the ministry. Nothing gives the pastor better assurance of the real success of his work than when his people seek him privately to ask the old momentous question, What must I do to be saved? or to tell him of some sin or sorrow that rests upon their hearts. Nothing so binds him to his people as this manifestation of confidence in his purity, sincerity, sympathy and wisdom. But when no one is moved or emboldened to unburden his heart to the pastor, it ought to be a source of profound concern to him. Has he been too cold? Has his preaching been unquickened by the Divine fire? Has his best thought been given to something else? Let him ponder. Let him cast himself upon his face before the Lord. God has made his ministers to be his ambassadors, not only to the congregation but to the soul. Ah, one soul to meet it alone, to lead it into light and peace—there is no grander work! The pastor will learn more of others, of himself, of the Bible, of grace, and of God in one personal interview than in weeks of study. He will be able to help that soul more in an hour than by years of preaching.

But some one will deny, perhaps, that while this personal consultation may be construed into what the Reformers called private confession, it has now-a-days nothing to do with what they called private absolution. Surely we have public confession and public absolution in the Morning Service every Sunday where the appointed order is used, and everywhere in the Preparatory Service before the Communion. And why should not the pastor or Christian brother give the same assurance of grace to the penitent in private as in public? No Methodist preacher or layman hesitates to do this at the altar or in the inquiry room. Absolution is after all but the application of the Gospel, the assurance of divine love and pardon and help, to the sorrowing heart. God forbid that we should cry peace, peace when there is not peace; but God forbid also that we should deny the cup of salvation to a thirsty soul.

ARTICLE V.

MELANCHTHON AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D. D.

In the article entitled, "Melanchthon and the Augsburg Confession," which appeared in the Quarterly, for July, 1897, we discussed for the most part the so-called "Torgau Articles," and the "Composition" of the Augsburg Confession. Very little was said about "the articles of faith," or about the Schwabach Articles, which furnished the *basis* for a *part* of the doctrinal articles of the Confession.

Subsequent study of the subject has confirmed the conviction expressed in our former article, that Melanchthon was led by Eck's little book of 404 propositions—"Eck has published the most diabolical slanders against us," says Melanchthon*—to change the purpose of preparing an "Apology," to the determination of preparing a "Confession," which should embrace "about all the articles of faith!" We have also inquired for the conclusions of recent German writers on this particular point of our Confession's history. Without a solitary exception, and without qualification, they affirm either that Eck's book induced a change of purpose, or, that which is equivalent, viz: that the "Apology" in its first form contained no articles of faith. After briefly describing Eck's book, Plitt says: "Melanchthon, who at Augsburg got hold of this writing, was induced by it, in order to meet the attack, to compose a brief summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Evangelical Church, and thus to refute the charge of teaching heresies."† Oehler says: "At Augsburg the writing ("Apology") had to be entirely rewritten, namely, with reference to the 404 articles which John Eck had at that time published, an anthology of errors, which Eck had gathered from the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Oecolampodius, Carlstadt, Hubmeier, John Deuck and others, in order

*C. R. II, 45. †Einleitung, I, 530.

that the Evangelicals might appear worse than the Turks. This at once forced Melanchthon to take into the Confession those articles with reference to which the Protestants had expressed their consensus with the Catholic Church. For this he employed the Schwabach Articles as a guide (Vonlage.")* Herman in in the second edition of Oehler's Symbolik, says: "The first draft of 'the Apology,' as the Augsburg Confession was originally called, was begun by Melanchthon in Coburg, April 15–23, in the presence of Luther, and was taken by him to Augsburg almost or nearly finished. Yet this first draft, just like the Torgau Articles, did not contain any articles of faith."† Plitt in his *Grundriss der Symbolik*, 1888, says: "Melanchthon's Apology, begun on the journey, proved inadequate in the face of John Eck's slanders. The beginning of the Augsburg Confession as such on the basis of the preparation already named (Schwabach and Torgau Articles) was at Augsburg."‡ Kolde (1896) after describing Eck's book, says: "Thereupon Melanchthon resolved to include also the most important *articles of faith* in the 'Apology,' and, because the Emperor would have no time to hear long expositions, to give the whole more the form of a Confession."§ Nösgen (1897) makes Eck's book the occasion for Melanchthon's "giving the form of a Confession to the originally proposed Apology."‖ Karl Müller (1895) says: "After the arrival at Augsburg it was necessary to add articles of faith in opposition to an attack of Eck, who had published a collection of 404 heretical articles of the Protestants, and had proposed a disputation. The required complete transformation of the 'Apology' into a Confession was made by Melanchthon between the 4th and 11th of May. The existing apologetic articles in ceremonies were changed ,but especially were full doctrinal articles prefixed."¶

Virck says: "The Lutherans still held fast to the delusion that their adversaries conceded that there was no error in the Protestant *doctrine*. Yet the reception of articles of faith into the

*Symbolik, 129, †Ibid, 128. ‡p. 16. §Augsburg Konf., p. 4.
‖Symbolik, p. 75. ¶Symbolik, p. 225.

Confesssion took place, as Plitt has shown, only after that Melanchthon had been forced by Eck's attack to give up that delusion," (*Zeits für Kirchenges.* IX. 70–71). Köstlin says: "Eck's new attack had fully determined him (Melanchthon) to take all the chief articles of faith into the Confession." (*Martin Luther*, II., p. 206).

It will be seen that these specialists and historians of the Confession, do not argue the case. They assert outright that Eck's book was the occasion of an entire change of purpose in the mode of the Protestant defense before the Empire. Instead of an "apology" containing a discussion of ceremonies only, Melanchthon finds it necessary to prepare a "Confession."

Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Jacobs, of Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, we have been permitted to examine a copy of Eck's book, and have compared portions of it with portions of the Confession. We find the most unmistakable evidence that Melanchthon was so much influenced by that book, that it really forms the necessary presupposition to the right understanding of the doctrinal part of the Confession. There is absolutely no documentary evidence to show or even to intimate, that the "Apology" as written at Coburg, and as more fully elaborated up to May 4th,* contained a single article of faith. Why should it contain articles of faith? Had not the Protestants always insisted that they taught no doctrines contrary to the teachings of the Church Catholic, and that the entire contention had reference to the "ceremonies"? Did they not expressly so declare in the "Torgau Articles"? Would not the introduction of articles of faith into the "Apology" now cast suspicion on the declaration made in the "Torgau Articles," that the adversaries themselves had acknowledged that the doctrines taught in the electoral dominions (at Wittenberg) were Christian, and comforting, and without error? Why should Melanchthon change the purpose expressed in the "Torgau Articles," of treating only of "ceremonies," and now, even before the Diet has met, "bring together about all the articles of faith"?†

*C. R. II. 40, 41. †C. R., II., 45.

The whole purview was changed by Eck's book of "most diabolical slanders." The Reformers were charged by Eck with promulgating horrid errors in doctrine. The "Apology" is changed into a "Confession" in order to "oppose a remedy to these slanders," as Melanchthon expressly says. The best way for the Protestants to meet the accusation, is to affirm their faith, and to connect that faith with the authoritative teaching of the Church. Moreover, they had promised in the "Torgau Articles," "to set forth the entire Christian doctrine," should it be demanded of them, in order to show that no heretical doctrines were taught among them. Surely the most imperative demand is now made by Eck's book.

Again: Why should Melanchthon add damnatory clauses to the articles of faith, and condemn the ancient and modern heretics, and "reject the opposite doctrine"? Nothing of this kind appears in the Schwabach Articles. All this was necessary now because Eck's book had associated the Reformers with those heretics, and had charged them in a lump with teaching "the opposite doctrine." They must disavow all such abnormal and fatal association. This can be done best by making simple and emphatic *rejectoria.*

These conclusions we reached after having learned the character of Eck's book, and especially after having read it. We had never before been able to understand what Melanchthon meant by "the most diabolical slanders" of which he writes to Luther, May 11th; and nowhere had we seen any explanation.* Melanchthon says that these slanders had been "published" by Eck. Where? in what form? In print? or *viva voce?* These were questions for which we could not obtain answers. Even after having seen Eck's book, the question arose, Did Melanchthon actually know of Eck's book? An affirmative answer to this

*We do not recall having seen any reference to Eck's book in any of the old histories of the Confession. It is quite probable that it had a very limited circulation, and was soon forgotten. It is noticed in Winter's Kirchengeschichte von Baiern, p. 269. If we mistake not Plitt was the first to bring it into prominence, and to show its influence on the Confession. It is an exceedingly rare book. It is altogether probable that Dr. Jacobs has the only copy in America.

question was the link needed to connect the "Confession," that is, "about all the articles of faith," historically with Eck's book. Research has brought the answer. Already in his letter to Luther, May 4th, Melanchthon wrote: *Eckius* qui geminatus, reddit vocem monedularum, Ek, Ek, Ek, Ek, magnum acervum conclusionum congessit. Postulat a principibus, ut instituatur disputatio contra *Lutheranos*;* that is, "*Eck*, the repetition of whose name sounds like the cackling of crows, has compiled a big batch of propositions. He requests the rulers to appoint a disputation against the *Lutherans*." Eck's book is exactly what Melanchthon here describes: "A big batch of propositions." In the title Eck had offered to discuss the propositions, just as Melanchthon here says. The historical connection is complete. Not later than two days after his arrival in Augsburg, Melanchthon had seen Eck's book, and with his own eyes he had read those "most diabolical slanders" published by Eck.

The entire theological situation was now changed. The Lutherans were attacked at the very point at which they thought they were invulnerable. An Apology that should treat only of ceremonies that had been changed, could not satisfy the new exigency. The Protestants must fortify themselves against the new attack. They must oppose a remedy to those "most diabolical slanders" of having introduced errors in doctrine, and of being the associates of heretics. Fortunately they did not have to go far in search of a *Vorlage* or *basis* of defense. It was an act of wisdom to select for this purpose the Schwabach Articles, which already bore the title: "Articles of the Elector of Saxony, concerning faith," composed by Luther, aided by Melanchthon and others. If we compare these Schwabach Articles with the corresponding articles of the finished Confession, we will not ask why they were not prefixed bodily to the "Apology" as the answer to Eck's slanders. They are at once discovered to be inadequate. In some places they contain superfluous matter; in other places they lack the necessary fulness. They are deficient in logical order, and their tone is too harsh. Besides, Luther's

*C. R. II, 39.

relation to them as their chief author, would have at once placed them under prejudice.

If we consider them in their history, and in their relation to Luther, we see the eminent propriety of Melanchthon's using them just as he did. The Confession was designed to be a representation of the faith taught in the Elector's dominions, and Luther was not to be ignored as the chief teacher of this faith. The end to be obtained, and the circumstances of the case, almost surely demanded that the preëxisting material should be used. For the same reasons the demand existed that this material should be entirely re-wrought. To adjust the old material to the new situation, to turn an "Apology" into a "Confession," was no small task. But the man was there, and he was the only man then living, who was equal to the demands of the situation; and in no transaction of his life did Melanchthon show greater tact than in the composition of the doctrinal portion of the Confession. In him we have combined in one person, the theologian, the historian, the logician and the rhetorician.

It will assist us very much in understanding Melanchthon's relation to the Confession, and also in understanding the Confession itself, if we can have placed before us the exact amount of the given material used by Melanchthon in the composition of the *first seventeen articles* of the Confession, for it was shown in the article of July, 1897, that all of the Confession that follows the seventeenth article is entirely Melanchthon's in origin and in composition. Happily, Dr. Knaake, one of the most learned Luther-scholars in the world, has made a word-for-word comparison of these seventeen articles with the Marburg and Schwabach articles. We transfer his work to our pages, giving in each article of the Confession the words for which, according to Knaake, Melanchthon is indebted to the sources indicated, though the impression made by the English translation is not so striking as is that made by the original German. Let the reader, in order to understand Knaake's representation, compare it with any English translation of the German Confession. It is to be understood also that all the articles and words found in the Confession and not found in Knaake's exhibit, are articles and

words supplied by Melanchthon. It is also to be understood that Knaake wrote his book to vindicate "Luther's part in the Confession," and that he distinctly declares, what no competent scholar would now presume to deny, viz., that Luther's part in the preparation for the Confession, was confined to the Marburg and Schwabach Articles.

I.* It is unanimously taught and held agreeably to the Decree of the Council of Nice, that there is only one divine essence * * is God; but that there are three persons in this one divine essence * * God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost * * one Creator * * of all things.

II.† * * Since * * of Adam * * are born in sin * * and this * * and original sin is truly sin and condemns all.

III.‡ * * That God the Son became man and was born of the pure Virgin Mary, * * inseparably united in one person, are one Christ, who is true God and true man, truly * * suffered, was crucified, died and was buried * * not only for original sin, but also for all other sins * * Arose from the dead on the third day, ascended to heaven, * * that he might perpetually reign over all creatures.

Will come to judge the living and the dead.

IV§ * * That we cannot obtain forgiveness of sin and righteousness before God by our own merit, works; * * we obtain remission of sins and are justified before God * * for Christ's sake, if we believe that Christ suffered for us, and that for his sake our sins are remitted unto us, and righteousness and eternal life are bestowed. For God regards this faith and imputes it as righteousness in his sight, as St. Paul says in Rom. 3 and 4.

V.|| For the purpose of obtaining this faith God has instituted the ministry, * * the Gospel * * through which as means, he imparts the Holy Spirit * * in his own time and place, in those that hear the Gospel.

*Marb. 1. Schwab. 1. †Marb. 4. Schwab. 4 ‡Marb. 2, 3. Schwab. 2, 3, 4. §Marb. 5, 7. Schwab. 5. ||Marb. 6, 8. Schwab. 7.

VI.* * * That such faith must bring forth good fruit and good works.

VII.† * * That one holy Christian Church shall ever continue to exist, which is the * * of believers, among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity, and the * * sacraments are administered according to the Gospel.

VIII. * *

IX.‡ * * And that children ought to be baptized, who through such baptism became acceptable to God.

X.§ That the true body and blood of Christ are truly present, under * * of bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper.

XI.|| * * Unnecessary to enumerate all * * sins.

XII¶ * * a faith which consoles and imparts peace to the heart. * *

XIII.** Use of the sacraments * * that the sacraments have been instituted * * as tokens * * externally * * for the purpose of exciting and strengthening our faith.

XIV. * *

XV.†† Concerning ecclesiastical rites instituted by men it is taught, that those should be observed which can be so observed without sin and which promote peace * * in the Church.

Wherefore monastic vows and other traditions concerning the difference of meats, days, &c., intended for the purpose of meriting grace.

XVI.‡‡ * * that all authority in the world, established government and laws are instituted of God, * * that Christians may hold office * * without sin.

XVII.§§ * * that on the last day our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge, * * to give to the believing * * eternal life and to condemn impious men and devils to hell and everlasting punishment.

If now we study the originals and analyze Knaake's representation we find:

†Marb. 10. Schwab. 6, 8. Schwab. 12.
†Marb. 9, 14. Schwab. 9. ‡Marb. 15. Schwab. 10.
§Schwab. 11. ||Schwab. 11. ¶Marb. 15. Schwab. 8.
**Marb. 13. Schwab. 15, 17. ††Marb. 12. Schwab. 14. ‡‡Schwab. 13.

1. That there are no antecedents for articles VIII, and XIV. In other words, these articles are Melanchthon's in origin and in sentiment. In the seventh article the conception of the Church differs already considerably from that given in Article XII. of the Schwabach series. "The Holy Christian Church is the assembly of believers," "the congregation of saints." Stress is laid on the quality of holiness or sanctity. This is the ideal Church. In Article VIII. Melanchthon describes the Church as it is, and affirms the objective validity of the sacraments as independent of the subjective condition of the administrant. Without this article, the Confession would forever lie open to the charge of being Donatistic. Hence the very great importance of this article.

Article XIV. was added in the interest of good order in the administration of the means of grace. But it limits the orderly administration to the *rite vocatus*. It says not one word about ordination. Hence the Lutheran Church has never held that ordination is essential to the pure preaching of the Gospel, or to the valid administration of the sacraments; and as a matter of fact ordination was not bestowed in Würtemberg until 1855.

2. That only a few words have passed from the Marburg and Schwabach articles into each of Articles I., II., VI., XI., XII., of the Augustana. Melanchthon's direct influence on these articles is undeniable.

3. That the damnatory classes and everything that appeals to the teaching of the early Church, Article 1., excepted, are new in the Confession. The *rejectoria* are of the highest importance under the circumstances. They serve to dissociate the Lutherans from heretics and fanatics. The appeal to history connects the Lutherans with the Church Catholic. At this point Melanchthon has most beneficially influenced the Confession. It is this quality of historicity which renders the Confession so prominently conservative.

4. That Articles IX. and X. are much shorter than they appear in their respective originals. That which is truly characteristic of Article IX. in the Confession, viz., that baptism is "necessary," — of course a *necessitas de precepto* —, and that by

it grace is offered, does not appear in the Marburg and Schwabach series. In the Confession Baptism is treated much more as a *means of grace*, that is, as a medium through which grace is offered. This is clearly expressed in the *thesis*, and implied in the *antithesis*. In point of clearness and didactic quality Article IX. of the Confession greatly surpasses its antecedents. It does not teach a different doctrine of Baptism, but it exhibits the Lutheran doctrine more objectively than its antecedents do. Its defect is that it does not affirm the necessity of faith to appropriate the grace that is offered in Baptism. But this deficiency is supplied by Article XIII., which rejects the *opus operatum* and affirms the necessity of faith.

In Article X. Melanchthon meant to set forth the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He wrote to Veit Dietrich, June 26th: "The Landgrave has subscribed the Confession with us. Its article of the Lord's Supper is in accordance with *Luther's* view."* But the statement is generic. The formula peculiar to Luther: "In the bread and in the wine," is supplanted by: "Under the form of bread and wine," which according to a correct Lutheran interpretation, affirms the presence of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord. What Melanchthon meant to set forth by the article as a whole, is clear from the Apology: "The tenth article is approved, in which we confess that we hold that *in the Supper of the Lord the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly presented with these things that are seen, bread and wine to those who receive the Sacrament.*" In repeating the explanation, a little further on, he adds: "And we speak of the presence of the Living Christ." More and more did Melanchthon in later years emphasize the *presence of the Living Chirist*, and explain the sacrament in accordance with the central Lutheran thought that the sacrament is a sign of *promised grace*, and brings the pardon of sin to all those who receive it with faith. But neither he nor Luther ever laid the chief stress on the *real presence*, nor on *bodily presence*, nor on *ubiquity*. Hence Dr. Jacobs is entirely correct when he

*C. R. II., 142. Melanchthon was as much opposed to Zwingli's doctrine as Luther was.

writes: "'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins.' Even the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is entirely subordinate to those words of the Lord's Supper. These heavenly gifts only seal the promise of the Gospel."* The essential thing is the forgiveness of sins. This was as resolutely maintained by Melanchthon as by Luther, and is principiantly involved in Melanchthon's celebrated aphorisms, so loudly applauded by Luther: "Christ is present not on account of the bread, but on account of man. Nothing has the nature of a sacrament apart from the use appointed by Christ."

5. That by actual enumeration in the German, if we have not miscounted, we find that only 438 words passed from the Marburg and Schwabach articles into the first seventeen articles of the Confession, which in these articles contains 1682 words; that is, nearly three fourths of the words of these seventeen articles are the words of Melanchthon; though it is not to be concluded that the influence of either Luther or Melanchthon in these seventeen articles, can be thus mathematically determined. But such an enumeration does show to a demonstration that Melanchthon used his materials in an entirely independent way, that they formed only the *basis*, or as Oehler says, the *Vorlage* of this part of the Confession. The *foundation* of this part of the Confession is Luther's but the *superstruction* is Melanchthon's, and whatever superiority—and who can estimate its greatness?—which the Confession has over the Schwabach articles is due to Melanchthon. Nor is this superiority confined to the form. It also enters into the contents, as Knaake's exhibit abundantly shows.

6. That Melanchthon made such changes in the use of his materials, by omissions, and additions, by the introduction of new thoughts and new articles, as cannot be described by words. These changes constitute no small part of the substance of the Confession, and help to make it what it is.

So much may be said of the first seventeen articles of the Confession. But it cannot and must not be said that these articles

*Elements of Religion, p. 164.

are Melanchthonian in the sense in which the word *Melanchthonism*, or the word *Philipism*, was used a generation later, when parties were formed, and when some of Melanchthon's scholars had perverted and misdeveloped Melanchthon's teaching; neither can nor must it be said that these articles are *Lutheran*, in the sense in which *Luther's doctrine* was used when men more Lutheran than Luther, took "Holy Father Luther" as their shibboleth, and sought to make Luther's private opinions, uttered often in the heat of controversy, normative for Lutheran teaching, and binding in the Lutheran Church.

So much may be said of the first seventeen articles of the Confession. Of the so-called doctrinal articles, there remain yet Articles: XVIII., Of Free Will; XIX., Of the Cause of Sin; XX., Of Faith and Good Works; XXI., Of the Worship of Saints, together with the Conclusion—in all, in extent of matter, nearly one half of the doctrinal part. Of these four articles it is not even pretended that there are antecedents in the Schwabach Articles. They are purely of Melanchthonian authorship. Their importance and value in their place cannot be called in question.

1. In his controversy with Erasmus—*De Servo Arbitrio*—Luther had taught the *absolute* bondage of the will, as Melanchthon had done in the first edition of his *Loci*, 1521. They both had affirmed that there is no such thing as free will. Luther never renounced this determinism, though in after years he let it drop into the background. Melanchthon was convinced by the arguments of Erasmus that the will has freedom in things pertaining to nature, that is, that the will can and does exercise the power of choice in things comprehended by reason. In his commentary on Colossians, 1527, he denies that God is the author of sin, and says expressly that "the human will has freedom in choosing those things which belong to nature, as to choose this or that kind of food. It also has the power to work natural and civil righteousness, as abstaining from murder, from theft and from another man's wife."* The same doctrine is expressed in the Visitation Articles (1527) in almost the same words.† But

*Galle, p. 274. †C. R. XXVI. 26, 78.

in both treatises he firmly maintains that the will has no power to obey the law of God, or to work spiritual righteousness. Article XVIII. of the Confession contains the same doctrine in almost the same identical verbal form, which shows that Melanchthon had a very definite conception of the doctrine of the will. It is also worthy of remark that Melanchthon begins the article with the words: *De libero arbitrio* whereas Luther's treatise is entitled: *De Servo Arbitrio.* That Melanchthon's doctrine of the will, as it is expressed in the Commentary on Colossians, in the Visitation Articles, and in the Confession, is the doctrine of the Lutheran Church on that most important subject, no one will for a moment call in question. Hence that the Lutheran Church is not, in the most extreme sense, Augustinian, in its doctrine of the will, is due to Melanchthon.

2. Article XIX. is taken almost literally from the Commentary on Colossians. Even the quotation, John 8 : 44, is the same in both.* Melanchthon either had the Commentary before him when he wrote this article, or he had the thoughts and the words definitely fixed in his mind, since it actually differs as little from the passage in the Commentary as any one of the first seventeen articles differs from its Schwabach antecedent.

In the *Loci* of 1521 Melanchthon had virtually, if not actually, proclaimed God the author of sin, when he wrote: "All things that occur, occur necessarily by the divine appointment. Our will has no freedom."† The same conclusion is involved in Luther's denial of contingency, and in his affirmation "That all which we do, and all which happens, although it seems to happen mutably and contingently, does in reality happen necessarily and unalterably, in so far as respects the will of God."‡ With the recognition of *contingency* and of the freedom of the will, Melanchthon must necessarily seek the cause of sin in the will of those who abuse their freedom. In some theological fragments of the year 1533, and in the new edition of the *Loci* of 1535, he very positively affirms contingency, and continues to lodge the cause of sin with the will of the devil and of man.

3. Article XX., Of Faith and Good Works, is an explanation

*Galle, 276. †C. R. XXI., 88. ‡Lat. Op., 7, 134.

and exposition of the Fourth Article. It formed no part of "the first draft" of the Confession sent to Luther, May 11th. Unquestionably it has its immediate antecedent in an article of the same title, prepared by Melanchthon about June 3rd and still preserved.* Again and again does the Article deny the meritoriousness of works, and affirm that faith alone justifies; but it inculcates the duty of performing good work because of the will of God. Nothing that Melanchthon ever wrote is more purely his than this Article. Luther never saw it until after the Confession had been presented to the Emperor. Moreover, it more than any other article, illustrates the ethical principle which guided Melanchthon in all his theological activity. "I am certain that in teaching theology my only object has been to make men better."†

4. Article XXI. is no doubt based on an article entitled: Of the Worship of Saints, contained in the so-called Torgau Articles.‡ It was written just a few days before the delivery of the Confession. Its full Melanchthonian origin is assured.

This analysis of the Confession shows Melanchthon's part in the preparation of the Augsburg Confession. That he is the author of the four last articles mentioned above, author in the highest sense of authorship, is simply demonstrable. No one would even pretend that Luther wrote a line that appears in these four articles. Equally certain is it that Articles VIII. and XIV. are of pure Melanchthonian origin. Melanchthon's hand is also visible in each and every one of the other fifteen articles. His relation to the articles on Abuses was shown in the QUARTERLY for July 1897. There is not a single syllable of documentary evidence to show that Luther wrote a single line of the so-called Torgau Articles, which formed the *basis*, and only the *basis*, of the articles on Abuses. The German specialists are as unanimous in excluding Luther from the authorship of these Articles as they are unanimous in affirming their Melanchthon-

*See C. R. IV., 1005. Förstemann, I., 94. Jacobs' Book of Concord, II., 86. †C. R., I., 722.

‡Jacobs' Book of Concord, II., 85. See Zeitschrift für Kercheng. 1865, pp. 576, 610.

ian authorship.* Melanchthon took this material, furnished by himself, and by unnumbered transformations, eliminations and additions, he built upon it the articles on Abuses, which at that time were regarded as the more important part of the Confession; for he himself says in the closing paragraph of the doctrinal part: "The controversy and contention principally refer to traditions and abuses."

Who then is the author of the Augsburg Confession? The facts of its history force the conclusion that such honor belongs to Melanchthon exactly in the sense in which it is said that Shakspeare is the author of "Julius Cæsar," that Milton is the author of "Paradise Lost," that Gibbon is the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Each of these three great authors had certain materials in hand. Each arranged the materials in a manner peculiar to himself and adapted to the end in view, added new thoughts, and gave the whole the impress of his own genius. Each produced something new, something which did not previously exist, though not *absolutely* original in its matter, since absolute originality does not appear in any human author—it is not found in the theology of Luther, nor in that of Augustine, nor in that of Paul. Luther's theology is that of Augustine, of Thomas Aquinas, of Peter Lombard, with certain eliminations and evangelical additions.

At Augsburg Melanchthon brought into summary statement the doctrines common to the evangelical theologians,—the doctrines which he had exhibited in the *Loci* and in the Visitation Articles, and which are found in his own and in Luther's various doctrinal discussions, and in Luther's sermons and postils. As we know from his repeated affirmations, it was not his design to originate any new doctrine, but to re-state the doctrines of the Catholic Church of Christ. This confessional re-statement of the chief doctrines of Christianity, was something as distinctly new in the life and history of the Reformation, as the Constitution of the United States was something new in the life and history of a great nation. The Confession created a great ecclesiastical body, just as the Constitution may be said to have

*See LUTH. QUARTERLY for July, 1897, pp. 305–10.

created a great nation. It cannot be denied that the Augsburg Confession, taken as a whole, and as a conception, is vastly different from the Schwabach Articles, vastly different from any creed or confession that had ever existed, vastly different from anything antecedently written by either Luther or Melanchthon —something wholly *sui generis*, though Melanchthon had written the "Torgau Articles."

Chiefly dogmaticians, or those who have reflected the dogmatic mind, or those who have borrowed the Flacian calumniations, or those who have superficially examined the facts, have sought to give Melanchthon a subordinate place in the preparation and composition of the Augsburg Confetsion. Quite different is the conclusion reached by those Lutheran historians who have taken counsel of the facts, and have allowed the facts their just weight. Matthes, who wrote a life of Melanchthon, and also an excellent work on Symbolics, says: "Perhaps no writing ever gave its author so much solicitude as this, in which every sentence and every word, was most carefully pondered."* Dr. Carl Schmidt, Melanchthon's most learned and impartial biographer, after following the composition of the Confession step by step from the beginning to the finish, says: "Such is the Augsburg Confession, which has become so famous in history. Although it was discussed by all the theologians present; although even the civil counselors and the delegates added their word, and the Saxon Chancellor especially knew how 'to arrange it before and behind,' yet was it very especially the work of Melanchthon, and belongs to the most important he wrote. Everywhere it bears the impress of his spirit. With astonishing clearness and simplicity it presents the doctrine. Scholastic subtility and terminology are avoided, so that it can be understood even by the most unlearned, nor is it susceptible of being misunderstood or falsely interpreted. In vain would you seek a trace of a mind filled with hate, or even acting under excitement. The calmness and moderation with which the whole is

**Symbolik* p. 56. See also the Life, p. 121, in which he says: "Diese Schrift von Melanchthon *ganz allein* verfassten," and note: "From May 11th to June 24th Luther was not again consulted."

treated must take from opponents all pretext for complaint of unnecessary violence. All the doctrines are led back in the most logical way to the fundamental principle of justification by faith, and the same principle furnishes the rule by which to judge of ceremonies."*

Weber wrote the most critical and exact history of the Confession that has ever been penned. He says: "Now is the time to examine the question: Is Melanchthon to be regarded as the author of the Augsburg Confession? After what I have already written touching the manner and method by which he prepared the Confession, the question may be regarded as settled. For if he is the author of a writing to whom the matter and wording belong, or if in a manner peculiar to himself he has worked up the materials found at hand, how can the authorship of the Confession be denied Melanchthon? Grant that he had before him the materials in the seventeen Schwabach Articles, or as I have shown above, those of Electoral Saxony, and the essays on religion furnished by the other theologians, did he not elaborate them in an original manner, and from the seed produce the beautiful tree with its shady branches and fruit? Is La Fontaine or Racine or Corneille to be disparaged, because the first borrowed his materials mostly from other fabalists, and the others from history? Or to give another illustration: Will anyone dare to say, without blushing, that Mascov, Bunau and Schmidt are not authors, but that they only brought the drafts and materials of history into a particular form? Such is the note which so many theologians and historians of the Augsburg Confession, former and recent, strike since the composition of the Bergic Form of Concord. Men have been at great pains and have invented empty arguments to circumscribe Melanchthon's part in the production of the Augsburg Confession, to depreciate his work, and to reduce it to a clerkship. Melanchthon is not to be called the author of the Augsburg Confession, but is regarded as having brought it into a particular form out of the seventeen articles, which the illustrious man of God, Herr Luther had previously drawn up? Luther, Jonas and

*Philip Melanchthon, p. 207.

Bugenhagen wrought with Melanchthon on the Confession before he went to Torgau—Luther sent memoranda to Augsburg—Jonas translated the Confession into German, (which translation is to be greatly preferred to the original Latin) and gave Melanchthon opportunity still further to change his Latin draft, and to express its contents better—these and similar fancies, borrowed either from a false historical conception, or being absolutely without historical foundation, are the hollow echoes of the anti-Philipistic times, when Luther's zealous disciples envied and disparaged Melanchthon's fame. And I reckon it among the consequences of the Bergic Form of Concord, to which as to a symbolically binding treatise on the doctrines defined in it, I accord full right, that since that time, it has been the fashion to belittle and disparge the merit of Melanchthon."*

Planck, whose profound researches entitle his opinions to the greatest weight, says. "By May 11th, Melanchthon had finished a complete draft. This the Elector sent on that date to Luther at Coburg. But that draft was changed so much from time to time up almost to the moment of delivery, by additions and omissions, by elaboration and the introduction of entirely new articles, that a wholly different work arose, to which, however, the Torgau Articles furnished the foundation. It may be that Melanchthon was led to some of these changes and additions by the drafts brought to Augsburg by the theologians of the other Protestant estates. Yet he did not make so much use of them, that it can be said that he only compiled the Confession out of these different essays. It is also true that the judgment of the other theologians was passed upon each finished part of the work (see Camerarius, Vita Mel. ed. Strobel, p. 120), but it would not only be wrong, but foolish to say that the finished Confession is not his work, but the joint work of those theologians. Yet such foolishness has been indulged in by the man's enemies."†

Schöpff, in his "Symbolical Books," writes: "The modest Melanchthon counseled with the other theologians who were

*Krit. Hist. I., 47, 48. †3: 41, n.

present at Augsburg, and with Luther who had remained at Coburg, yet he especially was the author, and only he with his gentleness was qualified for the work," p. 26.

Times almost without number did Melanchthon speak of himself as the author of the Augsburg Confession, and the claim was never disputed while he lived. Camerarous wrote: "The entire burden was imposed on him and borne by him."* John Brentz wrote at Augsburg, June 24th, 1530: Conscripsimus enim *auctore Philippo Melanchthone* epitomen doctrinae nostrae.† Those who buried Melanchthon inscribed on the lid of his coffin: Auctor Confessionis Augustanae.

But when Melanchthon and his Augsburg associates had passed away, and a generation of passionate zealots had come into place, who were more intent on their own interpretation of the Confession, than upon ascertaining the truth of its history, it became the fashion to disparage Melanchthon in the Church which he helped to create, and to name Luther the author of the matter, of the contents, of the Confession, and to call Melanchthon the author of its *form*, of its *rhetoric*, of its *style:* that is, the profound scholar, the accomplished writer, the learned theologian, the trusted counselor of princes, did the work of an amanuensis at Augsburg! The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* once started, it suited the taste and temper of a dogmatic age to keep it moving, though there have always been those who had the manly courage to protest against the great injustice—an injustice which his bitterest personal enemies, like Amsdorf, Flacius, Wigand, did not even dare to intimate.

Happily during the last sixty or seventy years the materials for a correct history of the Augsburg Confession have been accumulating; historical criticism has done its noble work, and we are far enough away from the rivalries and strifes of the sixteenth century to regard the heroes of Augsburg with clearer vision than the Epigoni could employ, who were compelled to work in the shadows of those mighty men who made the 25th

*Vita Mel. p. 126. †C. R. II., 124. See C. R. X. 248; C. R. IX. 260.

of June, 1530, the birthday of a new era in the Church of Christ.

It is now a recognized and confessed fact that Luther's immediate part in the Confession stops with the seventeenth article. There does not exist one line of documentary evidence, nor, in the judgment of the wisest and best critics, one line of internal evidence, that shows that Luther wrote, or dictated, or assisted in writing, or furnished material for, any part of that large part of the Confession which follows the seventeenth article. All that part is Melanchthonian in the highest sense of authorship or exactly in the sense in which the Visitation Articles are Melanchthonian. That Melanchthon learned his theology from Luther does not alter the case. Every Lutheran theologian has learned his theology from Luther, that is, has accepted the Lutheran conception of the *ordo salutis*, and, according to that conception, has worked out an independent system, as a Gerhard, a Hollaz. So did Melanchthon. And it must never be forgotten that Luther was powerfully influenced by Melanchthon. It was Melanchthon who taught Luther exegesis, by leading him to the original text. It was Melanchthon who wrote the first Lutheran dogmatic, a book which Luther declared to be invincible, and which he greatly preferred to his own books. He further declared that he would at any time give up his own opinion, if approved by Melanchthon; that Melanchthon's commentaries were surpassed only by the Divine Word itself; and that whoever would not accept Melanchthon as his teacher is *ein dummer Esel.* He was so far influenced by Melanchthon's doctrine of the will, that while he never recalled what he had written against Erasmus, he at least acquiesced in what Melanchthon wrote on the subject not only in the Commentary on Colossians in 1527, but also in the Commentary on Romans in 1532, and in the *Loci* of 1535 and 1543. It is well-known that after 1526, when he formally entered the theological faculty, Melanchthon moved in a relatively independent way, and that too without forfeiting the esteem of Luther.

At Augsburg under an exigency that came upon him suddenly, he prepared a Confession of Faith at a time when it was

impossible to communicate with Luther, except to send him "the finished draft" of what he had written, and to inquire for his criticism. In that Confession he presented the essentials of Luther's teaching, not because he desired to represent, or to reproduce, Luther, but because he believed that such was the teaching of the divine Word and of the Catholic Church. He was not willing to be the author of a new dogma. This we have in his own words, (Tom. III., 687). He even wished to draw so near to the Roman Church that the opposite party could find no fault with the Lutherans. This he expressed both officially and privately. In the Epilogue to the first part of the Confession, he says that the Confession contains "nothing contrary to the Scriptures, or to the Catholic Church, or to the Roman Church in so far as it is known from the writers." On the sixth of July (1530) he wrote to Cardinal Campegius: "We have no doctrine different from the Roman Church," and: "On no other account do we suffer more hate in Germany than because with the greatest constancy we defend the doctrine of the Roman Church. This fidelity to Christ and to the Roman Church we will show, God willing, to the last breath, (even though you should refuse to receive us into favor.) It is only a trifling difference in rites which seems to stand in the way of reconciliation"* On the same day he wrote to the Cardinal by command of the Princes, saying that the Princes "allowed no articles to be taught which depart from the Scriptures and from the Catholic Church; that privately they discharge their obligated duty to his most Reverend Lordship, and promise, publicly, so far as it can be done with a good conscience, to accept such conditions as shall be judged proper for retaining, confirming and maintaining peace and harmony. And they affirm that they are perfectly willing to retain the ecclesiastical order and the lawful authority of the bishops."†

When it is remembered that the Cardinal was the Papal Legate to the Diet, and hence virtually, the Pope himself, there can be no misunderstanding of these letters of Melanchthon. They show at least that it was his intention, and as well

*C. R. II., 170, †C. R. II., 172.

that of the Princes, to disturb the recognized articles of doctrine and the existing ecclesiastical order as little as possible. Perhaps Melanchthon's whole mind is best expressed in his own words: "When at Augsburg anno 30 I had to compose the first Confession; when no one would write a letter, though the Emperor assuredly wanted and demanded a Confession, with sincerity of purpose I drew up the sum of doctrine; and omitted certain unnecessary and controverted questions, in order that every one might know what the Cardinal doctrine (Hauptlehre) of these Churches is."* It was then the *Cardinal* doctrines, not those that were personally characteristic, that Melanchthon sought to set forth.

Hence the Confession is *Generic* in character. It is neither *Lutheran* nor *Melanchthonian* in any personal or partisan sense, in the sense in which *Lutheranism* and *Melanchthonism* came to be understood and spoken of in after years, when the two zealous disciples of each, separated that which God had joined in ten, February 16th, 1565: "I brought together, therefore, in their masters.

Two things are documentarily certain:

1. The Confession is by no means what Luther would have made it, had the pen been placed in his hand instead of in Melanchthon's. June 29th, four days after the delivery of the Confession, he wrote to Melanchthon: "So far as I am concerned too much has been conceded in that Apology" (Confession)† July 21st he wrote to Jonas: "Satan still lives, and he well knew that your Apology *Leisetreterin* cloaked (dissimulasse) the articles of purgatory, of the worship of saints, and especially of the Pope as Antichrist."‡ It has been well said that Luther's Augsburg Confession is the "Admonition to the ministers assembled at the Diet of Augsburg," which reached Augsburg early in June, and which in spirit and in content is vastly different from the Augsburg Confession written by Melanchthon. *Erl. Ed.*, 24, 356.

2. The Augsburg Confession is not what Melanchthon would have made it, had he been allowed his own way fully. To Camerarius he wrote, June 26th: "I changed and recast many

*C. R. IX., 990. †De Wette IV., 52. ‡Ibid, IV., 110.

things daily, and would have changed more, had our counselors permitted." He regarded the Confession as too harsh, and feared lest the adversaries should be offended by the independence exhibited by the Protestants.*

At Augsburg Melanchthon was in a high degree the common consciousness, the surrogate of his party. His prime object, and doubtless the prime object of the entire body of counseling Protestants, was to present, not Luther's *specific* teaching, but the teaching of the Churches of the subscribing Princes and cities who were following the Lutheran movement in regard to doctrine and ceremonies, without binding themselves to an endorsement of every private view of Luther. It was their own Confession, and that of their Churches, that they were making through Melanchthon. At the same time it was determined to make this Confession, as Melanchthon's own words witness, in harmony with the teaching of the Scriptures, and with that of the Catholic Church and the Roman Church.†

That the Confession is better, and is better suited to its intended purpose, than Luther alone could have made it; that it is likewise better than Melanchthon could have made it, uncounseled; will not be disputed by any one who has studied the characters of the two men. Safety lay in the multitude of counselors. The Confession is a Lutheran Confession. It contains a summary of Lutheran doctrine freed from personal characteristics and private forms of expressions, and presented in its Cardinal features. To understand it aright, recourse must be had to the writings alike of Luther and Melanchthon. No one-sided or exclusive interpretation can be just. To interpret Articles XVIII. and XIX. according to Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* would

*C. R. II., 140.

†The day before the Confession was delivered Brentz wrote to Isenmann: "In ea (Confessione) petunt principes, ut amice controversio componatur, at pax constituatur," C. R. II., 125. Ranhe writes that Melanchthon drew up the Confession "in the undeniable intention of approximating as closely as possible to the Catholic doctrines." Hist. Reformation, V., IX. Plitt notices that Chancellor Brück in his History of the Diet of Augsburg, named the Princes, "Princes of the Gospel" and "repudiated the expression 'Lutheran' as sectarian." Einleitung I., 554.

be to read into them the most absolute *determinism.* To interpret Article X. by Luther's Large Confession alone would be to read into it *ubiquity* and *oral manducation*, neither of which is generic in the Lutheran doctrine, nor *necessary* to the doctrine of the real presence; nor is either contained in the Visitation Articles, which received the hearty approbation of Luther and Bugenhagen. To interpret the Confession fairly and honestly, one should study it in the light of Luther's Commentary on Galatians, of his Babylonian Captivity, his Freedom of the Christian Man, his eight sermons preached immediately after returning from the Wartburg, his *De Servo Arbitrio*, his Large Confession, his two Catechisms, to which must be added Melanchthon's *Loci*, his numerous *Opinions*, his Visitation Articles, his commentaries on Matthew, Colossians, and Romans, and the Apology. These furnish a general view, the contents, of the Wittenberg teaching, which, after the elimination, as shown by Melanchthon's own declaration, of what was personally characteristic, and controversial, was condensed in the Confession. This, and not the private views and opinions of either Luther or Melanchthon, was the faith of the subscribers of the Confession. It is this its generic Lutheran character which imparts to the Confession, its value and significance as an ecclesiastical document. Luther could speak of it as "our Confession which our Philip hath prepared,"* and Melanchthon could subscribe and reaffirm it to the day of his death, as his own composition, as the work of his own hands, and as the Confession of his faith.† Hence it has become, and it alone is fitted to be, the one sole identifying Lutheran symbol. It made, marks and defines the Lutheran Church as such. Other Confessions, superimposed upon it, have bound together families of Lutherans, but have at the same time separated them from other Lutherans. Hence the Augsburg Confession stands for Lutheran catholicity; other Confessions having a Lutheran name, stand for Luther *particularity*, and are to-day the prime cause of division and strife in parts of the Lutheran Church, and that, chiefly because they have led to the interpretation of Lutheranism from the standpoint

*De Wette IV. 69. †C. R. IX., 260, 266, 279.

of Luther's controversial writings, and have sought to exclude the Melanchthonian influence, as well as the Melanchthonian name, from the fundamental Lutheran Confession, which gave birth to the Lutheran Church in 1530, saved it from the sword in 1555, and procured for it international recognition in 1648.

In the preparation of this Confession Melanchthon labored assiduously till the very hour of its delivery. Nor did his interest in it cease when it passed into the hands of the Emperor. The publication by avaricious book-sellers of one Latin and six German editions of the Confession, threw upon its author the duty of publishing an edition both in Latin and German, prepared by his own hand. This was done not by command of the Elector, but on his own authority. Hence as Dr. Zöckler says: "The authentic edition prepared by him has not the significance of an official act of the Evangelical Estates. Primarily it proceeds only* from the interest of the author, which in this case corresponds essentially to that of the evangelical party."* This edition was also, "especially in the German text, changed in many places."† This edition appeared in print already in the Autumn of 1530. In the following Spring it was published in connection with the Apology, and is known as the *Editio Princeps.* The original title is:

CONFESSIO FIDEI
exhibita inuictiſs. Imp. Carolo V.
Caeſari Aug. in Comicijs
Auguſtae,
Anno
M. D. XXX.

Addita eſt Apologia Confeſsionis.

Beide, Deudsch
und Latinisch.

*Augsb. Con. p. 33. Noesgen, Symbolik, p. 80. Müller, Symbolik, p. 252. †Oehler, Symbolik, p. 132.

Pſalm. 119.

Et loquebar de teſtimonijs tuis in conſpectu Regum, & non confundebar.

WITEBERGAE.

There is a copy with this title in the Royal Library at Dresden, on the first page of which Melanchthon wrote with his own hand: *De Doctori Martino. Et Rogo ut legat et emendet.**

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

P. S. We had well-nigh finished writing the article printed above when our attention was called to an article in the January number of the *Lutheran Church Review*, entitled: "On the Genesis of the Augsburg Confession." By Rev. John A. W. Haas. As the article professes to be "an examination of 'Melanchthon on the Augsburg Confession' by Professor J. W. Richard, D. D. (LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1897)," we read it with much interest.

Our gratification with the article was exactly equal to our disappointment. We were gratified to find that Mr. Haas had not impeached the correctness, completeness and applicability of a single one of our translations and quotations,† and that he had not accused us of suppressing any documentary or other lawful information touching the genesis of the Augsburg Confession. This is a silent, but eloquent endorsement of our work. We are sorry that we cannot return the compliment, for it is more important that Mr. Haas should know the truth than that he should be titillated by a compliment.

*C. R. XXVI, 235.

†In a foot-note, p. 26, Mr. Haas has had the grace to insinuate that we had invented a quotation from Köstlin (LUTH. QUART. July, 1897, p. 318, n.), because he could not find it. In Köstlin's *Martin Luther*, vol. II., Elberfeld, 1875, p. 626, there it stands: "This letter from Luther (May 15th, 1530) to the Elector, with one of even date to Melanchthon, reached Augsburg, May 22nd." Will Mr. Haas have the grace to make the *amende honorable* as publicly as he has made the insinuation of invention?

We were disappointed that Mr. Haas did not answer a single one of our inquiries for information (notes pp. 310, 316–17 LUTH. QUART., 1897). It is very evident that *he* had no answers to give.

1. We here and now assert without fear of refutation, that there is no documentary authority witnessing to the sending of the XVII. Schwabach Articles to Torgau, March 20th, or at any other time; that there is no documentary authority for the statement put forth by Dr. Krauth (*Conservative Reformation*, p. 219) that Luther was the "chief author" of "a special writing" known as "the *Torgau Articles proper.*" It is most probable, and is a rational conclusion from the Torgau Articles (LUTH. QUART., 1897, pp. 301–2), that the Schwabach Articles were not sent to Torgau to become a part of the required *Gutachten.* All that Mr. Haas can say on this point is that this or that "may be," "may well have been." Yes, it "may be," it "may well have been." But *was* it—? Is Mr. Haas reciting history, or is he soliloquizing "Maud Muller"? His utter failure to present a single line of documentary evidence as required by our interrogatories, amounts to a complete surrender on his part. Mr. Haas knows that historical criticism is unanimous in excluding Luther from the authorship of the "Torgau Articles proper" (see LUTH. QUART., 1897, p. 309), and from the authorship of the whole of the antecedent materials out of which Melanchthon composed the second part of the Augsburg Confession. That Luther offered suggestions is probable; but this is very different from being "the chief author." Mr. Haas has not even dared to show that Luther's part in the Confession extends beyond Article XVII.

Mr. Haas has given no reason why such eminent German specialists as Weber, Pfaff, Schmidt, Kolde, *et al.*, should not interpret *daneben* by *am Rande*, that is, "on the margin;" and he has not shown why Dr. Krauth should translate it "at the *same time*'," (see LUTH. QUART., 1897, p. 316). In a question of the meaning of a German word we prefer the consensus of generations of German scholars.

We were disappointed also in discovering that Mr. Haas has not added a single new fact, and that he has not in any way enlarged the stock of our knowledge, in regard to the genesis of the Augsburg Confession. We will not say that his "whole article is colored by subjective preconceptions, personal likes and dislikes;" no, we will not apply to him his own expletives; but we will say and do say, that his whole article reads like a "back number," and that it reminds us of Mrs. Lincoln Phelps's "Chemistry," which we picked up the other day, after having laid it down more than thirty years ago.

In the name of the pragmatism of history, Mr. Haas seeks to establish utterly exploded theories. Notwithstanding the overwhelming facts to the contrary, Mr. Haas thinks it is still possible to believe, that is, for Mr. Haas to believe—credat Apella Judaeus—that Luther is the principal author of the Augsburg Confession, and that there was a *second* and a *third* sending of the Confession to Luther at Coburg before its presentation, June 25th.

1. As to the authorship of the Augsburg Confession in every fair and legitimate use of the wore *authorship* we refer to the body of the present article and to our article in this QUARTERLY for July, 1897. In this matter we are as little the disciple of Rückert and of Heppe, as we are of Haas. Our investigations have been conducted in equal independence of all three.

2. Mr. Haas tries to prove his theory of a *second* sending by Chytraeus' Latin History of the Confession. The fallacy of resting an argument on that History we exposed in our former article (p. 319, n). We have before us, as we write, four editions (1576, editio princeps, '77, '80, '99) of the German Chytraeus. Not one of them says one word about a *second* sending. They say that after the sending of May 11th, Melanchthon continued to change the Confession and to improve it, "as he himself wrote to Dr. Luther a few days later, May 22nd"; and in proof of this, Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd is given in a German translation. So much for the German Chytraeus.

In 1577 Coelestin published his history of the Augsburg Confession in Latin. After mentioning the sending of May

11th, and giving some other historical matter, he says: *Etsi autem, ut paulo ante dictum est, Luthero probata fuit forma Confessionis Augustæ retexta: Tamen quotidie Philippus quaedam in ea mutavit, & circumspectius & exquisitius singula explicere & polire conatus est, sicut ipse aliquot diebus post exemplum Luthero remittens, scribit 22, die Maii.* f. 43b. That is: "But although, as has just been said, the draft of the Confession revised at Augsburg, was approved by Luther, nevertheless Philip daily changed certain things in it and strove the more carefully and exactly to explain and improve particular things, as he himself some days later sending a copy to Luther again, writes, May 22nd." In proof of all this he subjoins Melanchthon's letter in the original Latin. The only paragraph of the letter which makes any reference whatever to the Confession is the following: "In the *Apology* we daily change many things. The article on *Vows* which was too short I have supplanted by another longer discussion on the same subject. I am now treating on the power of the keys. I wish you would run over the articles of faith. Should you find nothing defective in these, we will treat the rest in some way. For they must be changed and adapted to circumstances." C. R., II., 60.

It will be seen that there is not one word here that implies or even intimates a sending of the Confession, or of any part of it, to Luther at that time. The letter manifestly proceeds on the supposition that Luther has a copy of the Confession in his hands, as indeed he may have had, since the "Apology" had been sent him in both Latin and German.* It is impossible to believe that Melanchthon would send a second copy without mentioning it. Hence it is unqualifiedly gratuitous for Coelestin to write about a *second* sending and to refer to Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd as proof of such sending. Luther's letter of May 15th announcing his gratification with "Master Philip's Apology," may have reached the Elector at Augsburg, May 22nd. We know that it and the "Apology" were there two days later. Knaake and Engelhardt have given the most satis-

*C. R., II., 51.

factory reasons (ignored by Mr. Haas) for believing that Melanchthon *did not know* that the "Apology" had been returned when he wrote, May 22nd.* It rests with Mr. Haas to show that Melanchthon *knew*, May 22nd, that the copies of the "Apology," Latin and German, which had been sent to Luther, May 11th, had been returned to Augsburg, and that on that day, May 22nd, Melanchthon sent a copy of the "Apology" again to Luther. In the utter absence of fact and of any intimation to that effect, it does not rest with us to show that he did not know of the return of those copies of the "Apology," and that he did not send it again. Before Mr. Haas can expect us to accept his assumption in the face of strong reasons to the contrary, he must give stronger reasons or produce facts. In reality he has done neither.

The most charitable thing we can say of Coelestin in this matter, is, that he either misread or misunderstood Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd.

In 1878 Chytraeus' Latin History of the Augsburg Confession was published. On p. 32 we read: Etsi autem tunc a Luthero probata fuit forma Confessionis Augustæ retexta: tamen quotidie Philippus quaedam in ea mutavit & circumspectius ac exquisitius singula explicare & polire conatus est sicut ipse aliquot diebus post, Luthero exemplum remittens, scribit die 22. Maii.

In proof of all that he here alleges, he quotes Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd in the original Latin, which, as we have already seen, says not one word about *sending* the "Apology" to Luther,

Now let the reader compare our Latin quotation from Coelestin with our Latin quotation from Chytraeus. What does he find? Why, with the exception of a few words at the beginning, he finds, in both, the same identical words, the same forms of the same words, the same moods and tenses of verbs, the same abbreviations of words, the same collocation of words, and with the exception of a comma or two, the same punctuation. Is all

*Luther's Antheil, 58 et seq.; Niedner's Zeitschrift (1865), 572.

this accidental? Will the doctrine of Chance produce such results with two men who write in entire independence of each other? Does Mr. Haas believe that it will? In the presence of such an exhibition how dare he look his readers in the face and say that "we (the present writer) rest an argument on a single word"? We did not, and we do not, make an *argument.* We offered and offer an ocular demonstration, namely, that one of those authors took his statement well-nigh bodily from the other.

Mr. Haas tried to break the force of our demonstration by saying that we "would legitimately be compelled to prove the dependence of the Latin Chytraeus on Coelestin in many points." To *demonstrate* this dependence in *one* point is sufficient for our purpose, and here the matter might rest; but Coelestin openly charged that Chytraeus appropriated his (Coelestin's) work.* If Mr. Haas does not know that, he is not prepared to write so confidently on this subject. If he knows it, and does not inform his readers of it, there is another and graver reason why he should not write on this subject.

Coelestin could not have appropriated the Latin paragraph from the Latin Chytraeus, for the reason that the Preface to the Latin Chytraeus bears date *Pridie Natalis Mariae*, that is September 7th, 1578, and its title page is dated 1578, whereas the "Epistle Dedicatory" of the Coelestin is dated, December 17th, 1576, and its title page is dated 1577. That is:

The Latin Chytraeus,	Year	1578	Mo.	9	Day	7.
The Coelestin,	"	1576	"	12	"	17.
Difference,	"	1	"	8	"	20.

Again: This is not argument; it is a demonstration of the priority of the publication of the Coelestin by more than a year and a half. What has Mr. Haas to demonstrate *per contra?* Utterly puerile and evasive is his quotation from Matthew Ritter: Davide Chytraeo, Lutheri et Philippi auditore—which he knows perfectly well means simply that Chytraeus was a student under Luther and Philip at Wittenberg—which nobody denies, but which has nothing to do with the subject in hand. The

*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.

man who takes refuge behind such a transparency only exposes himself broadside.

It is true that Chytraeus' friends countercharged that Coelestin appropriated Chytraeus' work. But that can apply only to the German Chytraeus, which was published early in 1576.* No doubt each appropriated the work of the other; but it stands demonstrated that Coelestin was the first to put the *exemplum Luthero remittens* into print. Is Mr. Haas convinced?

But grant for the sake of argument that the *exemplum Luthero remitteus* is equally original with both Coelestin and Chytraeus. What follows? Why absolutely nothing, except the conclusion that each misread or misinterpreted Melanchthon's letter of May 22nd, for we say once more that that letter does not reveal the shadow of a shade of an intimation of a *sending* of the "Apology" to Luther, May 22nd; nor has Mr. Haas even intimated that it contains any such intimation. Failing utterly in argument and being without a single fact to support his theory of a second sending, Mr. Haas seeks to strengthen his attempted inversion of dates, and his palpable ignoring of facts, by saying that Chytraeus "may have heard this (about a second sending) from Melanchthon." "May have"! This is the way Mr. Haas writes "history presented with its pragmatism." Does it satisfy the reader?

Mr. Haas knows quite as well as he knows right from wrong, that there is not a solitary line of documentary evidence from either Luther or Melanchthon, or from any of their contemporaries, nor a solitary hearsay recorded by any of their contemporaries, nor a solitary tradition from the year 1530, which even hints at the sending of the "Apology" to Luther, May 22nd. Mr. Haas KNOWS all this; at least he is destitute of knowledge to the contrary. "May have" are the magic words by which he prestidigitates "the Genesis of the Augsburg Confession."

3. Mr. Haas supports his master's theory of a *third* sending of the Confession to Luther after June 14th, by quoting as follows Melanchthon's Latin Preface to the *Corpus Doctrinae*, writ-

*C. R. XXVI., 102.

ten, February 16th, 1560.* "I brought together, therefore, in singleness of purpose the principal points of the Confession, embracing pretty nearly the sum of the doctrine of our Churches, both that an answer might be given the Emperor, and that false accusations might be dispelled. I assumed nothing to myself. In the presence of the Princes and other governors and of the preachers it was discussed and determined upon in order, sentence by sentence. The complete form of the Confession was subsequently sent to Luther, who wrote to the Princes that he had read this Confession and approved it. That these things were so done, the Princes, and other honest and learned men yet living, well remember. After this, before the Emperor Charles, in a great assemblage of the Princes, this Confession was read."

(a). Nothing that Melanchthon ever wrote is more truly his than this Preface; but it says not one word about a *third sending*, or about a sending *after* June 14th. This Latin Preface and the corresponding German Preface† both speak of only *one* sending; and those incomparable theologians and historians, Kirchner, Selneccer and Chemnitz, two of them Melanchthon's pupils, say that this one sending, in proof of which they quote this Latin Preface, took place "a full month before the arrival of the Emperor." That they mean the sending of May 11th is shown by the fact that they quote as proof, the letters respectively of the Elector and Melanchthon of that date, and Luther's letter of May 15th to the Elector.‡ These men and their judgment are ignored by Mr. Haas. The reader will have no difficulty in believing that these men were quite as capable of interpreting Melanchthon's Preface as Mr. Haas is, and that they knew enough also to write "the genesis of the Augsburg Confession" correctly.§

*C. R. IX., 105, et seq. †C. R. IX., 930;

‡Gründliche Historia, pp. 109, 110.

§Selneccer says that he had heard Melanchthon speak about matters concerning the Diet of Augsburg; but he gives no intimation of a *second* or of a *third* sending. Oratio de Confessione Augustana Dec. 14th, 1590. Hildesia. Erhard Schnepf says: "It is known to all who were present at

(b). We have neither time nor space for a lengthy review of Mr. Haas's translation and interpretation of this Latin Preface. A single example of each will show their unreliability. Mr. Haas translates the neuter form, *disputatum est* by: "It was discussed and determined upon." Mr. Haas knows that the words: "determined upon" are an interpolation pure and simple. He knows that there is nothing in the original which justifies this addition to "was discussed."

His translation of *tota forma Confessionis*," by: "The complete form of the Confession," is inaccurate and misleading, especially when it is accompanied by an explanation which would make the *tota forma* equivalent to the *tota Confessio.* Melanchthon does not say that the *tota Confessio* was sent to Luther, but the *tota forma*, *a full outline*, *draft*, *Entwurf*, of the Confession, was sent to Luther. Not only do the standard Latin dictionaries *warrant* such a translation of *forma;* Melanchthon's discrimination in the Preface between *tota forma Confessionis*, and simply, *Confessio;* the time of the sending indicated in the German Preface (ignored by Mr. Haas); the "*hat gefallen lassen*" of the German preface compared with the *uberlesen* and *gefället mir* in Luther's letter of May 15th to the

that deliberation at Augsburg in the year of our Lord, 1530, in which the Confession, recently written, before its presentation to the Roman Emperor Charles V., was subjected to the criticism of the chief theologians, and of those who were counselors to the Princes, and to the Legates of the two cities; for which reason it was decided at that time to employ only the adverb *vere* (truly), although it was ambiguous, as many at that time maintained; since not one of all those then who united with the Augsburg Confession and were admitted to this congress of deliberators, thought with the Zwinglians. For I myself was present and was a part of what was done," *Confessio de Eucharistia*, 1555, Cyprian, p. 56.) It is passing strange that Dr. Krauth should say: "The 'congress of deliberators' was subsequent to May 22. The single fact that Schnepf was present at it, proves that it refers to nothing previous to May 11, for Schnepf did not come till May 12." *Chron.* p. 52.

1. Dr. Fiege, the Chancelor, and Erhard Schnepf, the Chaplain of Philip of Hesse, came to Augsburg, May 3rd. (C. R. II., 39, Jonas's Letters, I., 148; Coelestin, I,, 40; Chytraeus, 26; Schirrmacher, 467). It is documentarily certain then that before May 11th at least the following could have formed a "congress of deliberators": The Elector, John, Duke

Elector, and with the *legisse et probare* of the Latin Preface and Melanchthon's use of the word *forma* found elsewhere;—all these things, in the absence of facts to the contrary, conspire, chronologically, historically, philologically, and lexically, to exclude Mr. Haas's interpretation, and to justify German scholars in saying that *der erste Entwurf*, *der fertige Entwurf*, that, and nothing more, was sent to Luther.

Mr. Haas's translation and interpretation of the Latin Preface, can be likened only to the bed of Procrustes. They are now too long and now too short. But unfortunately for him he had his Theseus already, as by anticipation, in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. VIII., 1878, p. 621 et seqq., to which the reader is referred.

(c). In the QUARTERLY for July, 1897, p. 323, we showed that no *discussion and determining upon* the Confession, could possibly have taken place, June 15th. Plitt well says: "June

John Frederick, Duke Francis of Lüneberg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt Count Wolf of Henneberg, Hoyer of Mansfeld, the two Saxon chancelors Brück and Beyer, the Chancelor of Hesse, Dr. Fiege, the theologians, Spalatin, Agricola, Jonas, Schnepf, and Melanchthon, for all these were at Augsburg by May 3rd.

May 15, the Nurenberg legates came to Augsburg, (C. R. II., 50) and May 21st the legate from Reutlingen came (Schirrmacher 472). Hence on or before May 22nd every one of the parties and persons indicated in Schnepf's report could have been present in "the congress of deliberators."

2. It is documentarily certain that the adverb *vere* was not first used *late*, in the composition of the Confession, for we find it in the oldest MS. copies, which, Dr. Krauth himself being witness, date almost, if not quite to the earliest form of the Confession. Hence Shnepf's testimony has no specific reference to anything which took place after June 14th. But

3. It is made perfectly clear by the original that by the words, "that deliberation," Schnepf has reference to no particular day and transaction, but to the period of deliberation extending through more than seven weeks, during which we know from other official documents, the Confession was almost continuously subjected to the judgment of theologians, counselors and legates. Hence Schnepf's testimony in no sense favors a *third* sending, and so to employ it is pitifully to beg the question; and of Dr. Krauth's eight references, not one quotes or refers to it in support of a *third* sending.

15th nothing was yet determined upon."* We showed further, pp. 323–4, that the three following days were entirely taken up with other matters, and that in the many original records of these three days the Confession is not once mentioned. Mr. Hass has offered no refutation of what we there demonstrated out of original and official documents.

(d). The letter of June 19th shows to a demonstration that up to that time the Confession was not yet finished.† Hence Bindseil justly says: "Even June 19th the Confession is not finished, because its authors were in doubt whether they should finish it so, or reduce it to an epitome".‡ The letter further shows to a demonstration, that concert of action had not extended beyond the Elector of Brandenburg, the Nurenberg legates, and the Elector of Saxony, and that even the last named had given only a *quasi* consent to have his Confession become the common Confession of the Protestants. Hence as the Confession was not yet finished, and as it had not yet become a common document, the conditions for this imagined third sending are not yet supplied. Bindseil goes on to say: "Also in the following days these authors consulted about individual parts of the Confession; even June 23rd, when all, who were of the evangelical faith, had assembled for hearing and sanctioning the Confession, they were engaged in transcribing it, and in preparing the Proem and Epilogue."§ Bindseil bases these statements on official documents which lie before us. The contents of this letter of June 19th are ignored by Mr. Haas.

(e). The Postscript to the letter of the Nurenberg legates, June 21st, written after 5 o'clock, P. M., likewise shows to a demonstration that it was not until that hour, that it was decided to make the Saxon Confession the common Confession; that at that hour some of the princes, and the counselors of the others, "were holding a session over such articles, further to revise, to arrange and to finish them."|| The testimony of this Postscript is also absolutely ignored by Mr. Haas. Is this telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about

*Einleitung, I., 533, n. †C. R. II., 112. ‡C. R. XXVI., 209.
§C. R. XXVI., 209. ||C. R. II., 124; LUTH. QUART., July, 1897, p. 326

the genesis of the Augsburg Confession? Mr. Haas knows that this Postscript puts the eternal quietus on his theory, for according to his theory this supposed *third* sending did not take place until after the Confession had been adopted as the common Confession of the Protestants, and had been completed and "determined upon." It is documentarily certain that such adoption, completion, and "determining upon," did not take place until after 5 o'clock, P. M., on Tuesday, June 21st. In four days after that time the Confession was in the hands of Charles V. It took, at the very lowest estimate, six days for a courier to carry a message from Augsburg to Coburg and to return with an answer. Again: This is not argument; it is demonstration. We wonder that in his desperation, Mr. Haas does not exclaim: They "may have" telephoned it to Luther, and he "may have" telephoned it back!

(f). Further: It is documentarily certain that the Confession was not *finally* completed and "determined upon" until Thursday,* June 23rd, when the Nurenbergers, the delegate from Reut-

*C. R. II., 127. Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1865) 577; Plitt's *Einleiting*, I., 533; Nösgen's *Symbolik*, (1897), p. 76. Plitt says: "If the Confession was to be used in common, then must all those passages be changed, which make special reference to the Saxon. A decision seems to have been reached through the opening of the Diet, when the combined power of their Romish enemies threatened, and the Emperor demanded of each one a Latin and German statement of his grievances and views. In this way the concentration of evangelicals under the one Confession became imperative; for how could the other evangelical estates prepare such a document in so short a time? The next morning saw the counselors of the different princes assembled at the quarters of the Elector in order 'further to revise, to prepare and to finish' the articles. They wished to lay a common hand on the Confession, and they thought they had time for thorough revision and careful deliberation, for on that morning of June 21st the Nurenberg legates were instructed to send for their preachers, and especially for Osiander, to assist. But now things advanced rapidly. * * They must quickly make a clean copy of the Confession, and finally determine upon the Preface and the Conclusion. This last took place on Thursday morning." Plitt has made a slight mistake by writing "morning of June 21st" instead of "evening of June 21st." See the post-script to the letter of the Nurenbergers, C. R. II., 124; LUTH. QUART., July, 1897, p. 326.

lingen, the Princes, their counselors and theologians, held a session from 9 o'clock A. M. to 3 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of "reading aloud, examining, and discussing the specified Confession of faith."* Hence Engelhardt, Plitt and Nösgen are entirely correct when they say that the final act of union and completion took place, Thursday, June 23rd, and assign as the immediate cause of the union of the evangelicals, the order issued by the Emperor at the opening of the Diet, that the Protestants should present their views and grievances on June 24th.† These facts, so thoroughly attested by official documents, have been ignored by Mr. Haas.

(*g*) From June 15th (up to which time "nothing was yet determined upon,"—Plitt) to the evening of June 21st, as we showed in this QUARTERLY‡ a year ago, every available hour was so *completely* occupied with other most important transactions, as to leave no time for such "determining upon in order, sentence by sentence," as is expressly demanded for Mr. Haas's theory. What does Mr. Haas oppose to our facts, gathered from official and other contemporaneous documents? Absolutely *nothing*, except his own interpretation of Melanchthon's Preface. At this point again he is without facts and without argument. He says we "impugn Melanchthon's veracity." We do no such thing. It is Mr. Haas who impugns Melanchthon's veracity, for he tries to make him testify to a *third* sending of the Confession to Luther, whereas, he knows that neither Luther nor Melanchthon, nor any of their contemporaries ever speak of, or intimate, or indicate, or write about a *third* sending. Mr. Haas also knows that he has utterly ignored Melanchthon's German Preface, which makes plain the one or two microscopic uncertainties on which he seeks a footing for his theory. Of the Latin Preface he says: "As to the acceptance of this by many authorities, read Krauth, Chron. p. 56 ff." Here Mr. Haas shows, as in a climax, the second-hand character of the work which he has been doing. If he had examined these "many authorities," nearly all of which lie before us at this moment, he would have discovered that *not one of them*, NOT ONE

*C. R. II., 127. †*Einleitung*, I. 533, n. ‡Pp. 328–9

OF THEM, asserts a *third* sending, or quotes this Preface in support of a *third* sending. Mr. Haas's subserviency to *one* authority, and his neglect of "many authorities," or his unwillingness to lay bare the use made of that Preface by the "many authorities," to which he refers his readers, is a most inexplicable procedure. He knows that not one of his readers out of a hundred has access to those "many authorities." Why does he not tell his readers, *in verbis ipsissimis*, how those "many authorities" employ this Preface? Why does he intimate the very *reverse* of the facts in the case? We will charitably conclude that he has not read what he commands others to read.

(h). If Mr. Haas be even moderately acquainted with the literature of symbolics, he knows that such writers as Planck, Hase, Danz, Pfaff, Fikenscher, Rotermund, Guericke, Vilmar, Bindseil, Philippi, Engelhardt, Knaake, Köstlin, Plitt, Landerer, Herrlinger, Müller, Zockler, Schmidt (Carl), Schmidt (Hermann), Loofs, Nösgen *et al.* mention *only* the sending of May 11th; that Many of these most competent writers name the thing sent *adumbratio*, *prima adumbratio*, *der Entwurf*, *der erste Entwurf*, *der fertige Entwurf*, that is, the *draft*, *the first draft*, *the finished draft;* that some of these writer say expressly and explicitly, that this was the only form in which Luther saw the Confession until after it had been delivered to the Emperor; and that none of the writers named above contradict or seek to confute those who say that only *der erste Entwurf*, *der fertige Entwurf*, was sent to Luther. The tremendous array of learning represented by the names given above, is absolutely ignored by Mr. Haas. Will he insinuate that those men were under the influence of Rückert and Heppe? or that their judgment "is colored by subjective preconceptions, personal like and dislike"? It is presumed that Mr. Haas knows that the German writer on the genesis of the Augsburg Confession, who should quote Coelestin or Chytraeus in support of a theory of a *second* sending, or Melanchthon's Latin Preface in support of a theory of a *third* sending, would be regarded as being about as "smart" as the American chemist would be regarded, who should quote Mrs. Phelps in support of a theory of caloric.

In conclusion it may by said that this dispute is a good example of "a tempest in a teapot," or of "much ado about nothing." But the boldness with which the theory of a *second* sending, has been revived, and the confidence with which a theory of a third sending has been invented, and the ingenuity and violence displayed in defending both theories, confessed to be theories only—lift the matter into a high relative importance. A certain meaning is to be read into the Confession. But before this can be consistently done, certain theories must be read into its history; otherwise the meaning will be contradicted by the history, as though the Confession did not stand or fall by the application of the one only infallible test.

We believe that in our two articles we have shown the utter invalidity of every argument used to support these theories.

1. They do no rest on one line of documentary evidence which speaks of, or hints at a *second*, or *third* sending, and not one line of such documentary evidence has been produced to support them. The sending noted in Melanchthon's Preface, German and Latin, was referred by the older German writers explicitly to the sending of May 11th.

2. The theories do not rest even on tradition, or on hearsay; and no tradition, nor hearsay has been quoted in their support by Mr. Haas.

3. The Coelestin—Chytraeus statement about a second sending has been completely abandoned by modern writers, who, since the publication of the Nurenburg correspondence and other contemporaneous documents, have discovered, that such statement is absolutely incapable of verification.

4. The theory of a *third* sending is based wholly on an *interpretation* of Melanchthon's Latin Preface. The German Preface which compels a different conclusion is persistently ignored. That is, it is not quoted in its *full* text on the point at issue. So likewise the Nurenberg letters as given in the QUARTERLY for July, 1897, pp. 325–6.

5. It is impossible to believe that the Nurenbergers, who report all tranactions in regard to the Confession so minutely; who wrote five long letters to their senate from June 15th to

June 21st; who profess to give, and promise that they will give, every item of news in regard to the Confession and the transactions of the Evangelicals—it is impossible to believe, that this correspondence should be silent in regard to so important a matter as the sending of the Confession to Luther and his return of it, had such sending and return occurred—to which must be added letters of Melanchthon, Brentz, and Jonas, which report nothing of the kind.

Finally: We have read nearly all the Latin and German histories of the Confession which have ever been published. Not a solitary one read by us propounds or defends a theory of a *third* sending, and Mr. Haas has not quoted a solitary Latin or German history which propounds or defends such a theory. His position is unique. It is *Haasius contra mundum.* It might be sublime, if it were not ridiculous; and his "Genesis of the Augsburg Confession" might have had some scientific value, had its author not ignored so many facts and fathered so many theories.

ARTICLE VI.

REV. WILLIAM H. LUCKENBACH, D. D.

By Rev. William Hull, D. D.

The family from which the subject of this biographical sketch descended were Germans who immigrated to this country in 1741, and settled at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. They belonged to the Moravians or United Brethren, members of which society founded Bethlehem and established churches and institutions of learning and charity there, which still distinguish that locality and make it a centre for that religious demonination. Nazareth Hall, a classical school, and the Moravian Seminary for young ladies, have had a national reputation.

A "Historical Sketch of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, with some account of the Moravian Church," published by John Hill Martin, of the Philadelphia Bar, in 1873, shows that from the time of the settlement of the town in 1741, to the time of the publication of the book, persons, by the name of Luckenbach have occupied prominent positions in the affairs of Bethlehem. One was Rev. Abraham Luckenbach, who had charge of the Missionary establishments of the Moravian Brethren among the American Indians. He published a book in 1838, entitled, "Forty-six Select Scripture Narrations from the Old Testament, embellished with engravings: for the use of Indian Youth. Translated into the Delaware Indian by A. Luckenbach."

The records show that persons of that name are mentioned among mayors, councilmen, collectors of internal revenue, members of missionary societies, officers and privates during the rebellion, leading business men, etc. The family must have had a great taste for music, as the names of no less than seven were recorded at one time as members of the Bethlehem Band.

In 1867, *The Moravian* published the following obituary notice:

"Died at Bethlehem, Pa., Dec. 1, 1897, very suddenly, Mrs.

Elizabeth Luckenbach, relict of the late David Luckenbach, in the 85th year of her age.

"The deceased was one of the oldest members of the church at Bethlehem. For 35 years she lived with her husband on one of the river farms belonging to the church, in the old homestead, the site of which is now occupied by the Railroad offices of the Lehigh Valley Railroad in the present borough of South Bethlehem.

"She was the mother of ten children, all of whom are living, and had sixty-six grand-children, and forty-three great grand-children, of whom thirty died before her. Direct descendants to the number of eighty-nine survive her."

Rev. Louis David de Schweinitz, a prominent minister among Moravians, made a visit to Bethlehem, and he came in contact, the same day, with nine persons by the name of Luckenbach, and then he says: "And I ceased to wonder at the number of Luckenbachs and their various occupations, when I was informed at this wedding (when William Luckenbach, Jr., was married), that all the relatives of the parties had been invited, and there was present on the part of the bride-groom, 1 grand-father and 1 grand-mother: 3 great-uncles and 3 great-aunts; 1 father and 1 mother; 17 uncles and 18 aunts; 10 brothers and sisters, and 21 first cousins, making 80 near relatives, memcers of the society, and all descended from old Mr. Luckenbach, who had been dead for upwards of 80 years. *God save the Luckenbachs.*"

The name of the father of the subject of this sketch was George B. Luckenbach and his mother Julia A. Bisel. The parents or their ancestors, had moved from Bethlehem, and they lived successively at Doylestown, Easton and Philadelphia. The father was a cabinet-maker by occupation and a member of the Lutheran Church.

On Sunday, April 13, 1828, William Henry Luckenbach, their oldest son was born at Doylestown. His maternal grandmother on her first visit to her daughter after the birth of this goodly child took him in her arms and placing her hand upon

his head prayed God that he might become a minister of the Gospel—a prayer which was subsequently fulfilled.

After the removal of the family to Philadelphia, where the father carried on the business of cabinet-making, and in which William Henry aided him, on reaching a proper age, the mind of the son leaned in the direction of the ministry, but this met with the father's opposition, who regarded the vocation as a starving profession. Finding that he could not gain his father's consent, he deferred to his parent's view of the question until he reached the age of twenty one. In the meantime he read such books as would best further the end he had in view.

On reaching his majority, he entered Dickinson College as a student in the autumn of 1848. There he was a classmate of John F. Hurst, now a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. A few years ago the latter preached in the auditorium at Ocean Grove, and Dr. Luckenbach after the service held an interview with him. They had not met each other since their college days at Dickinson, and they mutually enjoyed a renewal of the friendship of former days.

He took the classical course at college and then he commenced a course in theology under the direction of Rev. Dr. E. W. Hutter, of Philadelphia. On completing these studies he was licensed to preach the Gospel by the East Pennsylvania Synod on the 25th of September, 1855. Rev. George Parson was then the President of that body. In the autumn of the same year he was offered and accepted a call to become pastor of the Lutheran Church at Lockport, N. Y. He was now twenty-seven years of age—a tall, well-formed, intellectual looking young man of commanding presence with a clear voice, good delivery, pleasant manner with a material in his sermons which showed an intellectual calibre far above the average. He was commencing his great life work under the most favorable auspices. He was cordially received at Lockport, and large audiences attended upon his ministrations. He already gave promise of his future usefulness and eminence.

On the 15th of September, 1857, he was ordained to the Gospel ministry at Athens, by the Hartwick Synod, in whose bonds his

congregation was located and which he had joined by letter from the East Pennsylvania Synod. Rev. Adam Crounse was then the President of that body.

On Monday afternoon, September 14, 1857, he preached before the Synod in Zion's Lutheran Church, Athens, from Eccl. 9 : 11, "I returned and saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong; neither yet bread to the wise, nor riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth unto them all."

His ability as a preacher must have been very marked at the very beginning of his ministry, as a member of that congregation, still living, and now over eighty years old, who heard that sermon, has a number of times asked us concerning the speaker, and he told how deeply he was impressed by the discourse, remarking, "I said to my family, that young man will make his mark in the world." How remarkably that prophecy has been fulfilled.

At the close of 1857 he accepted a call to a Lutheran Church at Pottsville in his native state. On the 13th of April, 1857, he married Miss Mary J. Compton, of Lockport, N. Y., daugh- of Randolph and Mary Compton. The family was related to that of the distinguished Alexander Hamilton of revolutionary fame.

In the autumn of 1857 he accepted a call to St. Luke's Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, and from thence he moved to Rhinebeck in 1861. While laboring in this place, during the war, he was offered the chaplaincy of a regiment, which he declined. From 1866 to 1868 he was pastor in Canajoharie—in Red Hook from 1867 to 1872—in Hagerstown, Maryland, Trinity church, from 1872 to 1875—in Taneytown, Maryland, from 1875 to 1878 and Germantown, N. Y., from 1878 to 1894, which closed his career as a successful pastor.

In these several congregations covering a period of thirty-nine years he made full proof of his ministry, in which many were brought into the Church, and in all he was very highly esteemed, and on removing he left behind in them all many friends who were in the warmest sympathy with him and who

held his great qualities of head and heart in the highest admiration.

As a preacher he occupied a very high position. In any company he would have attracted attention. His intellectual endowments and goodness of heart were expressed in his countenance. He was an honor to the gospel ministry and it was fortunate for the Church that he persisted in his determination to be a minister. He was a close and diligent student. He never went into the pulpit without the most careful preparation. His discourses always commanded attention and made a deep impression. All his methods in preaching were legitimate and scriptural. His sermons were so well planned and expressed that they were fit to print, and it would add to the literature of the Church if at least a volume were to be selected for publication. His theological studies embraced a wide range and he was well versed in all the ordinary channels of human learning. The articles which he published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY will stand as proofs of his intellectual and theological ability.

He wrote a book on "*The Folly of Profanity*," that was published by the Lutheran Publication Society and which has received the highest commendation. It is said to be the only work of the kind in the world's literature. It is a volume of about 300 pages.

In 1890 he compiled a volume entitled, "*Song Stories for Little People*," which was published by Funk and Wagnalls. It contains 218 stories in poetry for children, and is a book of 300 pages. No one not having a wide knowledge of the field of English literature could have made such a compilation. His scholarly reading and attainments in the world's literature were very broad.

He furnished two articles for the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. One in Vol. 2 : 242, entitled "*The Christian Ministry of Labor*," which was the substance of an Ordination Discourse preached before the New York Synod in 1871 and published at the request of synod, and one in Vol. 15 : 371, on "*The Comparatively Small Success of Christ's Personal Ministry*."

A number of his sermons and addresses were published near

the time of their delivery in pamphlet and in local and other papers, among which we notice, a Thanksgiving sermon on, "The Grateful Leper," at Canajoharie, N. Y., in 1868. A Valedictory Sermon preached in Hagerstown in Trinity church in 1874; An Address delivered at the Seventh Convention of the Rhinebeck District Association of the Luther League, Red Hook, Nov. 23, 1893; "The Teacher's Reward"; An Address delivered before the Niagara County Teachers' Association; and "A sermon delivered before the Washington Artillery at Pottsville, Penna., on Sunday July 4th, 1858, entitled, "Our National Inheritance."

He left a large scrap-book pasted full of articles which he had contributed to the church papers, and to local papers where he had resided, and these treated of important subjects and showed great intellectual grasp and ability. All his mental productions were of a high order.

In the realm of poetry he was a voluminous writer. Several years ago in looking through the files of the *Lutheran Observer* at Hartwick Seminary, we were surprised to find how large a number of poems he had written. In number he has only been excelled by Rev. Dr. Sheeleigh. Among others, they embrace those written for dedication of churches, centennial celebrations, Lutheran reunions and other festive occasions, including the World's Fair in Chicago. For a prize poem on a piano, he received the gift of a valuable piano. A poem he wrote on "*What art thou doing for Jesus?*" was set to music and published in the *Lutheran Sunday School Herald.* Other poems were set to music and published in musical books of a general character. His poems if collected would fill a good sized volume and they are sufficiently meritorious to be put in permanent form.

All his ministerial life he was an industrious student. In his farewell discourse to the congregation of Trinity church, Hagerstown he said:

"Within the past three years and eight months I have preached and lectured more than three hundred times. Nor was it old material—such as had been prepared for other congrega-

tions, prior to my coming here, that was brought to this pulpit from Sunday to Sunday. By far the greater part of the sermons that have been preached to you, were wrought in toilsome, patient study for your benefit. And here let me take occasion to thank you for the general favor with which you have listened to me from time to time. I have yet to hear the first unfavorable, unfriendly comment from any one on my mode of preaching the Word."

From 1886 to 1896 and until the time of his death, he was President of the New York and New Jersey Synod, and he was frequently a delegate to the General Synod during his ministerial life. As President, he filled the office and performed its duties in an admirable manner and to the great satisfaction of his brethren.

Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, conferred upon him the title A. M., and Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, that of D. D. The Lockport congregation made him a Life Director of the American Tract Society and the Red Hook congregation, a Life Director of the American Bible Society.

Several years before his death, while at Germantown, he had a slight attack of paralysis in his study one Sunday after the morning service. From this he soon recovered, but he felt and showed its effects. He resigned at Germantown in 1894 and removed to the city of Hudson, where he acted as a supply, performed the duties of the presidency of synod and labored in literary pursuits. He furnished some articles for the New York daily press for which he was liberally compensated.

In due time a second attack of paralysis overtook him and finally a third which ended his noble and useful life. He peacefully breathed his last, Feb. 23rd, 1896, aged 67 years, 10 months and 10 days, leaving a widow, one son, one daughter with her two children and also two grandchildren, besides the children of a deceased daughter. He was ardently attached to his family and was a model husband and father.

His funeral was held at St. John's Lutheran Church, Hudson, Feb. 27th. He was born on Sunday and he died on Sunday. He had two married sisters who lived at too great a distance to

be present. One brother was in Denver, Colorado, and could not be at the funeral, but five other brothers were there and they, with Mr. Compton of Lockport, a brother of Mrs. Luckenbach, were the pall bearers. The deceased was the oldest son of the family, and it was an impressive sight to see the remains carried into the church by his younger brothers. A daily paper of the city in speaking of the funeral said:

"Rev. Prof. J. L. Kistler of Hartwick Seminary, the secretary of the New York and New Jersey Synod, of which the deceased was president, made the prayer at the residence; Rev. William E. Traver, of Viewmonte, made the opening prayer; Rev. Dr. J. J. Young, of New York City, read the Scriptures; Rev. T. C. McDaniel, the pastor of the church, gave out the first hymn; Kev. John W. Lake, of Chatham, made the general prayer; Rev. William Hull, of Albany, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Grommisch, of Buffalo, the German secretary of the New York and New Jersey Synod, made the closing prayer, and Rev. C. H. Traver, of Rhinebeck, gave out an original hymn, written by the deceased, to the tune of the hymn, "Abide With Us," which was beautifully sung by the choir.

"Besides the above Lutheran clergymen who took part in the exercises, we noticed Rev. Dr. M. W. Empie, of Churchtown, Rev. A. E. Dietz, of Rhinebeck, Rev. U. F. Graves, of Valatie, Rev. John H. Weaver, of Center Brunswick, Rev. Albert H. Weaver, of Argusville, and Rev. Walter Miller, of Manorton. Several of the clergymen of the city were also present and a large number of Lutheran layman from many congregations.

"Rev. Dr. G. M. Heindel, of Albany, read the processional as the remains were carried into the church. Beautiful flowers covered the casket, and among them a number of large and magnificent calla lilies."

The sermon was preached from, second Samuel, 3: 38: "And the King said unto his servants, know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Irsael."

The speaker referred to the intellectual and the moral greatness of the departed. In reference to the first, among other things he said:

"He was favored by nature with an imposing personal presence. He had a manly and regal bearing. His intellectual endowments were expressed in his countenance. He had a broad, strong, active, robust, comprehensive, well-balanced mind, which was capable of grasping any of the subjects which confront us in this world. In his investigations he was patient, persevering, thorough and exhaustive. He was a diligent student all his life. His sermons were models of clearness, strength, profundity and beauty. His style was remarkable. He was a master of the English language and he was well versed in English literature and in all the ordinary channels of human learning. His writings have greatly enriched the literature of the Church, and they have extended from the Sunday school paper to the Review."

On his moral greatness, among other things the speaker said:

"Some men attract the attention of the world by their intellectual preëminence and at the same time impress the world that they lack in moral and spiritual character. But our departed leader possessed these characteristics in an equal degree with his intellectual endowments. He was as good as he was great. He had a robust Christian character. He had consecrated his life and labors in a profession where he had dwelt in a spiritual atmosphere and where he fed on the grand spiritual truths which he presented to others for their moral and spiritual growth and development.

"His great ability as a preacher at different periods of his ministerial life brought him several offers from churches of other denominations to serve them at a much higher compensation than he ever received in our communion, but he refused these and continued to work until his sun of life set, in the great denomination which had inducted him into the sacred office of the ministry.

"How loyal he was in all his friendships; how manly and fair and honorable and courteous he was in all his intercourse with others from the highest to the lowest. He was, indeed, one of nature's true noblemen.

"How guileless he was in all his ambitions. How he de-

tested insincerity and shame, and craft, and meanness in all its varied forms. How he apprehended and stood for right and justice. He had the courage of his convictions; and irrespective of consequences, he stood for the right and the true as he apprehended them. What a well-rounded and evenly-balanced character he possessed."

That this dear brother was ripening for glory and immortality appears from a hymn which he wrote not long before his death, and which was sung at his funeral. It was entitled, "*Still be with Me*;" and was as follows:

"Still be with me, dear Lord, thro' all the day,
For with Thee I will not be led astray;
The tempter's arts successful cannot be,
If he descries that Thou art still with me.

I laid me down and gently fell asleep,
Believing Thou would'st vigil o'er me keep;
Nor was my trust in vain, since now I see,
On this new morn, that Thou art still with me.

Of Thee, my never-failing Friend, I ask,
The needed strength for this day's wonted task;
And if ills come I do not now forsee.
I will not fail if Thou art still with me.

I will not fondly covet treasure here,
Where carnal joys, like dreams, soon disappear:
To me 'tis happiness beyond degree
To know always that Thou are still with me.

Content am I, with this day's setting sun,
To be discharged, if all my work be done:—
From toil and pain and sin to be set free,
And sing in heaven, that Thou art still with me."

His mortal remains were buried in the beautiful cemetery at Germantown, where he had labored during sixteen years of his ministerial life, and where also reposes the body of Rev. Dr. Augustus Wackerhagen, who had served the congregation for thirty-five years. Peace to their ashes. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SCRIPTURE VIEW OF IMMORTALITY.

By Rev. J. C. Jacoby, D. D.

That the soul is immortal is questioned by those only who are given to unbelief and skepticism. For to the religious world the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is one of the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. The concern of the people of all ages has not been so much about their present as their future existence. Even Job raised the question, "if a man die shall he live again?" But the Scriptural grounds for this belief and concern have not been so thoroughly apprehended as the antiquity of the doctrine would indicate. The popular conviction has rested rather upon a presumption than upon any definite Scriptural conceptions of the subject. But strange as it may seem the word "*immortality*" does not occur in the Old Testament Scriptures, and but five times in the New. Its New Testament use is two fold: First in the sense of a deathless, imperishable (αθανασια) existence. 1 Cor. 15 : 53, 54; 1 Tim. 6 : 16. And second in the sense of incorruption (αφθαρσια). Rom. 2 : 7; 2 Tim. 1 : 10.

And yet notwithstanding the comparative absence of the word in the Scriptures the doctrine of the immortality of the soul has not been conceived in modern thought, nor cradled in so-called "New Theology." But it is a doctrine of antiquity, one which has commanded the consideration of the people of every age and nation of the world. And this general concern has grown out of,

I. *The Nature of the Soul.* The Scriptures declare that God breathed into man the breath of life and he became a living soul.* They do not say that he became a living creature, or a living man, but a "*living soul.*" God must therefore have imparted something to man which he did not impart to any other portion of his creation. For we have no record anywhere that

*Gen. 2 : 7.

God imparted anything of his own to any part of the Creation, excepting man, but simply commanded and it was done. But we do read of man that God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul*—endowed with a different nature, and other qualifications than those of any other part of creation. Hence the component parts of man—soul and body. The soul must therefore be divine in its nature. For we observe,

1. *That nothing of a material character can be attributed to God.* But God said (Gen. 1 : 26): "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." But it is also written: "*God is a Spirit.*" John 4 : 24. Therefore that which God breathed into man must have been spiritual life. And so it is written, "*and man became a living soul!*" And therefore Luther's definition of the soul, "The soul of man is a created spirit able to know, to feel, and to will."† God, who is a Spirit, created man in his own image or likeness, capable of knowing, feeling and willing. But that which has come thus from the hand of God must be imperishable—immortal. Therefore it is written of the mortality of the body, but of the immortality of the soul: (Eccl. 13 : 7) "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and *the spirit to God who gave it.*" Out of the very nature of the soul therefore comes welling up the idea of immortality.

2. It is said that "they that worship God must worship him in Spirit." Common observation has taught us that it is unnatural for any other creature than man to worship. We do not find the disposition to worship in any part of the animal creation. They cannot even be taught to worship. On the other hand we observe that it is just as natural for the human race—the only creatures with spiritual natures—to worship. Man has universally been disposed to reverence and fear God. In every age and condition of the world he has always manifested a disposition to worship. He has never become so debased in sin that this disposition has not asserted itself. It cannot be buried so deep beneath the rubbish of this sinful world but that it comes welling up spontaneously amidst it all. Here an illustra-

*Gen. 2 : 7.

†Luther's Smaller Catechism (Gen. Synod Edition) page 49, q. 147.

tion from Beecher is to the point: "These troublesome vines," exclaims the vintner, "why can they not grow upwright like bushes?" And one man comes to him and says, "it is all because you have tied them to oak stakes. If you will get cedar stakes you will have no difficulty." The cedar stakes are provided, but still the vines creep and cling. Another man says, "Cedar stakes are not good; you must have hickory." He gets hickory, but the vines clasp also. Another man says, "It is not hickory but chestnut stakes you need;" and so he gets the chestnut stakes, but the vines continue to creep and cling. At length there comes a man who says, "Your course is wrong from beginning to end. If you will throw away all your stakes, and stop your training, and leave the vines to nature you will have none of these clambering, wild-roaming, embracing ways." So the vintner pulls up the stakes, and clears the piles of timber from the ground, and leaves the vines unsupported. And now do they cease to grow upright, and to throw out tendrils and clasping rings? No. It is their nature to cling to something; and if you will not give them hold to climb upward, they will not on that account cease to reach out, but will spread all over the ground, clasping cold stones, and embracing every worthless stick, and the very grass.

Now our religious nature, like the vine, must have something to cling to; and one man says, "The Brahminical system is as good as the Christian;" another says, "The old Greek mythology is better than either;" another says, "Catholicism is preferable to the Protestant form of Christianity;" and then comes a man who declares that all systems are extraneous and hurtful, and that if we were left to grow up unprejudiced, with the light and laws of nature, such a thing as a religious system would never be known or needed. "First," he says, "the nurse befools the child, and then the mother takes him, and then the priest and the Church; and so he is educated in false views from the beginning." The truth of the matter is this: Religious systems do not create the religious nature in man. The religious nature itself, craving and longing for development, creates both the systems and the priests who minister in them. The heart,

with its thousand tendrils, reaches forth to God, and in its reaching clasps whatever it may. In short this disposition to cleave to and worship God can be accounted for only on the ground of man's spiritual-immortal-nature.

3. We obsere that only spiritual or divine natures can render spiritual or divine service. If the human soul were not divine in its nature—if man were not in possession of immortality—the scripture injunction (John 4 : 24), "they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit," would be an utter impossibility. But God never has exacted impossibilities of man. Therefore man must have the ability to worship a spiritual being to render spiritual service. And hence the spiritual-immortal-nature of the soul. But we note,

II. Intuition is another evidence of the immortality of the soul. One of the strange things of the human race for which infidelity does not pretend to account is the fact that man's hopes and aspirations can not be limited to his present existence. He invariably and almost unconsciously looks through the veil into a future existence. This is true of all ages, past and present, and of all classes of people; of the learned and the illiterate; of the Jews and the Gentiles—the heathen philosophers not excepted. Confucius plainly taught the immortality of the soul. Plato, speaking of the immortality of the soul, very confidently asked, "Can the soul which is invisible, and which goes to another place, like itself excellent, pure and invisible, into the presence of a good and wise God—can this soul of ours, when separated from the body, be immediately dispersed and destroyed?" And with equal confidence answers, "*Nay, every soul is immortal.*" And so Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny, Seneca, Plutarch—all with one accord in their heathen way believed in and taught the immortality of the soul. The pen of the English poet Addison, of more than a century and a half ago, moved as by inspiration, wrote:

> "Why shrinks the soul
> Back on herself and startles at destruction?
> 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us;
> 'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
> And intimates eternity to man."

And then, as with uplifted eye, peering into the future, flow forth the lines:

"The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds!"

And Sir Walter Raleigh, the night before his death, wrote the following lines on a blank leaf of his Bible:

"E'en such is time; who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust!"

And the great Bulwer has presented this thought in his own elegant language thus: "I can not believe that the earth is man's abiding place. It can't be that our life is cast up by the ocean of eternity to float a moment on its waves, and then sink into nothingness; else, why is it that the glorious aspirations which leap like angels from the temple of our heart are forever wandering about unsatisfied? Why is it that the rainbow and clouds come over with a beauty that is not of earth, and then pass off, and leave to us to muse upon their favored loveliness? Why is it that the stars, who hold their festival around the midnight throne, are set above the grasp of our limited faculties, forever mocking us with their unapproachable glory? And, finally, why is it that bright forms of human beauty are presented to our view, and then taken from us, leaving the thousand streams of our affection to flow back in Alpine torrents upon our heart? We are born for a higher destiny than that of earth; there is a realm where the rainbow never fades, where the stars will be spread before us like islands that slumber on the ocean; and where the beams that pass before us like shadows will stay in our presence forever."

But looking at it from a slightly different point of view does some one suggest that the application on the part of man of

the term mortal to himself, would seem to afford an exception to our general proposition, and to contradict the doctrine of the soul's instinctive belief in its own immortality? Not so. August Nicholas in his "Etudes Philosophique sur le Christianisme," after having described the natural phenomena of dissolution as they appear in man, in the beast, and in the plant, pertinently asks: "How comes it that, in the heart of that universal destruction amid which we live, in the sepulcher of our mortal life wherein we are immured, the idea of our own immortality has penetrated—rather has germinated and flourished? Why is it that no one thinks of attaching this idea to the organic or vital principle of a plant, or of a beast, and that every one, almost without hesitation, does attach it to the vital principle, or to that other mortal, we call man? And, then, why is it that on the other hand, to himself alone man applies the adjective mortal? We never talk about the mortality of brutes. Strange that in a world where all is mortal man should reserve this qualification for himself. May not, however, precisely the reverse be true, and because he alone of all God's creatures needs to be reminded that, at least in one respect—as to his body—he, as well as all things else, is mortal, his Maker has put it into his mind instinctively to characterize himself accordingly?"

Immortality is not an outgrowth of modern training or speculation therefore. As a doctrine it was cradled with the human race in Paradise and has been propagated with each successive generation as the spontaneous outflow of intuition:

> "O, listen man!
> A voice within us speaks that startling word,
> Man thou shalt never die! Celestial voices
> By angel fingers touched, when the mild stars
> Of morning sang together, sound forth still
> The song of our immortality."—DANA.

Verily from well-nigh every human heart comes welling up the intuitive conviction: "*The soul is immortal.*" But let us consider,

III. The Scripture testimony in reference to the immortality of the soul.

At the very beginning of the Scriptures we are told (Gen. 2 : 7) that God breathed into man the breath of life and he became a living soul. Again it is written (2 Tim. 1 : 10): "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and *hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.*" According to Webster immortality means, "that which can not die, which is imperishable, having an unlimited existence." From the passage in Genesis we are evidently taught that God breathed of his own divine essense into man. Therefore the soul must be divine, and that which is divine can not be other than imperishable, immortal. Hence we read (Eccl. 12 : 7): "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." And so as Stephen was stoned he cried (Acts 7 : 59): "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." His body perished, but his immortal soul returned to God.

We are also taught the immortality of the soul in the Scriptures from the continuation of life after man's death. Our Lord said (John 11 : 25, 26): "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet *shall he live.* And whosoever liveth and believeth in me *shall never die.*" Again (3 : 36): "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life." Paul quoting Habakkuk (2 : 4) says: "The just shall live by faith." (Rom. 1 : 18) Indeed the Bible is full of this kind of promises. In Romans 6 : 23 it is written: "The gift of God is eternal life." According to John 3 : 16 it is written: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whoever believeth in him should *not perish*, but have *everlasting life.*" In 1 Cor. 15 : 53, 54, we read: "For this *corruptible* must put on *incorruption*, and this *mortal* must put on *immortality.* So when this corruption shall have put on incorruption and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, death is swallowed up in victory." In this passage we have clearly stated the change that shall take place after death. It is described as a change from *corruption* to *incorruption*—from *mortality* to *immortality.*

The Scriptures also teach the immortality of the soul in their

descriptions of death. Of the patriarchs we read: "Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age." Gen. 24 : 8. It was not life, but the ghost—the divine, the immortal—which he gave up. "And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died and was gathered unto his people." Gen. 35 : 29. "And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people." Gen. 49 : 33. And of our Lord it is written (Matt. 27 : 50): "When he had cried with a loud voice he yielded up the ghost." Now it will be observed,

1. That in each of these passages we have the same word—"Ghost"—the separation of which from the body is used to express the state after death.

2. That the words "Ghost" (pneuma, spirit) and "soul" (ψυχη) are used interchangeably, meaning and including that which God imparted to man at his creation. "And God breathed into man the breath of life and man became a living soul."

3. That in each case the Bible speaks of yielding up—returning—to God that which he had breathed into man at his creation. Hence these passages are only the abstract statement of the truth uttered by the Wiseman: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God who gave it." (Eccl. 12 : 7). The conclusion therefore is that the immortality of the soul is one of the fundamental doctrines of the Scriptures. But let us notice

IV. *The Practical Results of the Doctrine of the immortality of the soul.*

The kingdom of God is one of foretastes and fruitions on the one hand, and of premonitions and warnings on the other. Every important doctrine of the Bible therefore affords a basis for present comfort and edification for some, while to others it brings the convictions of guilt and condemnation. And this is even more true of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul than of some other cardinal doctrines of the Bible. For to this fundamental doctrine of the Bible we must look as the basis,

1. For the doctrine of the future rewards and punishments.

For without future life or conscious existence—without immortality—there could be no capacity either to enjoy rewards or to suffer punishments. Without immortality utter annihilation would be the only alternative. Without the doctrine of the immortality of the soul the inspiring assurance of David (Ps. 18 : 15): "I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy with thy likeness," would be worse than a wild speculation. Or that of St. John (1. John 3 : 2): "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is;" and his sublime description of heaven (Rev. 21 : 10–27) would be an absurd delusion. But for the doctrine of immortality, the Wiseman's declaration (Prov. 14 : 32): "The righteous hath hope in his death"—and our Lord's promise (John 14 : 2): "In my Father's house are many mansions. * * and * * I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also"—would be a base falsehood.

On the other hand, but for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the wicked would not fear and tremble at the approach of death, and we should never hear of death-bed repentance; or of sinners crying out: "Men and brethren what shall we do to be saved," or with contrite hearts crying: "Lord be merciful to me a sinner." But for this doctrine we should not have heard the wicked Voltaire, on the very verge of eternity, exclaim: "I look behind me and all is dark; I look before me and all is dark; soon I shall make a leap into the dark." But for this doctrine we should not have heard of the Rich Man in "Hades" calling to Abraham in Paradise to send Lazarus to him to cool his parching tongue; (Luke 16 : 24). Nor the two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, and saying: "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" (Matt. 18 : 28, 29). No, but for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul we should have none of these premonitions of the future state of torment. But as a practical result of this great doctrine of God the people of God have a rich experience in this life, cheering and inspiring every part of their being into the more

perfect activities of life, while the unsaved are bearing about with them the conviction of judgment to come. The righteous do have hope in death. They do peer into the future with bright anticipation of the time when they shall realize the fruition of their faith and sacrifices. In view of this doctrine we can appreciate more fully the Psalmist's cheering language: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil," and catch new inspiration from John's thrilling description of the state of the blessed in that city whose builder and maker is God. (Rev. 21 : 10–27). And as they approach the transaction from the life in the body to that in glory join in the apostle's song of triumph: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? * * But thanks be unto God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

On the other hand in view of this doctrine the wicked tremble at the very thought of death and the judgment. Men flee from the wrath which is to come, and make their peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. It moves men to forsake him who begets falsehood and hatred, and to embrace Him who fills our very lives with truth and love. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul places a stigma upon sin and uncleanness, and blights the hopes and aspirations of the vile. It puts a premium upon righteousness and a libel upon unrighteousness. As such this fundamental doctrine of the Bible becomes the ruling monitor of the world. It becomes the real basis of safety and joy to the faithful in this life and of their reward in glory; of restraint to the lawless in this life and of their just deserts in eternity. In this is served a divine purpose in this great doctrine, seldom, if ever, properly appreciated, if at all apprehended, by the common mind. And hence the doctrine of the immortality of the soul becomes the basis,

2. Of our Civil and Religious Liberty. The great fundamental principles of all law in this life are vested in this doctrine. Without these principles in law every thought of submission and of obedience would vanish as the dew of the morning. But the principles of this doctrine in the very law of our being beget our intuitive convictions of right and wrong. And by

these men are moved to submission and obedience. And both the moral and civil law find in these principles the basis of operation. As a practical result of the doctrine of immortality men are intuitively moved to respect both the law of God and man, submit to and obey them. Hence under the preaching of the Gospel some are moved to a holy life, their very being becomes radiant with cheer, their lives sweetened by the love and grace of God, and their future bright with the hope of his glory. Others by the same intuitive impulses are restrained from sin and lawlessness by the threat of condemnation and consequent woe and misery. Why? Certainly not for what there is in this life, either of hope or of condemnation. For if in this life only we had hope all would unite in fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah (22 : 13): "*Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we shall die.*" But all are actuated by the fundamental principles of the doctrine of immortality. It is the thought of the future which begets these profound convictions of right and wrong, and such a profound respect for both the moral and civil law. It is because both of these, together with our intuitive convictions, assert that,

> "It is not all of life to live,
> Nor all of death to die!"

that the principles of civil and religious liberty find a response in the human heart. Or, as another has put it, "because all the laws of this life are but the indices of the future administration of justice, men respect and obey them." The thought of immortality begets in the hearts of men every principle of true patriotism and therefore loyalty to their country's laws, and reverence for their father's God, both for the joy and the honor there is in such a life on earth and for the hope of the fruition of such a life to come. The thought of immortality is to the law of our body politic what the backbone is to the human body. The hope of infinite felicity as a future reward for the life of faith and obedience, gives stability of character to the good, while the thought of judgment to come, forces restraint and submission on the part of the bad. To all comes the

thought with greater or less frequency, so vividly expressed by Charles Wesley.

"And must I be to judgment brought,
And answer in that day
For every vain and idle thought,
And every word I say?

Yes, every secret of my heart
Shall shortly be made known,
And I receive my just desert
For all that I have done."

Or the intuitive conviction, as by inspiration, (Rev. 20 : 12): "And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works." The doctrine of immortality alone gives these truths their great power in both the civil and the moral law.

3. The doctrine of immortality becomes the Christian's mighty fortress.

"The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe,"* is a truth which gives inspiration not alone to this life, but quickens aspirations for that which is to come. It gives buoyancy amid the trials and sacrifices of this life, and brilliancy to the hope of the future. "The righteous hath hope in his death," as a promise, has given strength to "many weak and sickly" in their struggles for victory over sin, and given new powers of faith to many doubting ones. The doctrine of immortality is the firm anchorage to every Christian's hope. It is the one star which shines brightest in his soul—it "shines more and more unto the perfect day." Immortality! As a doctrine it inspires courage in every Christian's breast, and has made heroes of cowards and cowards of heroes. Luther on his way to Worms, when dissuaded by his friends, said: "I will go to Worms, though there be as many devils there as there are tiles on the houses' roofs." But the great Voltaire quaked as he contemplated his doom. Paul sang his

*Prov. 18 : 10.

hymn of triumph at a martyr's block, while devils trembled in the presence of their Lord. *Immortality!* The assurance of it is the motive power which is pushing the train of Gospel truth into every land and clime, and giving efficacy to the teaching and preaching of it among all classes and conditions of men. The assurance of it is moving men to speak the language of heaven in over three hundred of the tongues of earth, and giving the Word of God by seventy millions of voices to five times as many ears. The assurance of it is opening the way for the message of salvation to all the people, and has made possible the advanced religious state so beautifully described by our beloved Dr. Sprecher: "We live amid the blessed results of Christianity. The leaven, so little when first inserted, is rapidly fermenting, and will soon leaven the entire mass of humanity. The mustard seed, so small, has sprung into a great tree, affording leaves for the healing of the nations, and extending its branches for a shelter to the weak and helpless, and affording a cooling shade for the rest of those who 'labor and are heavy laden.'" The kingdom first promised to a little flock, has extended its boundaries far and wide, exerting its benign influences over the civilized and the barbarous, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the high and the low; blessing the king upon his throne, and the peasant in his cottage; purifying the centres of civilization, and pursuing men with its conservative and elevating power to the utmost verge of human society. Many centuries have past since this kingdom was promised by the Great King to the "little flock." Meantime earthly thrones have been erected and overturned, kingdoms have been established and destroyed, nations have risen and fallen, and others now exist, in turn to be swallowed up by the billows of time; but triumphant and high above the storm and the waves has stood this heavenly kingdom, ever growing in power and glory; and thus it will stand until "great voices shall be heard from heaven," proclaiming that "the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ." Aye! and the doctrine of the immortality of the soul has made it all possible.

Immortality! The assurance of it is turning the eyes of the world upon Him who "hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." And notwithstanding the fact that the infidel host is scoffing at the Gospel of peace and reconciliation, the assurance of immortality is speeding the time when "every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father:" And when the Christian world can join Paul most heartily in his testimony of triumphs: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge shall give me at that day: And not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." 2 Tim. 4 : 7–8. Ah, yes! Thank God for this cardinal doctrine of the Bible—that of the immortality of the soul.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE STANDARD OF MINISTERIAL SCHOLARSHIP.

By Rev. C. F. Sanders, A. M.

One question is always supreme in the mind of every man whose ambition is worthy of the respect of his fellowmen. That one question, in is varied forms of application, is, How may I meet the requirements of my calling? It is important that this question should be prominent in the mind of men of every vocation, but it is fundamental with the calling to the gospel ministry. For the man who has been moved by the Holy Spirit to enter the gospel ministry there is nothing so burning in the deeps of his soul as the taking of the world for Christ. He intuitively connects the longing of his soul with the part he is to play in its consummation. He looks out upon the world in which the Church has been struggling for so many centuries. He sees the record of many characters in every respect far nobler than himself. Their accomplishments appear of prodigious proportions in comparison with what he can trust himself to hope to realize in his own life, and yet along side of the great un-

leavened mass even the heroes of all the ages have accomplished comparatively little. He sees faith of dazzling altitude, consecration of surpassing fervor, and laborious accomplishments that surpass conception. Almost appalled he nerves himself for his lot in life by the observation: These great men whose testimony comes down through the ages let go of the world, laid hold on the Almighty hand of God, and by the power of the Spirit given them accomplished great things for their God by consecrated, self-denying, labor.

Every age brings with it its own peculiar problems that must be met, and can only be met, in the process of their development. The great work of Luther could not have been done in the age of Augustine, and the great Augustine would have been a poor substitute for Luther. Döllinger's protest had no place before the council of the Vatican in 1870. There is, however, one unchanging quality that has been and ever will be perpetuated through all the annals of time as a supreme element of success in every labor in the Master's vineyard. It is living faith in God by which the power of the Holy Ghost becomes the mighty factor in the labors of the individual man. This discussion will take this faith for granted, and lest we be misunderstood, emphasize the truth that all other qualifications come after the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and are effectual in proportion as they are permeated by the Spirit's presence.

Galileo's discoveries produced a revolution in the learning of his day, but they stand as the first tints of the early dawn to the noonday sun, when compared with the transformation that has been wrought in the world by the discoveries of Watt, Morse, and Edison. It is a truism which requires no argument that we must dispose of the problems the age has brought us. With the conviction that the Church is the kingdom developing in time to endure into eternity, and that Christ will come to receive it to himself when his purpose of evangelization has been accomplished, we must be anxious to meet the problems of our age in the manner best suited to bring about the world's redemption. To the end that the Church be not put to shame, that Christ's return be not delayed, we pray for the speedy solution of every

and each intervening problem. With bated breath has the world looked on, during the present generation, as the hurricane of the world's progress has flung doors open at every hand leading into new fields, with larger opportunities and graver responsibilities. The genius of the world belongs to the nations that are denominated Christian. The rich coffers of nature's great treasury are being unlocked by Christian hands. Storm, lightning, and fire are the tamed servants of the enlightened Christian nations. The walls that once secluded pagan peoples are thrown down and in every nation is heard the wonderful works of God in its peculiar tongue. The hand of God is in the war now waging. The believer in Divine Providence cannot doubt this. It is one of the doors opening that will transform the maps of the world, and effect an opening for Christianity in several quarters of the globe. The partition of Africa, the rise of Japan, &c., &c., indicate extraordinary possibilities to the present age. The problems before us are incitements to activity. Our fitness to cope with them will appear from a glance at the rank and file as well as at the officers of our army.

We shall here touch upon the salient characteristics of the times, and note the influences and forces at work in the world.

The most casual observer must see that the age is intensely materialistic. Men are worshiping at the shrine of wealth. The Klondyke opens and the thoroughfares of travel are crowded with an anxious throng that has not counted the cost. The only sacrifice that is prominent is the willing and ready sacrifice of everything that stands in the way of getting much gain. If it be integrity of character, if it be the divine law of respect for truth, if it be God's institution of one day in seven to be kept holy, that be in the way to getting gain, it must scornfully be trodden upon. This spirit to get rich at all hazards is far too common not to belong to the *Zeitgeist.* It is at the bottom of all the social turmoil. It will, in large measure, account for the depopulating of rural districts and the crowding of the cities with poor. It is fostered by an accursed social ostracism. We bewail the class distinctions of the Brahmanic religion, but never

blush for the lines that distinguish and hopelessly separate the rich and the poor in the land where universal human brotherhood is professed.

Next to the rage for gold is the rush for the novel. The world is demanding entertainment where education should find a place. Desserts and pastry are supplanting substantial foods. The daily press is a fearful commentary on the present generation speaking forth for the ages to come its condition of civilization. With what unblushing colors does it paint the stories—both real and fictitious—of vice and criminality to poison the minds, insult the sense, and corrupt the tastes of the reading public and particularly the young. What amazing disproportion between the substantial literature of to-day and the poisonous trash that is thrust out upon an unguarded public. This is not so because our writers are less pure than they should be. It is so because that is the kind of literature the public demands. A boycott of impure literature would work wonders in purifying the press. The desire for the theatric has become dictatorial. The writer that will not entertain by such productions as appeal to the passions, is soon laid on the shelf. But what has this to do with the subject in hand? It illustrates the powerful tyranny that rules among us in these days. It is what Bryce denominates the tyranny of popular opinion. The learned Döllinger, speaking of this tendency in the United States calls it a power so dominant that all are expected to bow to it as if it were an absolute monarch. It has been suggested that the authorship of the Pentateuch may yet be submitted to a popular vote. A pastor recently inquired of Dr. Stuckenberg what he should do in view of conditions in his congregation which placed him in the dilemma of either withholding part of the truth or of emptying his church. A man of considerable information remarked to the writer not long ago, "It is a matter of bread and butter with the ministry, they dare not express themselves too freely." Paul might have had a pleasant time at Jerusalem had he avoided the remark pertaining to his mission to the Gentiles. He was loyal to the truth and paid for his loyalty by being severely beaten right under the shadow of the Temple. The

power and tendency of majorities as the cause of the pulpit travesty known as sensationalism. I will not ask space here to show how sensationalism works and proves the condition of the popular mind. You can do this for yourself by watching the Saturday papers announcing preaching subjects for the following Sabbath, and follow them up in the reports that appear on Monday. The tyrant Majority has instituted an inquisitorial reign. He demands the submission of everything to his judgment as the ultimate tribunal. He asserts himself as the supreme law of right. He turns a deaf ear to the muse of history as she would show him his error, and the sandy foundation of his throne. In final analysis the dictatorship of majorities would read something like this: "The ultimate basis of everything is the decision of the majority;" and it is an open secret that the majority decision is largely controlled by ignorance and prejudice.

But it is unfair to characterize the age as wholly given to the novel and exciting. We have many writers that claim to be scientific and they have a host of readers. There are a few things to which we need here to give attention. Many professors of science and philosophy have not mastered their subjects. Many have started without faith in God. Many have had to depend upon the market for their literary production for a livelihood. The first have produced a vast literature that is unsound. The second have fostered the materialistic spirit of the age and have had a reflex exerted upon themselves by the spirit of the age; their productions have been approved, eagerly read, and the tribunal of the majority has been an incentive to their activities. Connected with the third characteristic the majority has made a materialistic train of thought a lucrative profession. It has recently been asked, does agnosticism pay? It was answered: Ingersoll lectured to a $1200 house the other night at ——. The full force of this kind of literature is not fully felt until we recall the fact that this is an age of many readers and much reading. It will not be harsh criticism to say that the majority of the readers are incapable, at the beginning at least, to distinguish between the true and the false in philosophy and

science. With a relish for the mysterious, which seems to have been common with man in every age of his history, there is a relish for science and philosophy. These things will largely determine the course of the reader, and there can scarcely be a doubt as to the result. Intellectual capacity, notoriety of author, cost of the books, will decide as to the works to be read. Faraway Moses is a very attractive writer, and has a style that is easily understood by the untrained mind, but he is a miserable philosopher, if we may be permitted to use even that term. The profound treatment of the great problems of philosophy are all of an intensely, yea severely thoughtful nature. They must of necessity be so. But this necessity has closed them from the popular mind. It is also to be noted that notoriety has often come in most inglorious ways when viewed from the standpoint of the truth. In a wicked world, tending to the materialistic, and sensual, it will be easy to determine who are the popularly notorious. This again makes for the false philosopher. It is quite singular, too, that the writers that have spun their false theories in such attractive style have put their productions upon the market very cheap. I can get Herbert Spencer's First Principles for twenty five cents, but I can't get a good, thorough and safe analysis of, and answer to it, under about two and a half dollars. The consequence is a large circulation of dangerous literature without anything to counteract its influence.

A noble writer across the waters has characterized the age in doleful language, as the day in which "faith has fled." We are never quick to accept any such dark commentary on the times in which we live. But however unwilling we may be to have our age present a dark picture, we certainly cannot get away from facts. I am charged with pessimism. But it is surely vain to cry peace when there is no peace. When Lee crossed the Potomac for the purpose of an invasion of the Northern States the greatest alarm prevailed. It was not because the North feared a depleted army cut off from its base of supplies, but the devastation which would result from the progress of a pillaging host, and the possible danger of the materializing of threatened uprisings in the North which would give strength to the enemy.

So in this age, as a lover of Zion, I apprehend no danger, nor I entertain no fear, of the enemy in the open field. This rock upon which I stand, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail, is still as firm as the throne of the eternal heavens. But I am full of alarm because the enemy of souls has invaded the holy hill of the Lord, and what was threatened has taken place: Many who were on the rock have lifted anchor and are now the most dangerous enemies to the faith. The congress of Liberal Religions is not an unmeaning movement in this age. Lyman Abbott can do the cause of a pure Church more harm by far than Col. Ingersoll.

The gospel of Fate that is inspired by the shallow science and philosophy of the times, by becoming popular, has come into the Church while the watchman slept. "Assent to doctrine has taken the place of a life conformed to the life of Christ. Two distinct ideas of Christianity result. One of them magnifies doctrine and its great sin, which is heresy. The other magnifies obedience to person, and its great sin, which is disobedience. The one enthrones a creed; the other a person. The Christianity of the New Testament is of the second sort; that of to-day largely of the first." A bewilderment, which in its weariness has reclined on the bosom of Fate, is the fruit. If this statement is denied, let the denier give account for the immense number of suicides and murders that are annually occurring all around us. If the assertion is not true who will account for the fearful clashing between labor and capital. True it is and the very quarter from which denial comes is evidence that it is true. It is proven by corrupt politics, the liberal patronage of a degraded theatre and the open saloon, that gateway to the confines of eternal hell is in itself sufficient proof that our professed Christian citizenship is not actuated by conformity to Christ. However strongly men may protest by profession, it is their life that proclaims most loudly their faith. This, however, is inveighing against the Church in a manner which may receive the answer; admitting all these evils, they are not the deeds of the Church. It is true, the Church has not overtly championed the cause of the licensed saloon, nor

preached the doctrine of Fate. It is here, however, that her life will give better proof of the essence of her faith than all her volumes of creeds. The evils are admitted, for they are not a secret. The admission of the evils at once involves the Church, for they could not exist without the patronage of at least part of professed Christendom. The Church involved, she must answer for the manner in which she manifested her concern for the souls entrusted to her keeping. Here we spontaneously look for a solid front of Christendom against the evils of the day, but lo, it is not there. On the other hand there is evidence abundant that the brother's hand is against the hand of his brother, and the sister against her sister. Ephraim is jealous of Benjamin, Benjamin quarrels with Judah. Confusion results in Israel; meanwhile Philistia regales herself, and almost unconsciously the seed of Abraham finds itself worshiping Dagon of Gath. The age is characterized by sharp denominational rivalry. Churches are reckoned powerful in proportion to numbers, spirituality not taken into account. With spirituality below par and numbers the *summum bonum*, the only possible result is a church weighted with numbers and robbed of spirituality. I would not be understood as speaking under the influence of peculiar local conditions. I am fully aware that local conditions will favorably compare with any in the land. The conditions are prevalent, and because prevalent, dangerous. With three hundred that were faithful Gideon put to flight the host of Midian. Had he gone with his thirty thousand indiscrimately he must have failed.

I wish yet to press this argument nearer home, right to the place where it causes me the greatest distress. In this day when problems that involve life and death are thick all around, the subject that has affected our own Church, and the only subject apparently that has made any intense impression, was that of ritual. I see a picture in illustration. It is of a sinking vessel a few leagues from shore. The bugler from the life-saving station calls to the crew that help will be on as soon as they have arranged to come in the manner of their fathers and neighbors in the business, for if they shall be saved, it must be in a

manner that is uniform with the methods by which others have been saved. Slowly the life boat pulls out from shore much busied in the arrangement of robes and other non-essential appointments. All the while many of the passengers succumb to the cold and are being swept away by the angry waves, and do you blame their expiring breath that curses the life-saving institutions that cherish appointments more dearly than life!

The student of history cannot get away from the fact that the tendency to increase, and the excessively rigid adherence to ritual, has always gone hand in hand with spiritual declension in religion. The distress in which religion was at the time Christ came was in large measure its excessive ceremonialism. The indulgences that applied the flame to the tinder at the Reformation period grew out of a church burdened with ceremony but dead spiritually. It is again significant that there has never been any revival in religion brought about by any great ritualist—*i. e.* anyone who regarded ritual in any respect fundamental.

If I have now succeeded in presenting an uninviting picture, I have accomplished my intention. Further, I think I have then accomplished a true representation. It is this truth which should urge the necessity of a highly educated gospel ministry. Religious papers and magazines for more than a year have reiterated the question: Is not the ministry overcrowded? The invariable answer was, there is abundant room for more who are properly fitted and consecrated to the service of the Master. And then, how humiliating, about a year ago to read the letter of Dr. Severinghaus in the *Lutheran World* stating that two pastors in the East had made a joint request for the title of Doctor of Divinity at the rate of $25.00 each, assuming to mitigate their presumption by saying that they might be mutually helpful.

The situation calls for master minds. The best mind will require the severest discipline. The risks are immortal souls. Any standard of preparation for service lower than the highest is unworthy of a man in any calling; in the the gospel ministry it is a disgrace. Hegel says: "If you would refute error you must erect the standard of the truth and carry it into the citadel

of the opponent. It avails nothing to make external attacks, where the enemy himself is not, and where a victory does not affect him." Anyone who is not trained to severe thinking is unfit to do battle as an undershepherd of the blessed Master in these times. Shallowness has in part invited the evils of which we have spoken. Because of it opinions have been preached where nothing short of conviction should have been given a place. There is a mighty difference between opinion and conviction. "Opinions may change and the world be better for the change, truth is divine and is worth dying for. Christianity has not to do with opinions; it is founded on established facts and divine truth and faith based thereon is the heritage of the Church." If you would confine the flooding mountain torrent to its proper channel, or stay its course, you must place over against it a solid wall higher than the surface of the water. To stay the destructive tendencies in the current of modern thought, it must plainly have placed over against it thinking more powerful than the destructive current and reaching higher into the realm of the truth. To offer resistance that will be swept away will only increase the fury of the torrent as it rushes over the wreck of your feeble attempt at resistance. The preacher for these times must have such a mastery of science and philosophy as to be able to let the searchlight of the divine truth so shine in upon the false theories as to discover their error, so as to save his flock from being misled. Cicero said the orator should know everything, and it may be said that the preacher *must* know more than the orator. We don't preach science nor philosophy but we guide the scientist and the philosopher into the truth.

We must know history. The past has produced the present and its story will unfold the possibilities of the future. It is only he who has tasted deeply at the fountain of History that will fully comprehend the wonderful providence of God in preserving the faith amid the strife imposed by a hostile world. It contains the progressional revelation of God, and to be ignorant of its profound lessons is to be deficient in the knowledge of God's revelation of himself. It is the confirmation of the promises of

God and the fulfillment of the prophecies. Faith will be thereby strengthened, hope refined, and persecution for Christ's sake will be more easily borne. It is only by a comprehensive knowledge of history that the spirit of Christianity can possibly be known. It is the only means of inspiration for the future.

We must *know* theology. A superficial knowledge of the subject of the eternal decrees has taught that which has produced the fatalism and universalism of our age, and it is only a short step from either of these to atheism. Misconception of the relation between faith and works is responsible for indulgences and all the train of evils connected with them, and degrades salvation by grace to the level of human accomplishment.

Looseness on the subject of Sanctification has produced the perfectionist heresy; incorrect ideas with respect to the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit has brought upon us faith healers, Christian Scientists and a long train of petty sects. We might thus go on to show how almost every one of the fundamentals of theology has been perverted.

Surpassing all else in importance is a thorough acquaintance with God's Word, the Holy Scriptures. Philip Schaff has said the book the preacher must thoroughly know is the Bible. Other knowledge will be valuable to diagnose the situation, to understand the needs, but the Bible only and the Bible emphatically will contain the remedy.

There is then only one course open for the man who has responded to the divine call to enter the gospel ministry, and that one course is a life earnestly devoted to study. In order to be at home, and without embarrassment to issue orders on every field, the commander must know the field and the means for victory. He will then survey carefully, and survey universally, and stand by the Book.

ARTICLE IX.

ELY'S "SOCIAL LAW OF SERVICE."

By Rev. Frank P. Manhart, A. M.

The chapters of Prof. Ely's work have the following headings: Our Firm Foundation, Our Point of View, The Relations of the Old and New Testaments Socially Considered, The Social Law of Service, The Social Significance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, Social Solidarity, Our Neighbors, The State, Making Men Good by Law, Inadequacy of Private Philanthropy for Social Reform, Our Earnings, Our Spendings and What to Do.

Dr. Ely finds the *foundation* of the law of social service to be Christ's teaching of love to God and love to man. The most powerful social force is religion. Our religion is a living personality, it is Christ, a leader meek beyond comparison, yet unequaled in strength. He taught us the divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood, so as Christians we must desire social righteousness.

The *view-point* is that of Christ, that is, *Love*, and more especially, the love of man to man. Christ was the first philanthropist. No other religion knows any true philanthropy. Buddhism, Stoicism * * all fail, here. Paul says, "we are members one of another." "Untruthfulness is an offense against our fellowship in Christ."

The *Law of Service* in the Old and New Testament is based upon the purpose of their laws to glorify God through the welfare of man in society. Jewish history, religion, separateness, election, wars and laws—all illustrate this. In the New Testament Jewish laws and religion were enlarged into universal human relations and brotherhood. The giving of the Holy Spirit, the extension and intension of ethical obligation, the basis of the Last Judgment, (Matt. 25) the doctrine of stewardship and of the neighbor, and especially Christ's doctrine of the kingdom of God all prove that in the New Testament the divine law of

service is the glorifying of God by promoting the welfare of man.

The *social law of service* is the law of love. The motto of chap. 4, sets it forth: "Therefore come what may hold fast to love. Though men should rend your heart, let them not embitter or harden it. We win by tenderness, we conquer by forgiveness. O! strive to enter into something of that large celestial charity which is meek, enduring, unretaliating, and which even the overbearing cannot withstand forever. Learn the new commandment of the Son of God. Not to love merely, but to love *as He loved.* Go forth in this spirit to your life duties; go forth, children of the cross, to carry everything before you, and win victories for God by the conquering power of a love like his." F. W. Robertson.

Baptism is the method whereby we enter into relations with our fellows and form the Church of Christ. "All one body we." Baptism is the continual witness to a common humanity united in God. To those who accept baptismal regeneration, infant baptism recalls the fact that Christ proposed a universal kingdom, into which infant baptism is a naturalization. It points to the solidarity of the family in the kingdom.

In the *Lord's Supper*, bread and wine are used because they admirably typify fraternity—Bread is made of many grains, wine of many grapes, so the multitude of Christians are joined to Christ and each other. Cranmer. The Godward side of the Lord's Supper draws toward heaven—to be "partakers of his most blessed body and blood." On the manward side men are drawn to their fellows, they fellowship. Equality swallows up inequality. Christians are inspired with ceaseless activity for the redemption of the world. The use of individual communion cups is disheartening, as thereby the meaning of the Lord's Supper is half lost.

The rituals of the churches and the hymns do not neglect the social side of the Eucharist. The Holy Grail is found by all who remember that millions of men are needlessly sad, needlessly tormented and tortured daily, and who then walk in the

footsteps of Christ, in that they like him live to serve their fellows.

Social Solidarity means the oneness of social interests. This is now understood as never before. The blood of the race flows in every man and prove man's oneness physiologically. The microbe is a social leveler. The interests of any one man or class of men are the interests of every man and of all men. The kingdom sought by Christians is a social state. Christians are "one body in Christ and every one members of one another. True individuality is built up, not in isolation, but in society."

Our Neighbors are men in need. There should be in centres of education, in trade, in contests of labor and capital, and in international relations, an enthusiasm of humanity. It is only an unbelieving age that asserts the sufficiency and benevolence of self-interest.

The *State* is a continuous, conscious organism, and a moral personality, which has its foundations laid in the nature of man. It is formed for the sake of life and continued for the good life. (Aristotle). The Reformation did away with the false distinctions of secular and sacred, and declared the magistrate, his powers, laws and sword holy. The main purpose of the state is religion, therefore it should promote the well being of all its subjects physically, mentally and religiously. The Church may place ideals ahead of the state for it gradually to approach. It places the emphasis on duties rather than rights. Christians of all types act together officially for the establishment of righteousness.

Men are *Made good by Law*, by the method of indirection. Laws secure person and property, regulate industry, free slaves, provide universal education, maintain penal and reformatory institutions, and in short, embody the national conscience, and furnish millions nearly all of the ideas of morality. Much more can be done by the indirect method of law making, when laws are not only negative, repressive and mandatory, but also attractive and persuasive.

In the remaining chapters Dr. Ely contends, that while much

has been done in education, reform and philanthropic measures generally, and while much more may yet be done by private philanthropy ; yet it has been and must be inadequate, and the state must bear the brunt of philanthropy in its many-sided activities.

In the matter of *Our Earnings*, the true ideal is found in the prayer of Agur: Give me neither poverty nor riches. Each has its peculiar dangers. Earnings as regards the individual, must have reference to his body, mind and soul ; as regards society they must recognize the solidarity of the race under present day conditions.

In *Our Spendings* the supreme law is mutual love. Beginning with self and family the circles must expand until the whole should be included. Our spendings include material wealth, personal service and all our powers.

The question *What to do?* is answered by many suggestions. Bring yourself into right relations with God, then seek right relations with men. Keep close to Christ, whether rich or poor. Do the next thing. Seek light. The first social circle is the family. It is the social cell. Its building up or decay are of infinite moment. The Church is a social circle that must leaven all, so work in it. Her ideal is a transforming power for righteousness—rightness—right relations towards God and man. The ultimate ideal presented by the Prophets and Revelation is the Church as the all-embracing form of association for every kind of social work ; this means a oneness of Church and State. Our work in the Church is the redemption of the world, not the plucking of a few out of the world. Everywhere the Church should have trained workers among the poor and needy. Apply the moral truths to social labor, economic and governmental questions.

"Without reverence and love citizenship cannot exist." We must have a feeling for our city, and country like that which is inculcated in the Bible. Our Jerusalem must be so dear to us that we can say, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her coming." Then our commonwealth will be regenerated.

To the rapid, though it is hoped, just and suggestive summary, of Dr. Ely's chapters, a few observations may be added.

1. There is noticeable a marked affinity with the Lutheran view of nature as sharing the blessings of redemption.

2. A more adequate theological conception of so much of the nature and person of Christ as is indicated in the title Son of Man, would have aided to clearer ideas of the race's solidarity of kinship with Him, as the basis of the social law of service for the life that now is and the judgment that will settle destiny for the life that is to come.

3. The Deaconess work of the Lutheran Church was in the the mind of the author as he wrote parts of his book. The task, however, does not show that familiarity with the doctrines and spirit of the Lutheran Church that it does with the Methodist or Episcopal Churches; or, possibly, less attention is given to her teachings and practices because they seem to our author to be of less importance in American religious life.

4. His tenacious advocacy of the higher educational institutions of the state as over against those of the Church will find many objectors; still what he says is too important to be ignored by the friends of higher education under church control.

5. Dr. Ely might have found Luther as fully "up to date" and as quotable on questions of earnings, business and economics, as he did Wesley, had he taken equal pains to find what the greater man had said.

6. As Dr. Ely came to the Scripture with the personal faith of the Christian, the economist and sociologist and the zeal of a reformer, it is not surprising that he found so much to justify the position of one who, in a noble sense, is a Christian socialist. This however need not make the work less valuable to us who do not agree with all of its positions.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Christian Pastor and the Working Church. By Washington Gladden, D. D., LL. D. pp. 485. Price $2.50 net.

This is a work on Pastoral Theology. While the subject is an old one, its treatment is fresh and vigorous. At many points the author leaves the beaten track and carves out a path for himself. He believes that in consequence of the advancement of civilization the condition of the Church has undergone a change, that new problems present themselves, and that there are new duties and activities which call for new methods, and his aim is to show how this changed condition of the Church is to be met and what methods are to be employed. A statement from Dr. Parkhurst serves him for a motto, "The Church is no longer the pastor's field, but the pastor's force;" he emphasizes the idea that the "Church is a working body, that it is formed not mainly of those who seek to be fed and ministered unto, but of those who are working together to extend the Kingdom of God."

A glance at some of the headings of the chapters will show the range of the topics discussed: The Pastor in his Study; Pulpit and Altar; The Church Organization; The Mid-week Service; Parish Evangelization; The Social Life of the Church; Woman's Work in the Church; The Young Men and Women; The Institutional Church. In the presentation of these topics the author discloses extensive reading and research and a deep insight into the needs of the human soul. The style is clear, original and suggestive, and the work abounds in pithy, sententious utterances which rivet the attention and fix the truth.

In speaking of the call to the ministry the writer says, "no minister ought to undertake the work unless he believes he has a divine vocation, but he ought to submit this conviction to the approval of his brethren." What he says concerning large congregations, the selection of a pastor, Choir singing and Church competition should be read and pondered by every pastor and congregation. His rules for meeting religious doubt are exceptionally appropriate. The subject of Deaconess work is fully and discriminatingly discussed. He speaks with favor of Revivals of Religion. He speaks approvingly of Lenten services and thinks all the Churches might observe them with profit. While we do not agree with our author in everything, we can nevertheless commend this volume most heartily to every pastor in the belief that it will stimulate him and aid him in developing his congregation into a working Church.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

T. AND T. CLARK, EDINBURG.

Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Studies of the Mind in Christ. By Rev. Thomas Adamson, B. D. pp. 300. $2.50.

Great, says St. Paul, is the mystery of godliness: He was manifested in the flesh. A mystery is something which transcends human intelligence. This very fact makes it, however, all the more attractive to the human intellect, nor does the impossibility of a solution forbid reverent attempts to solve it.

This work can hardly be classed with such attempts, though it certainly and avowedly wrestles with one of the most profound and perplexing subjects of theological speculation, the relation of human and divine knowledge in the theanthropic personality of the Redeemer. In a style of extreme simplicity, with not a single technical expression, in a spirit of reverence and candor, with an unmistakable desire to gain light and to bow to the truth, and in a way to hold the student's interest to the end, the author sets forth in successive chapters, Christ's Ignorance, His Supernatural Knowledge, His Divine Knowledge, His Knowledge of the Old Testament, His Knowledge of the Future, etc., etc.

Startling as sounds the expression "Christ's Ignorance," that is a condition involved in the reality of his human nature. Humanity implies limitations, and we are thus confronted with the fact that Christ had "a true human mind, a mind which worked by the same faculties and within the same limits as ours." The author says point-blank "Our Saviour in his humanity was not omniscient and much of his knowledge was gained by the same means as other men around him might have used."

Even where he treats of Christ's Supernatural Knowledge he does not make that identical with his omniscience. The possession of Supernatural Knowledge is limited to exceptional instances, "a few rarely manifested specimens," "solitary or singular instances, in bursts of light on the usual darkness of true human nature." This Supernatural Knowledge had "a suitable practical end to vindicate it on every occasion in which it was used," "It was to him a sacrament from heaven." "It enlightened the human ignorance of our Lord." "It came for the occasion and was used by him for special ends."

But aside from the occasional impartations of Supernatural Knowledge, which might come to any man, and which "Peter received as really as his Lord," Christ had a knowledge of heavenly things that was "primary and not imparted." "It was not a scrap of superhuman information, but in essence and principles, the very mind, the complete mind of God himself." This knowledge he had by virtue of his own divine nature. Yet even this "did not imply omniscience; its original amount was a very minimum of knowledge, perhaps not more than of himself as divine." It was therefore capable of increase. "The

Father imparted a further revelation, a further revelation of fact in the experience of daily life. To him that had was given." Because his pure heart had anointed eyes "the spirit could be given to him without measure." He acquired because of his loyalty to revelation a store "which the Spirit taught from the revelation supplied by the Father."

For a Knowledge of the Word of God, Jesus Christ, it is claimed, "had no special facilities." There is, however, "ample evidence that he had an extensive Knowledge of the Old Testament." "It opened out to his wondering eye a panoramic record of general principles, all of which appealed to him, and showed the Jehovah of the Old Testament to be the God of his own conscience." "It was to him the very essence of God's will." "The difficulties and apparent contradictions which, then, as now, lay scattered over the face of the Old Testament, were probably not unnoticed by him. But he seems to have felt them as little as the hard matters in his own sayings, which seem strange to us." "They certainly did not affect his faith in the Book itself."

"I presume," says the author, "that Christ had no critical methods or intellectual tests to apply to Scripture, but rather that he used his general intelligence, and those spiritual instincts in which he has ever been unequaled, and even unapproached." "He used the Book just as any good and intelligent man would."

Since nothing in the Book had interest for him but the presence of God and the growth of his spiritual purpose, "we must believe that in speaking of the authorship of any part, he does so in a merely general way, taking the title as in the scroll." If he were proved to be in error on a point like this "that would certainly not discredit him nor the Book." "If he spoke of Moses or David, the reference must be looked on as made for the purpose of identification in regard to the passage." "The authority of the earlier dispensation did not consist in its record being due to Moses, but in its being the earlier dispensation. The appropriateness of a psalm to his case lay not in its being uttered by David but in its being applicable to himself preëminently." The question of authorship is one of literary interest, "and did not in his eyes affect the history of the dispensation of God's grace."

Mr. Adamson neither exploits nor antagonizes any theory or school, but scrupulously following the inductive method, he carries with him the intense interest of his readers and illumines his work page by page with the light of the Holy Scriptures. EDMUND J. WOLF.

A Dictionary of the Bible dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M. A., D. D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M. A., and, chiefly in the revision of the proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh, S. R. Driver, D. D., Litt. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, H. B Swete, D. D., Litt. D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Volume I. A — Feasts.

The above, it must be confessed, is a formidable title page, but it is the title page to what promises to be a formidable work—a work which is to consist of 3600 pages, each page containing two columns and each column containing about 700 words. That is, should this work be completed according to the scale on which it has been projected, it will be without doubt, the most comprehensive, learned and accurate dictionary of the Bible in the English Language. Some idea of the compass of the work may be gained from the following extract from the Preface: "Articles have been written on the names of all persons and places, on the Antiquities and Archaeology of the Bible, on its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, on Biblical Theology and Ethics, and even on the obsolete and archaic words occurring in the English Versions."

The contributors to this first volume embrace not a few of the very best biblical, theological and antiquarian scholars in Great Britain and America, besides Professor Hommel of the University of Munich. "The names of the authors are appended to their articles, except where the article is very brief and of minor importance; and these names are the best guarantee that the work may be relied on. So far as could be ascertained, those authors were chosen for the various subjects who had made a special study of the subject, and might be able to speak with authority upon it. Then, in addition to the work of the Editor and his Assistant, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three distinguished scholars whose names are found on the title-page."

The five names which adorn the title-page of the first volume are themselves a guarantee for thoroughness and accuracy in biblical scholarship, however we may differ from the theological views which some of them are supposed to represent. Among the "authors" who stand for a conservative theology, are Adeney, Beet, Bernard, Candlish, Orr, Ramsay, Salmond, Sayce, Smith, Isaac Taylor, and Warfield. Among those that represent a liberal tendency, are Brown of Union, Curtis of Yale, Driver of Oxford, Porter of Yale, Thayer of Harvard. We should say that the conservatives and those who represent a reasonably conservative position, are decidedly in the majority. Among those that represent the more liberal tendency, we do not recognize the name of any one who has become distinguished as a destructive critic on the extreme left of the Higher Criticism, though most of the articles pertaining to the Old Testament are written from the standpoint of the Higher

Criticism, as for instance "Deuteronomy" and "Exodus," albeit the spirit is reverent and the authors claim to be "constructive" and not "destructive." "Deuteronomy" as written by President H. E. Ryle, of Cambridge, who reject the Mosaic authorship of the book, and says: "It is generally agreed that the book may have been written in the reign of Manassah, or in the early part of the reign of Josiah." "Exodus" is furnished by G. Harford Battersby, of Balliol College, Oxford. The author at once assumes that "it is generally possible, if not to distribute the material among four distinct documents, at least to assign it to one or other of four differing schools of writing, Jahwistic, Elohistic, Deuteronomic and Priestly, whose relative age is known by the order of the names, the periods of the first two overlapping." The book is regarded as a composite work, made up of various elements put together by a redactor. In the "concluding survey" the author says:

"If we accept the results of this article as in the main correct, we have passed far beyond the boundary of a merely negative criticism. It might be called destructive work to show by detailed proof that we have no contemporary account of the Exodus and subsequent events. But when it is shown that the present narrative is made up of three, so far contrasting with one another as to prove themselves much later in date than the period of which they treat, and the work, not merely of different individuals, but of different schools of historical writing; and when the further step is taken of disentangling, with infinite pains of many laborers in many lands, the several threads of narrative, and recombining them in something like their original connexions, the work of constructive criticism must be held to have been well begun. The summaries will have shown on how many important points the three witnesses are at one. For fuller particulars see Moses, Israel.

But, while it is well to remember that contrasts are not always, or even usually, contradictions, it would be idle to try to belittle the extent of the change of view brought about. We may rather think of it as the drawing back of a veil of illusion which God wisely allowed to hang over the past, until the growth of truer ideas about history both took away the veil, and made men ready to make use of the facts, whose real relations were at least adequately discovered."

No doubt this conclusion comes legitimately from the premises. But we here oppose a most decided *Obsta principiis*. The promises are assumed, rather than proved, and we know that there is "another side" to be heard, before a final verdict can be rendered. Yet as the Higher Criticism has become a fact in the history of Bible study, we may expect to find both its methods and conclusions in a work like the one before us.

The article on Assyria, filling twenty-eight columes, and that on Babylonia, filling thirty-three columns, both by Hommel, are exhaustive. Only the specialist will be inclined to seek further information.

The article on the Bible, by Professor Stewart of the University of St. Andrews, treats, first, of the names, original languages, division and arrangement, canon, text and versions of the Bible; then of the literature, revelation and inspiration. The very latest results of research and criticism are here condensed in twenty-seven columns. The author finds many difficulties connected with the Bible remaining unsolved, and thinks it is the duty of sacred scholarship to finish the work which it has begun.

Baptism is ably treated in a conservative way by Professor Plummer, Master of University College, Durham. The following sounds very Lutheran-like. "At Baptism the infant receives remission of the guilt of original sin, admission to the Christian community, and a title to heavenly gifts to be appropriated afterwards." The articles fills thirteen columns.

In an article of twenty-nine columns Rev. Sydney C. Gayford, M. A., of Exeter College, Oxford, discusses the "Church." In twelve columns Professor Curtis, of Yale, exhibits the "Chronology of the Old Testament;" while Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, M. A., fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, devotes forty-three columns to the "Chronology of the New Testament." Rev. Thomas B. Kirkpatrick, M. A., B. D., of Aberdeen, treats "Conscience" in fifteen columns. Twenty-nine columns are claimed by Principal Robertson, of King's College, London, for I. and II. Corinthians. Tutor White, of the University of Durham, gives twenty-four columns to "David". The article on "Eschatology," extending over forty-three columns, is divided between Professor A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, Rev. Robert Henry Charles, M. A., of Trinity College, Dublin, and Professor Salmond of Aberdeen. Professor Warfield of Princeton devotes twenty-three columns to "Faith." This is a master piece. We can think of no discussion of the subject in the English language equal to this. If we have liberal theology in some of the other articles, we have the genuine conservation in this one. What could sound more like the orthodoxy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than the following: "It is not faith that saves, but faith in Jesus Christ: faith in any other Saviour or on this or that philosophy or human conceit, or in any other gospel than that of Jesus Christ and him crucified brings not salvation but a curse. It is not, strictly speaking, even faith in Christ that saves, but Christ that saves through faith," p. 837.

The specific references which we have thus made to a few of the leading articles, will afford the reader a fair idea of the fulness and elaborateness of the treatment. Besides, every thought is condensed into the briefest compass, and many familiar words are abbreviated, so as to economize space. The articles on the various subjects connected with Biblical Theology, are not all of equal merit, though they are all able, and command the respect of the reader, even when he does not agree

with the conclusions of all. The articles make one think, and that is the chief value of any discussion.

Neither must the reader expect to find harmony of views in this work. In the treatment of kindred subjects by different authors, who often represent different creeds and tendencies, there are often manifest discrepancies. But as each author's name is appended to his articles, except in the case of a few relatively unimportant articles, the reader always knows who is speaking. Hence he has to consider the authority and standpoint of the author, rather than the "Dictionary" itself.

Another valuable feature of the work is that an extended catalogue of the best literature of the subject is appended to each article. Especially has the German literature been laid under tribute; and this, as well as other features of the work, shows the immense influence which German theological thought is exerting on English and American theological thought. In theology, as in other sciences, the Germans are the school-masters of the world. We can here only record our lament that so few of the young men of our own branch of the Lutheran Church sufficiently master the German language as to be able to utilize its vast treasures of theology.

The book grows in favor with us as we continue to examine it—not because we endorse all or by any means all, that it contains, or think that it has spoken the final word on any of the great subjects of which it treats, or think that it will supplant Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, or Alexander's Kitto's Biblical Cyclopedia, but because it presents the results of careful and learned investigation, and will stimulate, as every such book does, to the production of something still better, for theology, in order to maintain her rank as the queen of the sciences, must ever renew her youth and put on her beautiful garments.

The libraries of ministers and of theological seminaries will not be complete without a copy of this Dictionary of the Bible.

J. W. RICHARD.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation; 1483–1546. By Henry Eyster Jacobs, Dean and Professor of Systematic Theology, Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. Author of "The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Its Literary Monuments"; "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States." 1898. pp. 454. Price $1.50.

The enterprising Putnams have included among their excellent series of biographical and historical works a special series devoted to "Heroes of the Reformation." No one will question the propriety of including Martin Luther in this series, nor even, indeed, that of giving him the distinction we find on the title-page of this book, viz., "the Hero of the Reformation," even though the "the" should be printed in type to indicate emphasis. So conspicuous was his leadership, not only in

beginning the struggle with the papacy but in every step of its progress during his life, that no group of the prominent participants in that great movement would be satisfactory without Luther as the central figure. We say this as a Protestant rather than as a Lutheran, and are quite sure that no Protestant will deny it. How, indeed, can he in view of the tributes paid the great Reformer by the leading Protestants of the worlds?

The life of Luther is given in this volume in comparatively small compass, and that will likely secure for it a wider reading. And yet the reader will find a compactness in its preparation that will satisfy him that nothing of real importance has been omitted. Its author had such facilities at hand in the way of libraries, that he, no doubt, found an "embarrassment of riches," and the sources of all his facts and citations of chief importance are given in foot-notes. He, too, had in hand a familiar subject, made familiar by almost a life-time of study and investigation. In addition to this, he has shown a remarkable skill in reducing to order his great mass of material and a notable conciseness and clearness of expression. There may be a feeling of disappointment, on the part of some readers, because of this compactness and conciseness in giving some of the dramatic incidents in Luther's life, such as his Marburg Colloquy or his heroic deportment at the Diet of Worms. But the prescribed limitations of his work did not allow lengthy descriptions, and we doubt whether Dr. Jacobs has any inclination to indulge in the picturesque style of writing.

The limitations prescribed for the author by the editor may account, too, for the comparatively cursory treatment of the mooted question as to whether the Augsburg Confession was sent by Melanchthon to Luther *one*, *two* or *three* times, for his inspection and revision, before it was read before Charles V. The first sending is stated plainly enough; the second can be inferred easily enough; but the *third* would not be inferred at all from any statement made on page 296, where the account is given. Perhaps it was intended to let that be a matter *sub judice*. And why may it not as well be so treated? Will not Luther's authorship of the Torgau and the Schwabach Articles, upon which the Augsburg Confession was based, make his relation to the Confession close enough? What if he did not hold the pen that wrote it? He furnished the material to its composer, and most heartily approved of it after it was written and read before the Diet. These are his words: "I am exceedingly glad to have lived to this hour, in which Christ has been preached in so glorious a Confession." What matters it whether he gave his approval immediately before or immediately after its public presentation? That which outweighs everything else is, that he *approved* it, and this is, perhaps, the main thing that Dr. Jabocs aims to tell.

No other biography of Luther has ever made so distinct an impress-

ion of what a busy life Luther's was, and of the enormous amount of work done by him under his adverse conditions. His lectures in the university were enough for one man, and yet, in all the perils of those times, he was ever engaged in writing controversial papers, carrying on public disputations, formulating doctrines, preparing catechisms and orders of worship, preaching, translating the Bible, carrying on an immense correspondence, giving directions for the public schools, giving his views to rulers in matters of civil government, writing hymns, etc., etc., and all this, too, at times when his health was much impaired. The reader is carried along rapidly through the successive stages of Luther's own development and his busy reformatory work with unflagging interest, and with a surprise that his physical powers endured the strain as long as they did.

Much is added to the value of the book by the carefully prepared index and two appendixes, the one giving the author's translation and the editor's analysis of the papal bull against Luther, and the other, Luther's confession. The series is under the careful and competent editorship of Dr. Samuel McCauley Jackson, Professor of Church History in New York University. If we may judge of the whole series by Dr. Jacobs' "Life of Luther," it will be one of exceptional excellence.

P. M. BIKLE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Easy Lessons in Vocal Culture and Vocal Expression S. S. Hamill. pp. 198. 60 cents.

The "essential and non-essential (?) elements" of Vocal Expression are presented in this book in a clear way, and with a reasonable appreciation of their relative importance. The book's material and arrangements are such as to make it helpful to one deprived of a teacher's aid. A teacher could wish no better basis for his class-work than is afforded by the material here found. The frequent drills in Breathing, Articulation and Gesture, which precede every lesson, are a commendable feature of the author's method. This is true, however much we may censure his very unsatisfactory treatment of Gesture. One can not fail to notice a slight overdevelopment, a burdensome subdividing, of some subjects that would, for the purpose of the book, be better treated, if treated in a more general way. The absence of recent developments in teaching expression will be noted. Nor will the reference to them in the Preface, atone for their omission.

The selections of the second part of the book are all standard.

A. B. B. VAN ORMER.

Christian Science and its Problems. By J. H. Bates, Ph. M. 1898, 12 mo., pp. 141. Cloth. Price 50 cts.

This book is directed against "Faith Cure" on its more pretentious side. The writer has sought to meet the passing strange philosophy of

Mrs. Eddy and others by a philosophy whose principles are legitimate.

The first two chapters are devoted to establishing "the Christian view of God and life." The third chapter deals with the peculiar views of Christian Science. In its divisions it takes up the principal doctrines in detail, *e. g.*, Matter is Nothing; The Mortal Mind; God; Fundamental Principles; Science; Evil; Proof Texts. For the Christian Scientist there is no matter. God is Spirit. God is All. So, "God, Spirit being all, nothing is matter." Therefore the problem is to wean "mortal mind" from its belief in matter as real, because to recognize disease, sin, evil, death, is to deny God, omnipotent Good, Life. In conclusion, the author examines a number of "cures" that have been heralded far and wide by the leaders of this movement to justify their position.

The book deserves a favorable reception because of its purpose. If the formal principles of "Christian Science" were better known, there would be comparatively few led away by the glitter of its phenomena. Many would turn away in disgust from the creed, who now pin their faith to the "cures".

The author has not made the most of his opportunity, because of an unhappy obscurity in language and plan. The reader is frequently left in doubt of the writer's application of conclusions and comments. A few rereadings, however, generally clear up the sense. One lays down the book with the conviction that Mr. Bates would have done better with a more extended treatise. JULIUS F. SEEBACH.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK; CURTS AND JENNINGS, CINCINNATI.

The Best of Browning. By James Mudge, D. D., introduced by Rev. William V. Kelley, D. D.

Robert Browning at one time when asked concerning the truth which he meant to convey by a certain poem, replied that he did not at that time know its meaning, himself, and not having at hand the volume containing the poem, he was obliged to obtain one, and refer to it before interpreting his thought. What more common, with those who write much in treatment of abstruse or spiritual subjects? Yet, even in this enlightened age, there are those who, lacking utterly in power of penetrative thought, and devoid of the poetical imagination, cover their own lack by asserting that Browning himself did not know what he meant. Again, weary of the interrogative assaults of the literary Philistine, Browning turned away inquiry by the assertion that he did not, himself, understand certain of his poems, which deal with a state of his own mind, an attitude of spirit, which must be experienced to be understood. Ever since, the scholastic Philistine flouts and scorns poet and poem, using his imagination only to erect barriers between himself and the poet's magnificent presentation of truth.

To such as these Dr. Mudge does not address himself in the book

before us. His best of Browning is best from the Christian standpoint. and is prepared avowedly for the Christian thinker: the busy minister and the intelligent layman. He presents Browning the theologian and Christian, rather than Browning the artist. Yet, he includes in his selections many of the poems which the great poet himself selected as his best, and which are universally acknowledged to be the finest by competent judges of literature. It is true that we miss from the volume any special reference to the fine local color and the realistic setting of some of Browning's lighter work, features to which the coming age of literature must yield a louder applause than it has yet won. And we could have wished, in Dr. Mudge's references to Browning as an artist, that he had called attention to the ease with which he wheels a long Latin derivative into his metre, and to his striking use of onomatopoetic rhythm, as the prattling measure of "Saul," where the boy David tells the story of comforting the great king. Or, the gallop of the verse in the poem, "Through the Metidja to Abdel Kader," where the expressiveness of the rhythm might stand alone. Here the single rhyme does duty through five eight-line stanzas; and as the poet brings the lone and anxious rider on through the darkening desert, the anapestic measure rings monotonously like the hoof-beats of a galloping horse. But as we read the book we are in part compensated for these omissions by the evidence that nothing is lacking in Dr. M's notes because of his own want of appreciation; but rather that he has not thought such references necessary to the particular end in view.

The book opens with an introduction by Rev. William V. Kelly, D. D. To such an introduction or preface in a work of a purely literary character, we object on general principles. No reader wishes to have his opinions formed for him in advance by assurances as to what he shall find in the pages before him. And Dr. Kelly's introduction is particularly objectionable in that it gives the opinion of various persons concerning Browning as a poet. The persons quoted all assert that Browning was a great poet, without indicating his great characteristics, or, giving any reason for the formation of such an opinion. Dr. Kelly professes to set up a court of inquiry, and to place various personages on the witness-stand. But the learned Dr. should remember that the bare expression of opinions is not allowed on the witness-stand to any not first proved to be experts in the matter in question; and who does not already know that Browning was a great poet and worthy of study, will not be able to guess that Dr. Kelly is bringing expert testimony on that point. In a word, the introduction is from the standpoint of the impressionist, and should not have found room in so valuable a work.

Following this introduction is a short word of explanation by Dr. Mudge, as to the purpose of the book, with a bibliographical list for those who wish to give the works of the poet more extended study. An ex-

cellent short biography of Browning is next given; then a chapter on "How to Read Browning." This portion of the book would be more satisfactory if the latter subject had received more direct treatment, and if Dr. Mudge had apologized less for the poet's literary faults. But we remember the Philistine, and withhold criticism. After an excellent chapter on the "Benefits of Browning study," the author takes up the work of selection and annotation, to which he devotes 182 pages of the 252 that the volume contains. Here the work is that of the philosopher, theologian and poet, or, the man who sees Browning eye to eye; one who is cosmopolitan in thought and sympathy, poetic in temperament and scholarly in training.

Dr. Mudge is a lecturer in the theological school of the Boston University, and brings no common talent to the work in hand. He gives the reader just the reference that saves an hour's search: a date, a remote fact in history, an outlined argument, a floating segment of doctrine; a touch here and there which makes lucid the mental atmosphere without taxing the memory or burdening the brain.

We heartily commend the book to the lovers of Browning; but more especially do we commend it to the earnest perusal of the thinking Christian. M. E. RICHARD.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Milton's Paradise Lost, with an Introduction and Notes on its Structure and Meaning, by Professor John A. Himes. XXXII–482.

In the past twenty-five years there has been notable progress in the teaching of English literature, and in the preparation of text-books. A generation ago the principal use of our great classics in many schools was to furnish material for parsing and grammatical analysis. This method was succeeded by what may be called the philological abuse. Its birth-place was Germany, whence it was imported into some of our ambitious institutions. The philological crank used the work in hand as the basis of exercises in the history and derivation of words. Both parsing and philology are important, but the study of literature should go far beyond them.

At the present time progressive educators, relegating grammar and philology to a subordinate place, aim at the mastery of a classic as literature, and therefore teach the student to grasp and follow the author's thought in all its fulness. In no other way can a masterpiece minister to the highest culture.

In the preparation of text-books to-day the editors generally take a knowledge of grammar and rhetoric for granted. Their efforts are directed to an elucidation of the text by showing its origin and structure, and in clearing up its historical and mythological references. Philology is introduced only so far as it may throw light on the meaning of the text. There is no other intellectual exercise more valuable and uplift-

ing than thus following the operations of a great mind in the full scope of its workings. The greater the genius and learning of an author, the richer are the results of this painstaking and thorough study.

The object of Professor Himes's edition of *Paradise Lost* is to lead the student and general reader to a clearer and fuller comprehension of Milton's masterpiece. The book before us is not to be classed with the easy, mechanical compilations of which there is no lack; it represents the careful and loving study of years, and presents the conclusions of original thought and investigation. It is a genuine contribution to the store of Miltonic scholarship. Its conclusions are presented with modest confidence; and the scholarly condensation and finish of the introduction and notes are altogether admirable. When the opinions of recognized authorities are controverted, the editor's views are generally presented in a clear, convincing manner.

The text is preceded by an introduction of twenty-two closely printed pages, in which the plan of the poem, Milton's conception of the universe, of the Deity, of man, and of the angels, are presented, and the peculiarities of his style are discussed. This general survey is a model of condensed treatment. In opposition to the common belief, Professor Himes maintains that the general plan of the work is based, not on the story in the first chapters of Genesis, but on the prophet's vision of the seven trumpets in Revelation. Whether we accept this view as clearly established or not, (and there seem to be exegetical difficulties in the way,) it unquestionably has the effect of lifting the whole poem into a more majestic region, and of investing it with grander proportions.

"The designated passage," says Professor Himes, "contains a vision of the judgments attending the entire course of angelic and human transgression. It is a view of the origin, the history and the final overthrow of evil. Its action begins before the creation, takes in the whole reach of time, and ends with the disposition of things for eternity. The scope and purpose of *Paradise Lost* are the same; the sevenfold division of the conflict between good and evil is the same; the separate stages are distinguished by the same features, rapidly sketched by St. John, more minutely drawn and filled up from other portions of Scripture by Milton."

To most readers Milton's conception of the universe is wholly unintelligible. Even so acute a student and critic as Ruskin pronounces the poet's conception of space and locality, vague and indefinite. Professor Himes shows that this charge is unfounded, and that Milton had a clear and consistent, though scarcely scientific, conception of the universe. A diagram, showing the relative location of heaven, hell, and the world or cosmos in the infinite realms of the empyrean and of chaos, makes the poet's conception intelligible almost at a glance. It is needless to say that this explanation adds very greatly to the clearness and sublimity of the poem.

As is well known among theologians, or even among those acquainted with Macaulay's famous essay on the poet, Milton was an Arian. His unorthodoxy would hardly be suspected from the casual reading of *Paradise Lost*, which has in some sense been adopted by the Church as its epic. The poet adheres closely to the language of Scripture. But when attention has been called to his Arian belief, which was clearly stated and strongly defended in his posthumous work entitled *Christian Doctrine*, it is easily recognizable in the poem. "The Messiah", says Professor Himes, in explaining the poet's faith, "seems to bear the same relation to the angels in heaven as he did during his incarnation to men on earth—he reveals to them the mind of God and shares their nature. In him the Father is visible; he has, therefore, a definite form and is a limited or finite being."

The poet's portrayal of our first parents, particularly in their state of innocence, is full of interest. It gives us his ideal of what mankind should be in their physical, mental and moral constitution. It is an ideal of almost matchless beauty. His description of Adam and Eve before the fall exhibits his conception of what the relation of the sexes should be. Whatever harshness may have appeared in the life and prose writings of the Puritan scholar in regard to marriage and divorce, it does not appear in the beautiful visions of the poet. "The free motion of their own minds, the pursuit of their highest enjoyment, secured perfect harmony of action." Let us hope that the world is making its way back to this "statelier Eden."

This admirable edition of Milton's masterpiece suggests many other points of interest, the consideration of which would extend this review too far. The reader is therefore referred to the attractive volume itself, which can hardly fail to give a clearer understanding of the poem, and to awaken a deeper admiration for the poet's mighty genius.

F. V. N. PAINTER.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

The Old Testament Story. Retold for Young People. By W. H. Bennett, M. A., Hackney and New Colleges, London.

The New Testament Story. Retold for Young People. By W. F. Adeney, M. A., New College, London. 1898. 12mo. 2 volumes. pp. XIV, 200, 204. Price 60 cents each. Cloth.

Though these two volumes are by different authors, their unity of plan is such that they may be considered together. The authors, especially Mr. Bennett, are evidently in sympathy with the results of higher criticism.

The O. T. volume begins with the history of the patriarchs, and carries on the tale to the fall of Jerusalem under Zedekiah. Then the folk-tales of Israel are introduced, giving the cruder accounts of Creation, the Fall, Cain and Able, the Flood and the Tower of Babel.

After this comes the return from exile, called, "The New Israel." This is followed by what the author considers the later folk-tales of Israel, *e. g.*, Creation, as set forth in the first chapter of Genesis, and the longer account of the flood.

The N. T. volume takes the synoptic gospels as a basis, introducing "some stories from John" at the end. After this comes "The Disciples at Jerusalem" and then the "Story of Paul."

The books are very well written, being admirably adapted, by reason of the simplicity of their plan and language, for "the young people;" but it is to be regretted that the authors allowed the simplicity of their plan to be too much in evidence. One misses the familiar faces of some of the Judges, *e. g.*, Samson, and listens in vain for the sound of David's lyre and the voice of a number of the prophets. For similar reasons the N. T. volume also seems imcomplete.

The books are well printed and finely illustrated with pictures true to oriental life. The latter cannot fail to be helpful. There is but one fault to find with the work of the printer, and that is the continuous numbering of pages in the two volumes. The first volume also contains the best of illustrations and the table of contents for both volumes.

Altogether the books are a great advance over the moralizing juvenile paraphrases of the Bible with their impossible illustrations. They tend to satisfy a great need, but we await a work of larger scope.

JULIUS F. SEEBACH.

A. C. ARMSTRONG AND SON, NEW YORK.

A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. By John A. Broadus, D. D., LL. D. Edited by Edwin Charles Dargan, D. D., Professor of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

The first edition of Dr. Broadus's work on Homiletics appeared in 1870. Its success was so phenomenal that in twenty-seven years it passed through twenty-two American and two separate English editions, and was translated into Chinese, and into "Portuguese for the Protestant missions in Brazil."

It has had powerful rivals in the works on the same subject by Kidder, Shedd, Hoppin, Phelps and Fisk. But its sterling common sense, its practical tact, and its wide scope, made it the favorite, so that thousands of copies have been sold. We doubt if any theological student, or preacher, ever read the book without being profited by it, and without being quickened with a sense of the dignity and responsibility of preaching.

In twenty-seven years the science of Homiletics has made great progress. Dr. Broadus, who continued to be a teacher of this science, and a preacher, to the day of his death, kept pace with the progress of his science. The results of his later years of study have been embodied in

this book, by his assistant and successor, Dr. Dargan. The result is that this twenty-third edition is a great improvement on its predecessors.

One of the strong points of this book is the treatment of "The Text." The author not only shows the advantage of having a text, and gives rules for the selection of texts; but he discusses with the thoroughness of an exegete the interpretation of the text. He insists that the preacher who stands up to preach God's Word, is bound to ascertain the *meaning* of God's Word, and has no right to make fanciful or puerile accommodations, based "on mere resemblance;" nor has he any right to say that such and such a passage *might mean* so and so. It is the duty of the preacher, by the use of dictionary, grammar and good commentaries, to ascertain the exact meaning of that portion of the Divine Word which he selects as the text of his sermon. A thoroughgoing application of the principles laid down by Dr. Broadus in this chapter, would result in sounder, stronger and more effective preaching, than is much that is heard from the average pulpit.

Under "the several parts of a sermon," Dr. Broadus treats of Introduction, Discussion, Conclusion. He does not find a place for the Proposition, or Theme, properly so called. We believe this is a defect in the book. With Aristotle we believe that the Proposition is fundamental to discourse. The instinct both of the speaker and the hearer, demands that he who speaks to others for their instruction or edification, should have a distinct proposition, theme, or subject; and we are perfectly sure that time and effort expended in working out and definitely stating the proposition, will be richly rewarded by greater effectiveness in speaking. Well has Prof. Phelps said: "A proposition, and a proposition studied, and often a proposition finished in elaborate and compact form, is a very vital part of pulpit discourse. Though but a fragment in form, it is an index to the whole style of thinking which underlies the form."

In the chapter on *Style*, Dr. Broadus discusses Perspicuity, Energy, and Elegance, with the hand of a master. Under the head of Delivery of Sermons he treats the three methods, viz., Reading, Recitation and Free Delivery, with great judiciousness, weighing carefully the advantages and disadvantages of each method, He greatly favors free delivery, but insists that for this kind of delivery there should be *fervent piety* in the speaker, and the most careful arrangement of the discourse. Dr. Broadus is the last man to couple such preaching with carelessness in preparation.

Part V. of the book discusses the "Conduct of Public Worship," and treats of Reading Scripture, Hymns, Public Prayer, Length of Service, Pulpit Decorum, Concluding Remarks. Every Christian, whether minister or layman, High Churchman or Low Churchman, ought to read these discussions. They are not only instructive, but edifying. The dissatisfaction often found with the conduct of public worship is

rightly traced for the most part to "the coldness, lack of animation, want of connection, and general slovenliness which in so many cases mark our worship." In our judgment it is neither the form nor the absence of form that makes worship interesting and edifying. It is the manner in which it is conducted, that determines its power to interest and to edify. From the beginning to the end of a divine service there should be close connection of parts and *progressive* movement. Without these two elements, so frequently ignored alike by the users and the non-users of a liturgical service, *worship* in the congregation is sure to become tedious and unsatisfactory.

We commend the study of this book to every pastor and to every student of theology. As artisans study the latest and best treatises on their several occupations, so ministers should study the latest and best sermons, and the latest and best books on the art of preaching. General reading, exegesis and dogmatics, furnish the materials for preaching; but homiletics teaches the art of arranging and using the materials to the greatest advantage.

The devout spirit that animates this book from beginning to end is not one of the least of its merits. It lays great stress on ministerial character. It closes with the words: "What a preacher *is*, goes far to determine the effect of what he *says*. There is a saying of Augustine, *Cujus vita fulgor, ejus verba tonitrua*,—if a man's life be lightening, his words are thunders." J. W. RICHARD.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, 66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

Modern Reader's Bible; the Psalms, Vols. I. and II. By Richard G. Moulton, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago. Price 50 cts. a volume.

These two little books are a part of a series known as the Modern Reader's Bible, which when finished will make about twenty volumes of about 250 pages each.

These books are not printed in the form usually adopted in the printing of the Bible, but are presented in modern literary form, showing distinction between prose and poetry and in poetry even between the different metrical forms. The mechanical arrangement of this text is by itself of great value in that it aids materially in appreciating the beauty and force of the Psalms and in attaining a better understanding of the thought they contain.

The text in this modernized form is accompanied by an introduction and by explanatory notes which, however, concern themselves almost exclusively with the literary aspects of the Scriptures.

Vol. I. contains an introduction to the whole five books of the Psalms—the text of the first two books—and explanatory notes to the same.

Vol. II. contains the remaining three books of the Psalms and the

book of Lamentations—explanatory notes to these and an index to the whole.

At the beginning of the notes to Vol. I. there are two general notes of great value—on the Metric System of the Psalms and On Direct Metaphor in the Psalms. In the case of well-marked groups such as the Dramatic or Acrostic, the author comments on the whole group in connection with the first example that occurs, and when the same groups are met later on reference is made to these fuller notes.

All the different terms used in designating the various forms of metrical composition are briefly but clearly described, and the form adopted in the different Psalms is pointed out.

Another excellent feature is found in the titles or headings that are given to the chapters, which serve to indicate their general contents to the reader.

There can be no question but that the Psalms read in the form adopted by Prof. Moulton, and examined with the help furnished in his introduction and explanatory notes will become more attractive and interesting as literary productions, and at the same time more helpful for purposes of devotion and for the development of the spiritual life.

E. HUBER.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Her Place Assigned. Walter E. Schuette. pp. 411. $1.50.

The Secret of the Canyon. Rev. Adam Stump. pp. VII, 347. $1.25.

These volumes are the John Rung Prize books for 1898. The purpose of that endowment is to stimulate authorship and secure, in time, a model Lutheran Sunday School library. The Publication Society has done itself credit in adding to the prize itself the attraction of such excellent mechanical work as that which we have in these handsome volumes.

The first volume gives the life-story of several members of the "Class of '81, Riverton High School." The history of these young people is designed to show that the "place assigned" for woman is the *home*, and that whenever she steps aside from its duties, even to gain a college education when she would be neglecting no other claim in so doing, she puts an end to her real usefulness and mars the beauty of her life. Helen Doner is a model school girl, a model daughter, a model sister, and perfectly fulfills her mission by becoming a model wife and mother. Her cousin, Corinne Hereford, longs to go to college and has no trouble to secure the consent of her parents. She receives a good education, becomes interested in sociology, and, being a brillant speaker, addresses large mass-meetings of laborers. While on a visit to her cousin Helen, she is brought painfully to realize that, although she could sway thousands of people in the auditorium, she cannot control rioters in the street, while Helen makes the mob her servants be-

cause one of them recognized in her "the lady as is always been helpin' my neighpor's wife that's been sick all winter." This sets Corinne to thinking, and finally wins her to Christianity and woman's true sphere.

The author's ability to stretch his story to the length imposed by the conditions of competition, is unhappily not equaled by his ability to write good English; and while we cordially commend the author's purpose to put a premium upon woman's devotion to the home, we cannot commend the Publication Society for sending out work done with such evident haste and carelessness. The language is often so inelegant, the descriptions often so incongruous, that we cannot suppress the suspicion that the book was meant to illustrate the warfare which the author wages against higher education for women.

The second volume is "an effort to describe the genesis and evolution of a mission-congregation of the western frontier." It claims to be a narrative, and not a novel. We follow the fortunes of a company of emigrants to the West in the '50's. The familiar faces of good old Pennsylvania families, Scandinavians, Norwegians, *et. al.* make up the party. The settlement, the first encounters with the Indians, the self-sacrificing work of a pioneer missionary, the birth of a western city, the trials of the scattered Lutherans awaiting the establishment of their church, all are vividly told. The romance of the narritive is the search of the pioneer missionary for his two lost sons; and "the secret of the canyon" was their identity with characters that play an important part in the narrative.

Mr. Stump is not a novelist, or he would keep his characters more truly self-consistent; he, too, has fallen a victim to the temptation to expand for the sake of expansion; but, all in all, he has drawn a picture which we shall want to preserve in the history of our church in America, and, although it is not artistically executed, it is true to the original.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Baptismal Regeneration not Taught by the Lutheran Church. By Rev. M. J. Firey, D. D. pp. 92.

The object of this little book is to prove that the doctine of Baptismal Regeneration is not taught in any branch of the Lutheran Church, but that the doctrine that grace is conferred upon the subject in baptism has taken its place. The author affirms that the objectionable features of Baptismal Regeneration have been laid aside in the latter doctrine, but the name of the first has been retained. The discussion is calm, courteous, and interesting, and numerous familiar authorities are cited in support of the position.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

The Seven Calumnies. A controversy between Father Thomas McGovern, Roman Catholic priest of York, Pa., now Bishop of Harrisburg, Pa., and P. Anstadt, D. D., Editor of Teachers' Journal, etc. Third

revised edition. pp. 94. Price 15 cents post free. P. Anstadt and Sons, York, Pa.

Seven false doctrines and practices are charged against the Roman Catholic Church, viz., Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Salvation by Works, Infallibility of the Popes, Persecutions, Political Intrigues, Papal Bulls and Bible Burnings, which were denounced as Seven Calumnies by Father McGovern. The discussion is thorough and profitable, and sparkles with the wit and humor for which the author is so well known. One closes the book with the feeling that the venerable editor has the best of the argument. T. C. BILLHEIMER.

The Holy Sabbath Day. Its Institution and Obligation together with its Change from the Seventh to the First day of the Week. By Rev. P. Anstadt, D. D. pp. 16. Price five cents a single copy, or $2.00 a hundred, sent post free.

A timely publication, short and suitable for those who wish to inform themselves fully on the Sabbath question. T. C. BILLHEIMER

A Plain Guide Post. The Bible Way to Become a Christian. By Rev. Geo. Edw. Faber, M. A., Phoenixville, Pa. pp. 32. Price 5 cents per copy, 50 cents a dozen, $3.00 a hundred.

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ARTICLE I.

INFANT-FAITH.

By M. Valentine, D. D., LL. D.

This subject has been brought before the Church by the report, presented to the General Synod at Mansfield, of the Committee entrusted with the preparation of Orders for Ministerial Acts. The determination or adoption of such forms at any time and under any circumstances is a matter of very great import and consequence to the Church. For the character of these forms, constantly in use in the congregations, necessarily affects the views and sentiments of the whole body of its ministry and touches the life of the people from infancy to the grave. But the importance of the step in the present instance is made more than ordinarily serious by the fact that the work of the Committee, as found in the report, proposes for adoption, among other questionable changes, a formula for infant baptism which involves a radical breaking away, not only from the views and usage characteristic of the General Synod through its entire history, but from the sentiments and liturgical practice of the historic Lutheranism of the United States back of the General Synod, of which the General Synod is the legitimate succession. Two formulas for infant baptism are offered, drawn from Lutheran Orders of the past. Both formulas represent the child as "seeking baptism," "desiring God's everlasting grace through regeneration," "asking" and "knocking"—forms of expression directly implying intelligent apprehension and wish on

its part. But the first formula, placed as the main or leading one, to which the second becomes an alternative, clearly and fully recognizes and treats the infant presented for baptism as itself personally a believer or having faith for baptism. The baptismal questions are addressed, not to the parents or sponsors, but to the child:

"Dost thou renounce the devil, and all his works, and all his ways? *Answer:* Yes, I renounce.

"Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? *Answer:* Yes, I believe.

"Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead? *Answer:* Yes, I believe.

"Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Christian Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting? *Answer:* Yes, I believe.

"Wilt thou be baptized? *Answer:* Yes, I will."

This language, all through, it will be observed, assumes child-faith, not as a *result* of baptismal grace, but as what the infant has *before* baptism, as a precondition on which it is to be baptized. And the reach and fulness of this faith, concerning which question is made and answer is given, will be observed. It embraces the whole range of the great theological truths and historical facts and Christian hopes of the Apostles' Creed, from the first article concerning God and creation, through all the supernatural work of redemption, to the person and work of the Holy Ghost, the Church, sanctification, the resurrection of the body and life everlasting. As to all this the infant is asked: "Dost thou believe it?" and the answer is received: "Yes, I believe."

How thoroughly this formula, offered for consideration and adoption, asks the General Synod to break away, not only from

its own historic position on the subject, but from the whole earlier attitude and development of the Lutheran Church in America, becomes apparent by a glance at the facts in the case—facts with which, it is to be feared, some of our clergy and many of our people are not familiar. From the very beginning of the movement for common liturgical forms in the Lutheran Church of this country, it was adverse to such as address the questions to the child, and for the adoption, from the rich treasures of Lutheran Orders, of such as address the questions to the parents or to sponsors. Of course, no movements for a common order could be made before the period of synodical organization was reached, in 1748. But among the first acts of the Ministerium or Synod of Pennsylvania, at its second convention, in 1749, was a resolution unanimously adopted, that "in the future, parents shall in baptism be asked: "Do you in the name of this child renounce," etc. "Do you in the name of this child believe," etc.* The Liturgy known as the Liturgy of 1748, into which this rule passed, was never printed, but each pastor provided himself with a written copy for his own use. It seems to have supplied the ministry of the Synod with a uniform order down to 1786. For the adoption of this rule, at that early date, the Church is indebted to the patriarch Muhlenberg and his eminent co-laborers from Halle, whose soundness in doctrine, ardent piety and wisdom have been conceded to be so clear and conspicuous as to call for most grateful remembrance.

A glance at the Lutheran Liturgies from that date down to the present, on this point, is not only suggestive but impressive. We note them as they lie before us.

1. Kirchen Agende der Evangelisch Lutherischen Vereinigten Gemeinen in Nord-America. Under resolution of Pennsylvania Synod 1785, by Just. Heinrich Christian Helmuth, Prest., and Johann F. Schmidt, Sec. Among the other members of the Synod at the time were such men as the patriarch Muhlenberg, Nicolas Kurtz, J. C. Kunze, Henry Muhlenberg, Jacob Goering, Danl. Kurtz, etc. The questions are addressed to the

*Documentary Hist. of the Ev. Luth. Ministerium of Pa. and Adj. States, p. 26.

sponsors, who answer and desire the child to be baptized on the faith they themselves have professed.

2. Liturgy and Hymn-Book, issued by Dr. John C. Kunze, Senior of the Lutheran Clergy in the State of New York, 1795. The questions are addressed to the parents or other sponsors.

3. The Liturgy, Gospels and Epistles, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York, 1806. Questions to the parents or sponsors.

4. Liturgie oder Kirchen-Agende der Evangelisch-Lutherishen Gemeinen in Pennsylvanien und den benachbaren Staten. Edited by Schaeffer and Maund, 1818. The parents or sponsors are questioned: "Do you in the name of this child renounce," etc. Three forms are given, but in no one is the child addressed.

5. Formulary, for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Compiled by a Committee, appointed by the Synod of Ohio, and ordered to be printed, 1830. The parents or sponsors addressed: "Do you, in the name of this child, renounce," etc. "Do you believe," etc. An alternative form given, but with the same principle.

6. Hymn-Book and Liturgy for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Published under resolution of the Evan. Luth. Ministerium of New York, 1833. Questions to the parents or sponsors.

7. Liturgie und Agende: ein Kirchenbuch für die Evangelish-Lutherish Kirche in den Vereinigten Staten, 1842. The preface signed by the representatives of the Synod of Pennsylvania, New York, and of Ohio. Parents or sponsors bring the children, and to them are addressed the questions.

8. Liturgy for the Use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By authority of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states, 1860. The Committee, whose chairman was Dr. B. M. Schmucker, issuing this, state that it was to be presented to the General Synod at its next session, in order that if that body should see fit, it might be adopted for general use. In it the parents or sponsors are addressed in the baptismal questions.

9. The General Synod inherited the views and forms which

the earlier development of the Lutheran Church in our country had approved and established, on this subject, and has, in the various editions of its Liturgy, steadily and consistently maintained them. Believing parents have been regarded as the proper persons upon whom baptism should bind the responsibility of training their children in the faith and obedience of Christ; and of them, or of others as "sponsors" in certain relations and conditions, the baptismal profession and vows have been uniformly exacted.

These liturgies show the position historically taken and maintained by the Lutheran Church in the United States on this subject—a position that has been moulding its thought and life for about a century and a half, until the General Council in its new Order of Ministerial Acts, adopted in 1889 changed its position and approved an order which credits the infant with being a believer as it is presented for baptism by addressing the baptismal questions directly to the child. The report of the Committee of the General Synod proposes to follow this movement. It repudiates the past attitude of the Synod, and becomes revolutionary in its significance. The change of front proposed brings additional emphasis to this whole question of infant-faith, involved in the offered formula. Changes, either back to lost ground or as new departures, are not to be condemned if there is reason for them, or gain secured to truth or spiritual life. A deep conviction that there is no good reason for the change and that it would be against both these interests, explains the present discussion—which is intended to recall attention, as briefly as possible, to the essential historical facts and theological principles and truths involved in the whole subject of infant-faith, and to be helpful to a just judgment and right conclusions on pending questions.

I. The first thing, to be distinctly fixed in mind, with its proper proof, is the great historical fact that child-faith was not held by the Christian Church nor any part of it during the fifteen centuries from the apostles down to the Reformation. This is a fact of great significance, not always remembered or considered. The proof of it will become clear and indisputable

to any one who will examine the Church's great writers, especially along the lines of Scripture exegesis and of positive theological teaching. We present enough to illustrate the nature of the proof, and place the fact itself beyond question.

1. In the way of *exegesis*—say of Matt. 18 : 6 or Mark 9 : 4 : "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone," etc. This, though differently interpreted among Protestant commentators, has been so often appealed to as an explicit teaching of infant-faith by the Saviour Himself, that we might naturally expect to find scripture interpretation from the first and continuously recognizing and asserting it. It is not at all our purpose to discuss or argue the exegesis of these passages, but simply to give evidence and illustration of the fact that the interpretation identifying "these little ones which believe in me" with unconscious children or infants had no place in the exegetical mind of the Church of all those centuries. If such view was expressed by any of the church writers we have not been able to find it. A careful search through the Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, with the aid of the best indexes, and other available sources, exhibits the following results:

Clement of Rome (A. D. 92–101) touches the subject only in one passage. Reproving the Corinthian Christians for their strifes, divisions and schisms, he reminds them of the woe declared by Christ against putting stumbling blocks before "one of His little ones" (Matt. 28 : 6; Mark 9 : 42), and adds "Your schism has subverted [the faith of] many, has discouraged many, has given rise to doubt in many, and has caused grief to us all." He does not identify "these little ones which believe," with infants, but with the adult members of the church.*

Hermas (A. D. 100–140). In "The Shepherd" or "Pastor," manifestly characterizing the "little ones who believe" of Christ's address in Matt. and Mark, he explains the "twelfth mountain" believers to be those Christians who "are *as* infant children," who "always remained as children," "*like* children all the days of their life." "All of you, then, who shall remain stead fast,

*1 Ep. Cor. c. xlvi.

and be as children, without doing evil, will be more honored than all previously mentioned."*

Clement of Alexandria (A. D. 190–202) refers to these passages again and again. In one place he makes the language "one of these little ones" mean generally "one of mine."† In another he speaks of "the angels of the little ones, and of the least, which see God," as equivalent to an angelic guardianship "reaching to us."‡ In another, writing of Christ's awards at the judgment day to all His servants who have shown kindness to fellow-disciples, feeding, visiting, clothing, etc., he says: "Such Christ names children, and sons, and little children, and friends and little ones," quoting: "Despise not one of these little ones; for their angels, &c.§

Origen (A. D. 210–254) in his Commentary on Matthew interprets "these little ones which believe" as believers in general.||

Athanasius (A. D. 298–373) gives a letter of Julius, Bishop of Rome, in which Eusebian leaders of the church at Corinth are rebuked for their unbecoming and contentious ways as grieving their "brethren," contrary to the admonition of Christ against offending "even one of the little ones." The "little ones are understood to be adult fellow-Christians.¶

The Apostolic Constitutions apply Matt. 18 : 6 to "*the newly baptized*," and to "the Catechumens," and to "the youth of both sexes," who may stumble by "observing" a bishop profaning his office and dignity.**

Gregory, of Nazianxen, (died A. D. 390) in order to prevent his fellow-Christians from stumbling at his flight to Pontus wrote a Defence, prefacing his careful explanation, with the statement: "We know how inevitably those who offend one of the little ones will incur the severest punishment from him who cannot

*The Pastor, Book III. c. XXIX. †Stromata, Book III. c. XVIII.

‡Stromata, Book V. c. XIV.

§On the Salvation of the Rich Man, c. XXX. XXXI.

||Book XIII. 26–28. See also De Principiis, Book I. c. VIII., Against Celsus, Book VI. c. XLI.

¶Defense Against the Arians, c. II. 21. Similarly in Hist. of Councils of Arimenum and Seleucia, Part I. 2, and Letter to Dracontius, XLIX, 1.

**Book II. sec. III, 9.

lie." He interpreted "the little ones" not as unconscious children, but Christ's humble disciples.*

Chrysostom (died, A. D. 407) applies Matt. 18 : 6, not to little children or infants as liable to be caused to stumble, but the people whom the priest's ministry is to guide in truth and life; and he uses it to express the responsibility of his office of teaching and service.†

Augustine (died, A. D. 430) applies the designation, "these little ones" to Christians in general, without hint of supposing Christ meant to designate infants by it.‡

Gregory, the Great (died, A. D. 604) follows the same principle of interpretation.§

But it needless to pursue the exegetical line of evidence any further. For the second form of evidence will make abundantly clear the continued failure of theology to read the doctrine of infant-faith from the Scriptures. But the reader will notice the significance of the fact that in these chief early writers of the Church nothing more than this is found in connection with the two texts of Scripture which some modern dogmatists are wont to ask us to accept as direct and explicit divine declaration of such faith.

2. We turn to the proof found in positive *doctrinal teaching and explicit dogmatic conclusions.* It will show not only how thoroughly absent was belief in infant-faith, but how positively it was disowned and repudiated. There is abundant testimony to infant *baptism*, and to infant *salvation* through baptism, from the apostolic days onward; but these were always based on some other conception than the existence of personal faith in children before the age of self-consciousness and knowledge. In the *apostolic fathers* and most of the earlier *Church fathers*, no word on the subject is found, except the exegetical indications, already referred to, that they had no idea of such faith. Yet, all through, some positive proof on the subject is continually found in the fact that their distinct and uniform definitions and descriptions of faith present it as something not predicable of

*Oration, II. 2. †On the Priesthood, Book VI. 1.
‡City of God, Book XXII., c. 29. §Epis. XVIII.

children until the period of understanding is reached. The very conception of faith made it impossible to credit it to unconscious infancy. So the evidences of its positive repudiation began to appear. We call attention to them.

Tertullian (A. D. 190–220), it is well known, opposed infant-baptism, and said: "Let them become Christians [be baptized] when they have become able to know Christ."* He argued erroneously, but from the conceded point that infants, not yet self-conscious or capable of knowing the gospel could have no personal faith.

Chrysostom (A. D. 347–407), in a sermon on the Paralytic let down in the midst of the house for healing, maintained that he, as well as those that brought him believed; and asks: "Why so? 'Is not one man healed,' you say, 'because another has believed?' For my part I do not think so, *unless owing to immaturity of age, or excessive infirmity he is in some way incapable of believing.*"† This language was plainly shaped by the practice of baptizing children in their unconscious infancy.

Augustine (A. D. 354–430), as is well known, puts the faith of the sponsors' for that of the child: "Credit in altero, quia peccavit in altero."‡ But he has given full and explicit statements covering this whole question in the church down to his day. We can quote only in part, but must quote at some length:

"As in the thief, to whom baptism was necessarily wanting, the salvation was complete, because it was spiritually present through his piety, so when the sacrament itself is present, salvation is complete if what the thief possessed be unavoidably wanting. And this is the firm tradition of the universal Church, in respect to the baptism of infants, who certainly are yet unable 'with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth to make confession unto salvation,' as the thief could do; nay, who even, by crying and moaning when the mystery is performed upon them, raise their voices in opposition to the mysterious words; and yet no Christian will say that they are baptized to no purpose.

"And if any one ask for divine authority in this matter, though

*On Baptism, c. XVIII. †Homily on Paralytic, 6. ‡Sern. 294.

what is held by the whole Church, and that not as instituted by Councils but always practiced, is rightly held to have been handed down by apostolic authority, still we can form a true estimate of the value of the sacrament of baptism in the case of infants, from the parallel of circumcision which was received by God's earlier people. Abraham was justified before receiving that as Cornelius also was endued with the Holy Spirit before he was baptized. Yet the apostle says of Abraham himself 'that he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith,' having already believed in his heart, so that 'it was counted to him for righteousness.' Why then was it commanded him that he should thenceforward circumcise every male child on the eighth day, though it could not yet believe with the heart, that it should be counted to it for righteousness, but because the sacrament in itself was of great import? * * As therefore in Abraham the righteousness of faith went before, and circumcision the seal of the righteousness of faith came after; so in Cornelius the spiritual sanctification in the gift of the Holy Spirit went before, and the sacrament of regeneration in the laver of baptism came after. And as in Isaac who was circumcised the eight day, the seal of the righteousness of faith was given first, and (since he imitated his father's faith) the righteousness itself, the seal of which had gone before in his infancy, came after. So in infants baptized, the sacrament of regeneration goes before, and if they maintain a Christian piety, conversion in heart, of which the mystery had gone before in body, comes after. And as in the thief the gracious goodness of the Almighty supplied what had been wanting in the sacrament of baptism, because it had been missing not from pride or contempt, but from want of opportunity; so in infants who die baptized, we must believe that the same grace of the Almighty supplies the want, that, not from perversity of will, but from immaturity of age, they can neither believe with the heart unto righteousness nor make confession with the mouth unto salvation. So when others answer for them, that this sacrament may be administered to them, it unquestionably avails for their consecration, because they cannot answer for themselves. But if another were to an-

swer for one that is able to answer for himself, it would not be of equal avail.

"By all these things it is shown that the sacrament of baptism is one thing, the conversion of the heart another; but that a man's salvation is made complete through the two together. Nor are we to suppose that if one of these be wanting it necessarily follows that the other is wanting; since the one may be without the other in an infant, and the other without that in the thief, God in either case filling up what was involuntarily wanting. But when either is wanting intentionally, it involves the person in guilt."*

No evidence could be more conclusive than this of the utter exclusion of the idea of infant-faith from the mind of the early Church—unless it be an additional fact, in close connection. Boniface, a contemporary bishop, in perplexity about the form of administering baptism—a form originated, as historically conceded, by simply taking the form of adult or catechumenate baptism, with its questions addressed to the subject of baptism, adding only the service of sponsors, mostly the parents to voice the answers—wrote to Augustine for explanation on the following points: "How that can be reconciled with truth which the godfather answers in the child's name at baptism: viz., that 'he does believe,' 'does renounce,' 'will obey,' &c., when at present he has no sense at all, and what he will do hereafter nobody knows." Augustine's answer is before us, but too long for quotation. But whatever any reader of it may think about his success in the attempt to give justifying explanation of the perplexing formula, he will surely be impressed by the fact that, however pressed with the difficulty of explaining what the sponsor answers, "He does believe," "He does renounce," he does not fly to the desperate paradox of claiming or even admitting that the infant really has personal faith and actually believes the truths and doctrines about which it is questioned. All through, he consents that the answers are not true in their direct and proper sense, but only in a special sacramental one.†

*De Baptismo Contra Donatistas, Book IV. c. 23–25.

†For Augustine's answer, see Wall's Hist. of In. Bap. Part I. ch. xv.

This view is found continuously maintained through the following centuries and the middle ages among the great church writers. Not a single note of dissent have we been able to find, so far as the writers have been available for examination. We quote such as are found referring to the subject:

St. Hildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, (about 660 A. D.) wrote a book entitled De Cognitione Baptismi. He says: "Finally the same little ones, therefore, by means of the profession of another (alio profitente) either renounce the devil or believe in God, because of themselves (per se) they cannot speak. As sick, dumb and deaf persons, they themselves are baptized, others making profession on their account (aliis profitentibus propter eos).*

Leidradus, bishop of Lyons, (A. D. 799–913,) wrote a book De Sacramento Baptismi. In chapter X. he discusses: De infantibus vel his qui pro se respondere non possunt. Speaking of repentance and of renouncing the devil through the words of those who bring them, he says: "This whole thing is done in anticipation, when they are baptized, by the efficacy of the sacrament and of the divine grace which the Lord has given to the Church, on account of the virtue and administration of so great a sacrament, though by their own heart and mouth they do not do that which appertains to believing and confessing. Nevertheless they are counted in the number of the believers."†

Christian Druthmar, in his Commentary on Matthew, (about A. D. 850,) says: "Remission is bestowed on little children for the sake of the faith of those who respond for them, just as it is said of the paralytic, *Jesus seeing the faith of those who brought them, said to the paralytic: Son be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*"‡

Hugo, of St. Victor, (about A. D. 1141,) under the heading: De Suscipione Baptismi writes: "The sacrament and the matter of the sacrament (rem sacramenti) little children receive whenever and by whomsoever baptized. In these personal faith (propria fides) is not required. Also adults, provided they come with personal faith (propria fide) have both the sacrament and

*Migne's Patrologia, Tome, 96, p. 159.
†Migne, T. 99, p. 868. ‡Migne, T. 106, p. 1501.

the matter of the sacrament. In these personal faith is required, without which they obtain no remission. The sacrament and not the matter of the sacrament they have who approach hypocritically, or without faith and with an impenitent heart."*

St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, (about A. D. 1153,) in his tract De Baptismo, addressed to Hugo of St. Victor, writes: "Infants, indeed, because prevented by age, cannot have this faith, that is, conversion of the heart to God. Consequently they cannot have salvation if they die without having received baptism. Not that they even are cut off from faith absolutely, without which it is impossible for them even to please God, but they are saved also by faith, yet not their own, but that of others. It is proper and becoming the goodness of God that grace permit those to be benefited by the faith of others, who, on account of age cannot have a faith of their own. Nor does the justice of the Almighty think that personal faith should be demanded of those, who, he knows, have no fault of their own. There is need of the faith of others, since they are born not without the sin of others. To a degree that is not foreign to little ones which is spoken of all: *Purifying their hearts by faith*, (Acts 15 : 9). There is do doubt that the stain contracted from others can and ought to be removed by the faith of others."†

Peter Lombard, (A. D. 1100–1160) wrote *An Epitome of Christian Theology*, in which he says: "Concerning these words [of the baptismal service] it is wont to be asked whose they are, whether, indeed, the child's or the sponsor's. But whosoever words they are, he who answers certainly appears to speak falsely. For, if he answers concerning himself: I wish to be baptized, he indeed speaks falsely, because in his own consciousness he does not have a wish to be baptized. But if he speaks concerning the child, he cannot be wholly acquitted of falsehood. For he knows, without doubt, that the child itself does not have this desire, since it has no power of willing at all. I say even, the child is unwilling, as can easily be judged, because it resists as much as it is able. But we say that the sponsor speaks thus in his own person. Yet when he says, I believe, it

*Migne, T. 176, p. 130. †Migne, T. 182, p. 1037.

is as much as to say, I have a faith, through which the child can be saved. When, in like manner, he answers, I wish to be baptized, the sense is, I wish that the child may be baptized in my faith. Nevertheless the words are retained as the words of the child itself, that from the identity of the words of the child the identity of the sponsor with the child may be indicated."*

Thomas Aquinas (A. D. 1224–'74), discusses at length the question: "Whether children may be baptized." He first enumerates the difficulties in the way: 1. Intention of receiving the sacrament is required; but children are not able to have an intention, since they do not have the use of free will; 2. Baptism is the sacrament of faith, but children do not have faith, which stands in the volition of believers, as Augustine says on John; 3. Baptism is the answer of a good conscience toward God (1. Pet., 3, 21), but children have no conscience good or bad. But Aquinas answers to these points: "1. The spiritual regeneration, through baptism, is in some way like carnal generation, so far as this, that just as children formed in the maternal womb receive nourishment, not through themselves, but are sustained from the nourishment of the mother, so also children, not yet having the use of reason, formed, as it were, in the womb of mother Church, receive salvation not through themselves, but through the act of the Church. Whence Augustine says in his book concerning merits and remission of sins: 'Mother Church offers her maternal mouth to the children, that they may be endowed with the sacred mysteries, because not yet are they able with their own heart to believe unto righteousness, nor confess with the mouth unto salvation.' But, if therefore, they are rightly called believers (fideles) since they in a certain manner (quodammodo) they profess faith through the words of those bringing them, why, also, may they not be held as penitents, since through the words of those bringing them they are shown as renouncing the devil and this world? And by the same reason can they be called *intendents* (*intendentes*), not through an act of their own intention, since at the time they themselves resist and cry, but through the act of those by

*Chap. XVIII.

whom they are offered. 2. As Augustine said, in the Church of salvation children believe through others, just as from others they have drawn the sins which are remitted in baptism. Nor is their salvation hindered if the parents are unbelieving. Because, just as Augustine says, children are offered for reception of spiritual grace, not so much by those who bring them in their hands (although also by these, if they are themselves good believers) as by the whole society of the saints and faithful. For they are rightly regarded as offered by all whom it may please that are offered and by whose charity they are joined to the communion of the Holy Spirit. 3. Just as the child when it is baptized believes not through its own self but through others, so not through itself but through others it is interrogated, and those interrogated confess the faith of the Church in the person of the child, who is united to the faith through the sacrament of faith. And the child obtains also a good conscience in itself, not indeed by the act, but by the habitude (habitus) through justifying grace."*

In another place, in answer to the question whether children in baptism obtain grace and virtues, Aquinas, admitting that faith stands in the voluntary capacity or activity, yet maintains that baptism does effectually confer them, by *infusion of the new life of Christ.* Quoting Augustine for it he says: "Mother Church supplies to children the feet of others that they may come, the heart of others that they may believe, the tongue of others that they may confess. And thus the children believe, not through their own act, but through the faith of the Church which is communicated to them."†

We have quoted so much from Aquinas, not only because of his commanding prominence among the scholastic theologians, and because his testimony shows how steadily the theological mind of the Church yielded to the psychological incredibility of the idea that an infant can possess or exercise personal faith, but because his statements reveal so many of the other conceptions of ecclesiastical and sacramental grace with which the administration of baptism had come and continued to be associated.

*Summa, Part III., Quest. 68. †Quest. 69, Art. 6.

Bail's Summa Conciliorum Omnium. We have made careful examination of this great collection of the acts of the Church Councils from the beginning to the date of its issue in 1659. Though the Councils at different times made deliverances on the Necessity, the Mode, the Times, and the Effects of baptism, we find none teaching or suggesting the idea that infants believe.

Were any further evidence needed on this point it is found in the rise and contentions of the anti-pedobaptist sects in many places during the latter part of this long period. For the very basis of all these contentions against infant baptism was the universally admitted view that infants do not possess or exercise evangelical faith. They formed a large phenomenon, from the days of the Petrobrusians in the twelfth century onward through the wide and extending agitations which thrust the questions involved upon Protestant theology.*

We sum up the result of this historic examination of the question of infant-faith through the fifteen centuries of Christianity from the apostles down to the Reformation, viz., that such faith was recognized neither by the theologians nor the Creeds of the Church. The exegetical mind of the Church discerned no such doctrine in the Scriptures, and the creed-making Councils of the Church formulated none. On the contrary the notion of infant-faith was distinctly disclaimed, though infant baptism and infant salvation through baptismal grace, were steadily maintained. Though in this maintenance the Church simply used the formula of adult baptism, modifying it only in the service of the parents or sponsors to voice the infant's answers to the baptismal questions, it fully recognized that the child in its unconscious immaturity had as yet personally no faith, but became in some way, by baptism itself, a partaker of the faith of the Church, the body of believers, into whose grace and life baptism organized the child. This was the status of things at the opening of the Reformation.

2. We advance now. How was all this changed, so as to give place to a doctrine of infant-faith? Under what circumstances and through what considerations and motives did it

*See Newman's "Hist. of Anti-Pedobaptism," Philadelphia, 1897.

find favor? A glance at this is needful in order to throw the whole subject under such light as will exhibit its relations and significance as it presents itself among us for practical consideration.

Luther's work as a reformer was progressive, and continually developed the necessity for new readjustment of doctrinal details with the recovered view of the way of salvation and the establishment of the fundamental positions of Protestantism. It was a profoundly reconstructive movement, advancing, in a deeply agitated period, through ever fresh emergencies calling for quick solution of many complex theological and ecclesiastical problems. To keep the movement in self-harmony Luther had to make, on demand of sudden occasion, working-answer to various subordinate points in the evangelical doctrine and administration. In these his views show his advance toward the remarkable harmony of truth exhibited in the completion of his work. From the very first he made "*justification* (*salvation*) *by faith* the great basal doctrine in New Testament theology and living Christianity. This was the fundamental, all-determining truth, into harmony with which every truth must be shaped and stand. Faith in the offer and promise of the Gospel was declared necessary in the use of both the word and the sacraments. It is necessary, in order to understand Luther's task of harmonizing the details of truth amid the rapidly developing questions of his troubled times, to remember the scope and rigor in which this grand truth of justification by faith had to be maintained and kept in its full integrity and governance. The pressure of both Romish contention and Anabaptist error forced the whole subject of infant baptism into review under this fundamental gospel principle of salvation.

As those familiar with his writings well know, Luther's first idea of infant baptism, as an administration of grace, was conceived in close relation to the Roman teaching, resting it upon the faith of the sponsors or the Church which presents the child for the sacrament—after the conceptions suggested in the quotation from Thomas Aquinas. Their faith stood representatively

for the child. But as this connected the reception of the grace of the sacrament with a vicarious faith, "the faith of other persons," it seemed to him to be out of harmony with the rule of justification or with the absolute individualism which he thought to be required by the rule: "*He that believeth* and is baptized shall be saved." Hence he abandoned it, and set forth the view that in answer to the prayers of the parents, sponsors, and the Church in presenting the child, God bestows upon the child itself faith in which, as its own, it believes and receives baptism and the grace of salvation. He said: "Let the foundation stand firm and sure, that no one can be saved through the faith of others, but through his own"; and declared positively: "Baptism helps no one, and is to be granted to no one, unless he believes himself."* He guarded against the supposition that this faith might be viewed as only *anticipated*, not real at the time of the sacrament, and demanded it as a faith present before, or at least in baptism. As proof of the efficacy of the prayers of sponsors and the Church he used the success of the petition of the ruler of Capernaum in securing the gift of health for his servant, the promise: "If two of you shall agree," etc., and the passages in which Christ, as a present Saviour, blessed little children. This view of the subject made the child's own faith absolutely necessary for its right reception of the sacrament and of actual reception of the grace of the sacrament, justification and renewal. But Luther's advance did not stop here. Under the stress of the serious and unsurmountable difficulties which this view involved, especially the attributing of such infallible efficacy to vicarious prayers and the impossibility of knowing that they have been answered, unless by attributing to them an *ex opera operato* force, Luther modified his position so far as to turn the question whether the infant personally believes before or in baptism over to the doctors, and to declare: "We do not baptize it upon that, but solely upon the command of God."† He surrenders the idea that unless we can prove that the child has faith we should not baptize it and its baptism cannot help

*Sermon upon the third Sunday after Epiphany.

*Larger Catechism, Part IV.

or is without avail. Baptism has its authority, place, and validity by force of Christ's commmand. So "baptism is genuine though faith be wanting." "Therefore, let it be decided that baptism always remains true, retains its full nature, even though a person should be baptized, and yet should not truly believe."* If the child did not believe at the time, baptism nevertheless establishes God's own covenant of faith and grace, for the use of faith whenever it is awakened through the word and Holy Spirit, and abides in its validity and force as a means of grace all through the Christian's life.† This modification is of the greatest significance. It frees the administration of infant baptism from the demand that the child shall be regarded as a believer before its reception. It turns the view away from that question, and rests it on God's word of command. Though Luther himself personally still continued to believe in infant-faith, he fully consents to the truth that such faith is not essential to the valid reception of true baptism. Baptism thus attained the position as a means of grace, rightly administered to children under the terms of the everlasting covenant of salvation—in harmony with the essential faith of the Church in the past. And upon this freedom from the demand of infant-faith as precedent to right reception of the sacrament, and the resting of its administration solely on the divine command, the principle became established in the theology of the Lutheran Church: "We baptize, not because there is faith [in the infant] but that there may be faith."‡

Nevertheless, the old formula from adult believers' baptism, asking the questions of the children, with employment of sponsors to answer, remained mostly in use—but not universally. *The Cologne Reformation Liturgy* of 1543, which Dr. Krauth says, "is in its whole character distinctively Lutheran§ and is classed by Dr. Jacobs in the "conservative group of Lutheran

*Large Catechism, Part IV.

†For Luther's advancing views, see Koestlin's "The Theology of Luther," Dr. C. E. Hay's Trans., Vol. I., p. 399, Vol. II., pp. 45–46; Oehler's Symbolik, Sec. 166.

‡Sartorius, Doc. of Divine Love, p, 199.

§The Liturgical Movement in the Presbyterian Churches, p. 5.

Liturgies,"* addresses the questions of faith and renunciation directly to the sponsors.† It is a significant fact that while Luther and Amsdorf criticized the Cologne liturgy on the Lord's Supper, they raised no objection to the form for baptism. The *Austrian Liturgy* of 1571, prepared by Chrytraeus, one of the authors of the Form of Concord, also directs the question to the sponsors.‡ The *Strassburg Church-Order* of 1598, whose introduction signalized the victory of Lutheranism there, asks no questions of the child, but of the sponsors only.§ The *Erbach Agende* of 1560, simply calls on the sponsors to renounce the devil and confess the Christian faith, and omits the question: "Wilt thou be baptized." *The Agende for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony*, in 1880,|| when Saxony was under the full direction of such men as Ludthardt, Delitzsch, and Kahnis, gives one form which does not interrogate the child at all, but exacts of the sponsors a confession of faith in the Apostles' Creed, and a declaration that they confess this faith instead of the child. It is a complete departure from the objectionable method. In the *Liturgy of the Evan. Luth. Church of Wuerttemberg*, 1822, lying before us, the liturgy of a country distinguished for its steadfast Lutheranism, and for its great Lutheran theologians, five formulas are given, in not one of which are the questions addressed to the children. As to the usage of the Lutheran Church in America, the facts have already been stated. A return to the old formula, already adopted by the General Council and now proposed in the General Synod, tends to lay increased stress on infant-faith in general, and to rehabilitate among us the idea, so generally abandoned by our dogmaticians, that the infant has a personal faith *before* baptism, on which, as its own, it becomes truly recipient of the grace of the sacrament. Has this view anything to recommend it? Even apart from the psychological problem

*Christian Worship, Ten Lectures in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, p. 152.

†Richter's Evangelische Kirchenordnung, II., p. 38.

‡Ib. page IX. Also Höfling, Des Sakrament der Taufe, Vol. II., p. 101.

§Höfling, Vol. II., p. 115.

||Agende für die Evangelisch-lutherische Landerkirche des Königreichs Sachsen, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 170–172.

involved, has it a legitimate place in Lutheran doctrine. An examination of its theological relations will show, we believe, that it envolves assumptions radically at variance with fundamental Lutheran teaching.

We introduce this part of our discussion with several quotations. One is from Gerhard: "*Infants do not by birth bring with them faith to baptism.*"* Another from Dr. Frank of Erlangen: "It is foolish to inquire for a faith which children must bring with them to baptism, which perchance might be bestowed upon them through the word or through the prayers of the sponsors or the intercessions of the Church for them. All such things are figments, arising from a false application of a correct principle.† A third is from Dr. Plitt, of Erlangen, an authority on confessional Lutheran theology: "Child-faith is not a symbolical doctrine."‡ The full comprehension in which we are to take this assurance of Dr. Plitt, as to the non-confessional standing of child-faith, becomes evident when we recall the facts already given as to its absence from the ancient creeds and conciliar deliverances, and the well-known fact that it has no place in either the Roman or Greek Church, as well as its absence from the Protestant confessions. It is not in the Augsburg Confession, nor in the Apology, the Smaller Catechism, the Smalkald Articles, nor the Form of Concord. It is mentioned only in the Larger Catechism, and there in such way as to exclude it from the position of being regarded as the ground upon which the sacrament is to be administered, not having the place of a required doctrine in the use of baptism. But we turn to its positive inconsistency with Lutheran theology.

1. Its inconsistency with the *Lutheran doctrine of original sin* has often been pointed out. Beyond all question Lutheran anthropology is positively and strongly Augustinian as to the effects of the fall on all the race. It holds these effects to include the loss of original righteousness, and such an alienation from God and corruption of nature as to leave the child, according to

*Loci, XXXI. C. VIII., p. 196.
†Christliche Wahrheit, II., p. 64.
‡Symbolik, p. 64.

natural birth, without true love of God or trust in him. It puts emphasis on the sinfulness, guilt, and helplessness, apart from grace, of every child of man. The Augsburg Confession sets this forth in explicit terms. And Lutheran theology has insisted on this from the days of Augsburg until now—no touch of Pelagianizing or semi-Pelagianizing tendency being tolerated. It has made this conception of human nature fundamental for its whole view of redemption and the application of its grace. And yet here in this proposed formula, in clear violation of this fundamental position, the language, taken in its direct sense, represents the infant of a few days, offered for baptism in its natural state, as having Christian faith, as being a Christian believer, and it is asked to say: "Yes, I believe." The contradiction is square. Lutheran theology takes, as its basal view of the application of redemption, the thesis that human nature, by natural birth, whether from unbelieving or believing parentage, is alienated and without confidence toward God, and needs, as it lacks, the saving grace of faith and renewal. But this notion assumes that it already possesses the faith to which belongs all grace and salvation. Many of our dogmaticians, from Chemnitz down, have been wont to condemn the Reformed theologians for teaching, at least by implication that the children of believers, as born in the covenant of grace, are believers by natural birth. But this formula, treating infants as believers *before* baptism is far more open to condemnation than any implications found in the Reformed writers—except perhaps in Zwingli. Surely our formula of baptism ought not to teach what our Confession and theology deny. We might indeed hold to such infant-faith before baptism, in harmony with Pelagian denial of original sin and natural depravity, but it is without place in Lutheranism. For, as will appear, in truths yet to be noted, Lutheran theology, in other ruling principles and teachings, precludes all offered explanations attempting to validate the claim or supposition of such faith.

2. This formula, with the peculiar conception of infant-faith for which it stands among us, is in conflict with the Lutheran normative principle concerning "*the necessity of the means of*

grace" for spiritual or saving effects under the ordinary constituted order of the gospel. The reformers took clear and positive ground against all the wild fanaticism, culminating in the disorders of Zwickau prophetism, which set aside the word and sacraments as God's means of communicating his saving grace, under claims of immediate teaching and guidance by the Holy Spirit. They anchored themselves and the reformation securely to the word of God (the sacraments as visible word) as the rule of doctrine and the divine means or channel of enlightening the mind and working faith, regeneration, and santification. The Augsburg Confession lays down the principle: "For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the gospel, and administering the sacraments was instituted. For by the word and sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given, who worketh faith when and where it pleaseth God in those that hear the gospel."* In the Smalkald Articles, it is said: "We must firmly hold that God grants his Spirit or grace to no one except through or with the preceding outward word. Thereby we are protected against the enthusiasts."† In the Form of Concord: "Moreover, the declaration (John 6 : 44) that no one can come to Christ except the Father draw him, is right and true. But the Father will not do this without means, and has ordained for this purpose the word and sacraments as ordinary means and instruments."‡ No one will claim that Lutheran teaching has guarded too carefully against substituting human fancies, as to the mode or manner of saving processes in spiritual changes, for the divine power of the truths of the gospel on the mind and heart through these means of grace. Our Church has made this principle so authoritative and ruling that a test of the genuineness of reported spiritual phenomena has continually been found in the question: "Are they explicable and validated under the certified power and action of the means of grace, through the Holy Spirit, as scripturally assured?" We dare not play fast and loose with this underlying principle of our theology. In the baptism of adults, the conditions are fulfilled, as is universally conceded. In such the faith has

*Art. V. †VIII., 3. ‡Sol. Dec., XI., 76.

come by intelligently hearing the word of God, and they *have faith* and regeneration *through* faith, and the baptismal questions are asked of them. But this proposed formula assumes that in the case of infants this great grace of faith—to say nothing yet of regeneration also—has been bestowed or wrought *before there has been any application or use of the means of grace at all*—wrought in them before they have been touched by the divine means, and viewed as a condition precedent to the right application of those means! Let the full size of this anomaly or contradiction be estimated. For this "faith" is the great, internal, decisive spiritual reality or condition on which all the great salvation depends and in which it is carried; and this is thus announced as already wrought as the child is yet only offered for baptism, in defiance of the perpetual teachings of Lutheran theology that it is only *through* the word, either alone or in the sacrament, that we are to look for spiritual grace or saving results. No wonder that even Kliefoth is compelled to say of this question, when directed to the child: "*Its necessary place is after the performance of the baptism*; for no one can call Christ Lord, except by the Holy Ghost."* Kliefoth, holding, in harmony with the Lutheran teaching, that in baptism the child is given and consecrated to the Holy Spirit, through the trinitarian formula, and is thenceforth under the Holy Spirit's grace and care, has seen clearly the incongruity of exacting of it this assurance of faith *before* it is baptized.

It is proper here to call attention to the utter insufficiency of the few offered explanations of the way in which the children have been supposed to come into possession of this faith. It is plainly gratuitous to credit it to intercessory prayer or to any imagined plan of God to exercise his power in this way. It is, indeed, presumptuous to ask or look for God, in answer to such prayer, to work *directly*—and it is a *miracle* when the effect is without means—the spiritual experience or activities for the effecting of which he has appointed suitable, adequate, regular means, divinely adapted to the rational, free nature of man, and doubtless comprehensive enough for all classes and periods of life. He

*Theorie des Kultus der Evangelischen Kirche, p. 187.

has given no assurance whatever that he has placed himself thus at the call of men for a kind of spiritual work for which he has made abundant provision of means, efficacious under the ordinary influences of the Holy Spirit. Without doubt intercessory prayer is right, and receives answer; but we are to look for the answer to come through his appointed channels, the means of communicating or effecting his grace. Is there a single word of assurance in the Scriptures that he has appointed intercessory prayer of parents or sponsors or Church to secure the needed faith in infants for their right baptism? If this were indeed the divine plan, in an ordinance so normal in the Church for all ages as infant baptism, would God not have given a clear word on the subject? And the weakness of the explanation is not helped out when it is suggested, by Luther and others, that an auxilliary action of "the word" coincides and unites with the prayers of the sponsors. Making a distinction between an *intelligent* hearing of the word and a spiritual hearing, they have intimated that the child is capable of the latter, while not of the former, and that the words of promise used in the service falling on the infant's ear may be a means of communicating the Spirit, and so, of working faith in its unresisting heart!* How much like a notion of *magical* action this suggestion involves, we leave to the reader. Beyond all rational doubt, except in its sacramental or visible form, as a seal of the covenant of faith, the hearing of the word, as a means of grace, is not applicable to infants, of whom Luthardt says, and as every sane man will concede: "When our children are baptized they know nothing of the transaction; for their mental life is still lying in that dreary slumber from which it but gradually awakens. * * Our children have no consciousness of what takes place at their baptism, for they have as yet no consciousness at all."† Certainly, explanations which involve such striking paradoxes as these are insufficient to relieve the formula of its plain inconsistency with the established principle of our church on the ne-

*See Koestlin's Luther's Theology, as above; also Luther's Bab. Cap.

†Saving Truths, p. 284–5

cessity of the means of grace. Rather they add to the embarrassment.

3. Further, the formula is in strife with the Lutheran doctrine of *baptismal grace.* Whatever differences of specific interpretation obtain all concede that the sacrament *is* a means of grace, is "for the remission of sins," a "seal of the righteousness of faith" and of regeneration. The Confession says: "Of baptism they teach that it is necessary, and by baptism the grace of God is offered, and that children are to be baptized, who *by baptism,* being offered to God, are received into God's favor." Art. II. says of original sin; "It is truly sin, bringing eternal death also upon all that are not born again *by* baptism" and the Holy Spirit. The Smaller Catechism declares: "It works forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe, as the word and promise of God declare." All this is what baptism is declared to look to, as the covenant "seal of the righteousness of faith." But if we assert infant-faith before the child is baptized, then according to not only Lutheran, but also all Protestant theology, both justification and regeneration have been attained *before baptism*—these both belonging to a state of faith. That which the Confession attributes *to* baptism, as the fruit of its grace, is had *before* and *without* baptism. The very office of baptism is vacated. If the Lutheran conception is correct: "We baptize, not because there is faith, but that there may be faith," and with it justification and regeneration, the offered formula displaces baptism from its declared relation for the results theologically assigned it. Its great blessings have already been communicated in answer to sponsorial prayer, and the baptism itself falls into the position claimed by Baptists, as simply a recognition of what has already been bestowed. We go over to the ante-pedobaptist principle that baptism is only for believing and already justified and regenerate persons.

4. The notion of infant-faith in this relation collides, hopelessly, with the Lutheran, and indeed all Protestant teaching, as to *the essential constituents of justifying or saving faith.* Every representation of evangelical faith by Lutheran theology rests

it in an intelligent apprehension of the truths and promises of the gospel. The promises and faith are correlative—reciprocally implying each other. Faith is universally defined as including "knowledge, assent, and confidence"—an intellectual perception of the gospel truth, a judgment of credence, and self-surrender or trust of the heart. Usually contrition for sin is also included. By reason of the vital and central relations of faith, as determinative of the whole doctrinal system and the Christian experience, scarcely any thing has been more carefully guarded than this doctrine. Page after page of quotations might be adduced from the confessions, teaching that saving faith can have no existence apart from a personal knowledge of the gospel and its promises: "For the obtaining of this faith the ministry of teaching the gospel was instituted," "God cannot be treated with, God cannot be apprehended, except through the word," "Faith cometh by hearing," "the faith that justifies is not merely a knowledge of history, but it is assent to the promise of God," etc., etc.

But it is utterly inconceivable, and carries with it a supreme absurdity, to suppose that the infant in its state of unconsciousness, and before a single faculty of intelligence is awakened into action, or it has received a particle of knowledge of the gospel, can realize or fulfill any of these well-defined and essential characteristics of faith. The formula, indeed, in its natural sense, in most puzzling disregard of the facts in the situation, assumes that it does possess a personal faith which has discerned a need and its divinely provided supply, and comes 'seeking', 'desiring', 'asking', everlasting grace through regeneration, and that while it cannot yet speak or vocalize its own answer, it has embraced in that faith all the vast sweep of metaphysical conception and historical truths or facts of the Apostles' Creed, in its trinitarian detail, beginning with God the Father Almighty, Maker, the work of creation, the work of redemption from the incarnation of the Son, through all steps to final judgment, the being and work of the Holy Spirit, the mystery of santification, on to the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting. But, in fact, is there a single element of the intellectual and moral constitu-

ents of faith, as theology has rightly marked them out from the Scriptures, really in the infant's psychical condition? Can faith, except *in a figure*, be attributed to it? We hazard nothing at all in saying that evangelical faith, with the content which our theology has defined and insisted on, and as expressed in the questioning on all the points of the creed, is a psychological impossibility. Knowing beyond all doubt that, as Luthardt has phrased the fact, the child is "not conscious of anything done to it," nor of "its own existence," can we regard the ceremony of this questioning in the service in any other light than as an enacted fiction, a solemn unreality?

It has been asserted, over against this affirmation of psychological impossibility, that "with God all things are possible." But where in the Scriptures has he given the first word of assurance, or at all required us to believe, that he intervenes in this extraordinary way to prepare the child for the sacrament, or that it is necessary that it should have such preparation? Certainly, to endow the unconscious child with the requisite knowledge to fulfill an act of faith, such as should include all the facts and truths of the Christian Creed, would be a mighty miracle. What is to certify such a thing? And one might well wonder in a sort of bewildered perplexity why, if God should indeed perform the mightier miracle of endowing it with such knowledge and faith, he should not complete the harmony of the baptismal service by adding the smaller miracle of enabling the infant to vocalize its own answers.

Beyond all question, the fundamental, standard, normative Lutheran definition of saving faith makes it, as well as the "hearing of the word," inapplicable to the infant subject of baptism. And the supposition of it is altogether gratuitous. Its imagined existence is, as has already appeared, against the consensus of Christendom for fifteen centuries. In the pressing necessities of the reformation period, in order to defend and hold fast infant *baptism*, which *had* the consensus of the Church, in the face of the violent assaults of the anabaptists on the one side, and the notion of the *opus operatum* of the Romanists on the other, Luther suggested this supposed possibility and claim

of the infant's being made a believer by God's power in answer to prayer. It is worthy of note, too, that in doing this Luther put himself outside of the consensus of the Church, and we may add, in disharmony with the statement of our confessors at Augsburg, that nothing was received among them at variance with the doctrine of the universal Church. And our dogmaticians early ceased to press the idea, and have treated infant-faith *not* as a thing possessed before baptism but as an outcome of the grace which it confers, in harmony with the principle: "We baptize, not because there is faith, but *that there may be faith.*" And why should this formula which assumes it in advance be accepted or tolerated since, not only is infant-faith "not a confessional doctrine," but is in utter and irreconcilable conflict, as has just been shown, with so many of the fundamental, essential and normative teachings of our Lutheran faith?

There never was any real necessity for the introduction of this idea. Lutheran theology has had, from the first, a full evangelical basis for infant baptism. It has always recognized infant membership in the Christian Church as inherited from the Jewish Church, and grounded originally in the force and demand of the Abrahamic covenant which, as "the everlasting covenant" of God with his people or Church, carried such membership on to the time of Christ and the apostles when the church doors were divinely opened for the Gentiles as fellow-heirs of the righteousness of faith. It has always recognized that that everlasting covenant, taking the family as a unit of faith in the faith of the head, and saying: "I will be a God unto thee and thy children," and requiring the parent to affix the seal of this covenant to his unconscious child as well as receive it himself, is the very *charter* of infant church-membership and carries with it the essential principle of *sealing* such relation with the "seal of the righteousness of faith." It has always maintained that baptism has been established in place of the old seal, circumcision. Nothing but the prevalent obscuration of the solidarity of the family life and of the office divinely given to the parental faith, during the middle ages, by the priestly and ecclesiastical arrangements, which largely vacated the parental spirit-

ual office by giving its obligations over to others, could have occasioned the temporary confusion on the subject. But our theology soon righted itself, as Luther himself did, by abandoning the claim of the necessity of infant-faith as a pre-condition for genuine and valid baptism. And our theology has completed the basis of a consistent view, in firmly maintaining that the children of believers have, by virtue of their believing parentage, immediate right of access to baptism and through it into the full covenant of faith. And further, in its leading dogmaticians, it has steadily maintained that even half-parentage in the faith places the children in the same relation of immediate privilege of baptism. In these teachings, wrought out and fully vindicated all through, our Church has fully recognized the principle that in the parental faith itself the conditions for the baptism of the children are fully met, without any necessity of finding or proving faith in the children themselves.

The consistency of our theology in this view is easily vindicated.

1. It starts with the divine covenant which at the beginning created infant membership in the Church. Dr. Krauth has well said: "Divine covenants do not require consciousness and intelligence on the part of all whom they embrace. On the contrary, they embrace not only infants, but prospectively generations unborn, as, for example, the covenant with Abraham and his seed after him, sealed by the sacrament of circumcision."*. This original covenant is the very one under which baptism, taking the place of circumcision, is now administered to children.

2. This covenant, being a covenant of *grace*, makes the reach of that grace include also the offspring of believers during their whole unconscious period or until developed into capacity for personal intelligence, choice and responsibility. To faith the covenant assures not simply the parent's own personal salvation, but the safety, in covenant adoption and love, of his children—at least until these children break the gracious relation. "The promise is to you and your children." God has organized the family as a unity. He has adjusted the scope and power of

*Conser. Ref., p. 578.

covenant grace to this unity. He respects the solidarity of the family life, as he has himself constituted it—not as a number of individuals cast together, but living in one circle of life, at basis physical, but also moral and spiritual; and grace is a larger thing than an arrangement simply to reach the parents without caring for, or incorporating in its provision the children also.

3. Infants, though unconscious of any thing done to them, are *not baptized in disregard of the principle of faith, and of the grace that is given to faith* under the plan of God's covenant favor and order. If the rule is correct, as we believe: "Not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament justifies," it is met in the fact that the parental faith is, by the covenant plan and order, the faith of the *family organism.* The family life is held as a *unit,* till childhood emerges into distinct personal self-direction; and the *faith* also of that unity of life acts for it, and is required to act for it, over that period. The parental faith brings the child to baptism, and represents it there—not as a fiction, but in reality. With respect to the child's physical, mental and moral welfare and training, the parental life is in full charge, under solemn responsibility. With respect to its spiritual life and development the same law holds. This life and development God submits to the formation and guidance of the faith that dwells in the parental life. The matrix of the parental life and faith holds the whole infant life and development till the age of independent, self-determining personality is reached. The infant is not out of the comprehension of the parental life or the parental faith. And when this faith brings the child for baptism, it is not baptized without the very faith which has been, in the Church's very charter, divinely empowered and charged to act for it, and through which covenanted *grace* reaches it. The child is not indeed a true child of God simply by its carnal birth, but passes into this position or relation by virtue of the force of the sealed covenant and the scope over which the parental faith is required and empowered to act for it. It thus becomes "an heir according to the promise"—the promise which says: "To you *and your children.*"

4. While the child is thus not baptized "without faith," it is yet not baptized upon what may rightly be called "the faith of

others." As between individual persons *in general*, persons in ordinary relation, there can be no vicarious faith, so that the faith of one may stand for another. But here it is not the faith of "*an other*," in the sense of any other individual, but the *parental faith*, that to which the whole plan and covenant of God gives peculiar office and blessing, for those whom God himself commits to it for keeping and formation during unconscious childhood and the advance to self-directing personality. The parental faith is to carry the child, as well as self, into the gracious status of the sealed covenant and church relation. This, undoubtedly, is God's gracious plan for the spiritual life and salvation of the children of the Church. And this is the equivalent of the putting of the truth by Dr. Kurtz, the Lutheran historian, when he says: "The will of the parents is unconditionally also the will of the young child. And so the *faith* of the parent is the faith of the child, which has not yet come to self-conscious independent personality."*

5. The design of this is not only that God may hold the children of his Church in a state of covenant adoption and acceptance, under guaranteed divine nurture in the gospel under the Holy Spirit during the period of childhood, so that in the order of their awakening and unfolding faculties they may come to *personal* faith and all the regenerate life, but that they may ever afterward draw assurance and strength from that same sealed covenant, till the work of renewing grace is complete.

We cannot forbear to note the light which this evangelical teaching of our Church throws upon the place and office of the parents. God has adapted the whole application of redemption, as a process of moral or spiritual recovery, to the nature of man and the constitution of life. He does not displace, but recognizes, the family as his own institution, and has framed the order of the saving application of grace to the children of his people so as to employ the office of care and nurture, made inherent in the parental life and position, for their spiritual, as well as their physical and intellectual welfare and development. By natural constitution God commits the guardianship and rearing

*Religionslehre, p. 199.

of childhood to the parents. Their will, in the order of household life, is made law, and the Second Table of the law enforces the principle of obedience. The whole redemptive economy of the world makes it sure that the family, with its headship of care and direction, was not preserved out of the wreck of Eden for simply physical and mental welfare, but especially for its spiritual office in the kingdom of grace. And the parental relation has adaptations for this which can be found nowhere else. For its great teaching and guiding service God has endowed it with a unique affection and loving interest. It is close, constant, and living. Not only has it unequalled vantage for formal teaching when the period of knowledge is reached, but it is a formative, guiding power for the infant-life before that, through the pure, sweet, Christian temper, the living spirit of the home, touching the awakening capacities and activities with directive influences. It was the Jewish parent that was to bring his child for circumcision, and then to teach and live into his child the faith and life of the covenant. It is the "fathers" that in the New Testament are directed to 'bring up their children in the nurture of the Lord.' In the early Church, it seems clear, the parents mostly acted as sponsors. But as time went on the exceptions became more and more the rule, until the natural and divinely named and empowered office was obscured and almost set aside. The growing ecclesiasticism tended to a favoring of Church arrangements and modes of administering grace, instead of abiding in the simplicity of evangelical ideas. "Sponsors," "god-fathers," authorized by the Church, comported better with the Church's assumed power of monopolistic and direct ministration of sacramental grace. Scripture principles undoubtedly justify the use of "sponsors," other than the parents, in certain adoptive or close relations, carefully limited and guarded. Our Church inherited an extreme usage, which it has sought to modify and adjust to evangelical results. But there can be no doubt about the over-use and abuse of this custom. God-fathers and god-mothers may be very godly and faithful, but they cannot get close enough to the growing little child to fill properly its opening mind and heart

with the truth of Christ and the moulding powers of Christian nurture, necessary for the safety and life of the covenant children of the Church. Martensen has connected the sad and deplorable measure of the non-appearance of real Christian life from infant baptism largely with the failure of the Church to make proper provision for the development of baptismal grace through the needful Christian training. Beyond all question, this setting aside of God's plan as indicated by nature and the Scriptures, through the practice of sponsorship, with its utter inability to do for the children what God has made possible to a close, tender, constant training by the parental faith, has enormously increased the failure of development of Christian manhood from baptized infancy and brought discredit on infant baptism. Our Church's progress in this country has been marked by a general effort to diminish the evil of substituting for Christian parents a sponsorship of others. It began early; for the phraseology of the Pennsylvania Synod resolution in 1749, already quoted, literally points out "the parents" as the proper sponsors. In the General Synod, especially, both the formulas and the teaching of our schools and pulpits have been directed to give emphasis to the obligation of Christian *parents* to assume and fulfill the covenant nurture divinely implied in infant baptism. And we believe it to be a great present duty of the General Synod to see to it that the baptismal formulas now pending, in neither of which even a whisper about the parents is heard, shall not pass into use without rectification.

The old formula has perplexed and misled long enough. It originated, indeed, in the manner stated, and came down to the sixteenth century without starting the paradox of an infant-faith before baptism. But it served the middle-age ecclesiasticism as a basis on which to build up its doctrine of *ex opere operato* administered churchly grace. It perplexed the casuists, from Augustine down, to free the sponsors from imputation of falsifying right in the midst of the holy mystery. It is perplexing to Christian parents still, as they are called on to voice an answer which implies that their infant of a few days is able to say truthfully, "yes," to the great facts and truths of the Creed. It

perplexes listening congregations, when they hear the unadjusted parts of the service, with its questions originally framed for adult well-instructed believers, and answers as from babes that know not what is going on, Well does Rev. Schuette, Professor of Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, O., eminently representative of the Joint Synod of Ohio, say of it, that it is "contrary to fundamental rules of liturgics whereby everything abstruse or misleading is to be discarded."* Its proposed introduction into our churches is the more incongruous, and untimely, inasmuch as there is in the fatherland a growing conviction of the need of getting rid of it. In evidence of this we quote from an address of Dr. Rietschel, professor of Practical Theology in the University of Leipzig, in connection with Dr. Köstlin's seventieth birthday, on Infant Baptism and the Lutheran Formula—address, in which, after development of the subject and quoting Kliefoth's statement of the proper place of the question to the child, he says:

"Kliefoth's word quoted above has simply the purpose of proving the impracticability of addressing the questions to the child before the baptism. But he expressly favors the direct questions to the god-parents representing the congregation, although, according to our view he misunderstands the question: "Is this the faith in which this child is to be baptized?" Böcks Ev. Luth. Agende has accepted as *first* baptismal formula one formed according to this order; and the Erlangen *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*† joyful hails the advance made by this and by the omission of the renunciation in the Lutheran Church, and continues: 'We know well what we say, also how such a word will be received. Nevertheless we say it, and even must say it: we evangelical Lutheran theologians who are really anxious for the truth and the true welfare of our people should for once impartially examine the question, whether it be not our *duty* to change the baptismal formula, so far as addressed to the child into one pledging not the child but the god-parents. It may be that churchly fanatics, clinging to the letter

*Before the Altar, p. 36.

†1872, edited by Hofman, Thomasius, and Frank.

of tradition and not willing to examine the same by the Scriptures, see an apostasy in such a change. But it is our opinion that what a man like Höfling retains only as symbolical, as drastic-plastic, may be tendered to children or a primitive age which in matters of faith preserves the old simplicity; but in a cold, prosaic age like ours, in the presence of a purely intellectual and critical tendency which comes to faith with so much difficulty, to wish to continue such things, nay, even to see in the retention of such things an act of faith and confidence—*this is inconsistent with the truth, this creates unnecessarily new offense for the gospel. This ought not to be done to-day, and we Evangelical Lutherans least of all ought to do it.*' "* (Italics are ours).

ARTICLE II.

THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS TO THE CAUSE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

By Hon. John M. Gregory, LL. D.

Does the scholar—the man of scholarly gifts and learning—owe any special duty to the cause of sound learning? If Yes; then it follows that the Christian scholar, the scholar of Christian beliefs and experience, owes some special duty to the cause of religious education.

The duty of the scholar to general education is the duty of intelligence to enlighten the ignorant, of the strong to lift up and help the down-trodden and weak, of the emancipated and free to liberate and give strength to the enslaved and oppressed. It is the divine obligation of the parent to help the child, the rich to help the poor, so that the wants of the one shall be supplied by the abundance of the other, and so as Paul said, there shall be an equality. This is nature's law and method of making men equal. Nay, higher and diviner, this is God's law, the law imposed by the Fatherhood of God on the brotherhood of men.

*Beitrage zür Reformationsgeschihte, p. 190.

Education is truth-learning, with all the light and power which the acquisition of truth implies.

Truth is eternal, infinite, divine. Richer than gold, sweeter than life, brighter than the light—life-sustaining, power-controlling, it lies imprinted on every page of the universe, and hidden in every molecule of matter. Truth discovered is knowledge; clearly understood and stated it is science; applied to human uses, it is art, invention, civilization, religion. Not all knowledge is religious; for much knowledge is partial, one-sided, mixed with error, if not also with evil; but all universal truth is religious. It is the imprint of the divine hand of the Creator, the footstep of the divine will, the expression of the divine wisdom. Hence all education is, or ought to be, religious. It can only fall short of being truly religious in so far as the knowledge it teaches falls short of being the truth, or is mixed with error.

If education be considered simply as the cultivation of the mental powers, still it should be religious in that high sense that it should cultivate that normal moral growth which develops the noblest nature, and fits man alike for duty and for his diviner destiny. Such development must be on the lines which truth marks out. The true manhood is morally upright, truth-loving and truth-serving. Its aspirations are uplifting, its ambitions seek true honor, true action, true destiny and truth in all things. The words of the great Master, "the truth shall make you free," reveal the sublimest end and aim of all true education; it is the soul-liberty, the life-freedom from the bonds of weakness, ignorance, lawless passion, unreasoning prejudice, false opinion, popular delusions, party or personal dominations, and from whatever fetters the soul, or limits the life-powers of mankind. The other declaration of our Lord, "I am the way the TRUTH and the life," is a concrete and still clearer definition of education in its higher and diviner meaning; It shows it in that splendid type of humanity, that sublime ideal of character and conduct which Jesus of Nazareth left for the inspiration and guidance of mankind; a character shaped by the inmost and utmost of the infinite truth of nature and of God, a conduct that keeps time and step with the endless verities of the universe. For what can the

highest aim and ideal of human education be, but to lift, ennoble and purify the spiritual nature of man, and perfect its likeness to our Father in heaven, who is perfect?

The point where education ceases to be secular, and becomes religious may be difficult to determine; but the thoughtful observer has seen how, as truth enters the mind the spiritual nature becomes thoughtful and refined, ideals are lifted to higher forms, and reflection deepens. The mind opens to grander questions of duties and destinies, and the universe around us begins to become resonant with voices which the uncultivated ear never hears. It is nature propounding to the soul the questions of the infinite, the eternal and the divine. The heart may remain unchristian because the understanding still remains darkened by unbelief; but just because and to the extent of the incapacity of this unbelief to receive the whole truth, the education must forever remain dwarfed and crippled, a sharpened intellect chained to a dead or dying faith.

There is a grand hierarchy of truths, answering to a corresponding hierarchy of powers. At the bottom or beginning, there lies a domain of facts and truths which the eye sees and the hand can touch. They are nature's visible forms, the mere phenomena of matter, as open to the child as to the grown man. Behind these lies another and slightly higher domain of proximate causes with the phenomena of change and movement, demanding something more than the power of the senses to perceive and explain them. Thence onward and upward, the hierarchy climbs through the realms of molecular force and motion; through life and its mysteries; through the science-discovered laws of being; through the wide and far reaching philosophies which only the pure intelligence comprehends; upward still, through the great moral realms where conscience enters the scene and the moral relations and rights of moral beings are to be studied; and so on through the successive realms of soul-life, and social life, up to that highest of all the bright domains of eternal and divine truth, in which God-inspired faith bends in the presence chamber of the infinite and omniscient, the omnipotent Creator of all.

Through all these, the path of human progress leads, and through all, the work of human education must proceed. However lowly and merely sensual it may be in its beginnings all its higher and final stages must be religious, or it must be false and a failure.

If these views of the great field of education are true then the duty of all Christian scholars to promote the cause of genuine religious education must be obvious. Not to make this highest education religious is to leave it imperfect, or worse, to condemn it to become satanic.

The sway of scholars over the field of education is clear and indefeasible. Themselves the leaders in all true learning, the chief beneficiaries of education, its favored children and the natural guardians of its scholarship and its schools, their examples lead and inspire, their opinions govern and direct the studies and instructions. And whether teachers in the class-rooms, or serving on school boards, or simply illustrating the power of education by a successful life, it is a fit return for the advantages which society and parents secured for them, to help others and to extend the areas of intellectual light and knowledge among the newer generations which follow them.

Too little account is taken of the power of the silent influence of the educated over the uneducated, especially of scholarly men and women of high standing over the school boys and school girls who from the midst of their books and lessons catch glimpses of some of these examples of the uses and power of sound learning. If inquiry be made of the first hundred college graduates one meets as to what set them on the work of getting a college education, we shall be surprised at the large number who will tell us that it was suggested to them by others, by the advice of some favorite teacher, the wish of the mother, the chance word of some scholarly man or woman, or perhaps by the playful question of some classmate. In nearly every case, the cause was nearly accidental—the result was eternal.

It has been said that a true teacher often teaches most when he does not seem to be teaching at all. It is unconscious teaching which most reacts on the character of the pupil. Especially

is this true of the Christian teacher. A double tie binds him to duty, and a double power haunts his words. Taught by the divine teacher, he is one of Christ's letters, known and read of all men.

But now limiting my argument to the Christian scholars who are also professional teachers, I do not affirm that all shall set themselves to teaching theology, or some form of Christian doctrine. Many lack the ability, others the time or opportunity for such specific teaching. It is religion in its wider and grander sense of faith in God and his Word; obedience to his laws, trust in his providence, and Christliness in character that the world needs. It is the unconscious teaching, the testimony of personal character, the simple confession of faith by men and women of known large intelligence which is most wanted and is most persuasive to all—to the young above all. Said a skeptical student to his room-mate, "What puzzles me is that the president of the university really believes in the Bible." His doubts were shaken by the evident faith of a great thinker and scholar. It is not learned argumentation which repulses and defeats blatant infidelity, but the solid faith of mothers and teachers, the steady belief of the solid phalanxes of Christian scholarship; these are the Bible's best answers to all honest doubt.

Scholarship owes another service to divine truth. It can easily explain when necessary the history and general character and purpose of the Bible, as shown not by extravagant eulogy, but by its practical influence in the world. We need not compete with the Mahommedan in panegyric of the book. They proclaim the Koran as the one sufficient miracle of Mahomet, and exhaust language in the attempt to paint its glories. Foolish people sometimes attempt to sustain our Bible by similar argument of indiscriminate panegyric, often provoking doubt where they thought to compel admiration. The map of the civilized world affords a better, because a practical proof of the real value of God's word.

It is generally useless to attempt to meet with argument the suspicions and reproaches which ignorant defenders and unscrupulous critics have cast upon the Bible; but scholarly teach-

ers may often relieve the needless doubts and timid fears into which honest souls are plunged by reason of their lack of wider reading. In these days when the so-called higher criticism is doing its work, there is double need of the steadiness of our veteran scholars to save the ranks of younger recruits from panic and defeat. The genuine scholar may not have followed the line of criticism, but he knows the small significance of most of the claimed discoveries. He knows also the solid strength of the great masses of truth which no criticism has touched. Some outworks of doubtful renderings and interpretation may have been shaken, but the great central citadels of divine doctrine stand unmoved, if not unassailed.

Finally, true scholarship is familiar with science as well as with religion, and is not alarmed by any seeming conflict between them. The unfathomable mysteries of matter and force that no science has ever solved prepare him to welcome the spiritual mysteries which have God and the soul of man behind them; and as the mysteries of one kind do not shake his faith in science, so neither do the grander mysteries of revelation shake his belief in divine truth. His steady, intelligent faith is a help and comfort to the unlearned and weak, and it enables him to make the argument for truth when needed, clear and effective for honest inquirers.

Christian scholars thus owe a double debt of gratitude and service to the Christian civilization which secured to them the education they have gained, and the religion which gives them strength where so many are weak.

ARTICLE III.

MAN AND PROPERTY.

By Professor John A. Himes.

The unequal distribution of wealth is an overworked fact of the socialists which disappointed politicians, unfledged commencement speakers and preachers on the hunt for evidence of man's depravity find a never-failing resource. Two hundred thousand persons, they dramatically declare, own half the wealth of the United States. Millionaires, multi-millionaires, with billionaires in prospect, are grasping that which ought to go of right to the poverty-stricken masses. Legislation favors the rich and aggravates the hard lot of the poor. No man ever honestly came into the possession of a million dollars worth of property. So runs the cant of pulpit and platform.

Now I venture to say that the differences in wealth are no greater than the differences in the actual usefulness of men to their fellows. Leaving out of account the positive criminal, whose utility must be treated as a negative quantity, compare an Edison with one of the somewhat numerous class that we speak of as "worthless." Between these two we have all grades, but the multitudes are in the lower. Likewise we have all degrees in wealth, but naturally those who have little are most in evidence. Not that the greatest wealth always goes to men of the greatest usefulness. These are sometimes neglectful of the advantages which economical laws put into their hands. The actual apportionment can only be regarded as a rough approximation to what is just to business capacity; it is, however, an approximation. In rare instances it may happen that an utterly worthless person is among the wealthiest but in far the majority of cases wealth is in the hands of those whose services have earned it and of those who know best how to use it.

To test the correctness of these statements it will be convenient to divide men and women into three classes. First are

those who set a high value upon material good and are willing to plan and toil and save in order to accumulate it. Sometimes genius to invent brings wealth speedily and as by magic. Sometimes steady toil, devotion to business, fidelity to trust and careful calculation lead on to fortune. Again, the willingness to save, to live for the future and abstain from present gratification carried through many years, perhaps several generations, results in large accumulations. Barring accidents and ill health, a steady purpose to accumulate, guided by ordinary common sense, is reasonably certain to reach its goal. Even men intellectually torpid, almost illiterate, and capable only of the lowest services have shown a surprising capacity for gaining wealth. Fine houses, well-cultivated fields, manufacturing plants, ships and mines go into the hands of such persons as if by natural affinity for them. They are willing to pay the price and thus demonstrate their right to possess. The fact of possession is *prima facie* evidence of their utility to the community.

There is a very different class, covetous enough of wealth some of them, others careless of it, all agreeing, however, in an unwillingness to pay the honest price for prosperity. The former become the chronic grumblers of society and by their persistency make credulous persons believe in their wrongs and echo their complaints; the latter are far more agreeable and under proper guardianship may pay society for their sustenance, though frequently the expenditure of patience required is excessive. "Give me a few cents to buy a cup of coffee," said one of the former to a law student on a hot day. "Drink water," was the reply; "that is what I do when I am thirsty." "I wasn't brought up that way," impudently returned the beggar. More amiable is the pair in Shakespeare, who having come suddenly into possession of valuable jewels spent them in purchasing monkeys. Most of them could hardly be taught the value of money by any possible experience. An overmastering desire or fancy calling for present indulgence will speedily empty their pockets of the last cent. Labor they will not except under supervision and compulsion, and that sort of service is likely to

be fitful and not to be depended upon. The reason why these last have nothing is because they earn nothing.

No separate census of this class has ever been taken, but if there were, I suspect that they would outnumber the prudent, thrifty class of those who plan for the future. Shakespeare sees that they cannot be trusted with property, and hence he has his spendthrift pair with a fancy for monkeys put under the guardianship of a wealthy merchant who knows how to spend money wisely and who manages their inheritance for them.

Suppose it true that half the wealth of this nation of seventy millions is in the hands of two hundred thousand persons. The figures are not so appalling when we reflect that upon each of these is directly dependent on the average a family of say five persons, making a million who draw upon this supply. Besides, these two hundred thousand are virtually the employers and guardians of a large number of the incompetent who are dependent upon daily wages for daily bread. The most important enterprises of the country wait upon the initiative of the wealthy. If wealth were evenly distributed, no single person could assume the risks. Whole villages are brought into existence and maintained by the establishment of some kind of manufacture under the supervision of a man of wealth. The vast bodies of wealth in the hands of individuals therefore minister not only to the advantage of the possessors but also to the comfort and sustenance of large numbers of dependents. Somewhat greater elegance of immediate surroundings along with the name and care of ownership are the chief points of difference between the proprietor and the beneficiaries of a great estate.

There is a third and most respectable class of persons who render important services to society without demanding an equivalent. They are content with a decent subsistence in the present and a modest provision for the future and find their enjoyment in other ways than the amassing of wealth. We are accustomed, I think, to underrate the services of those who devote themselves to social functions. Their presence in a community is an admonition against running to the extreme in utilitarianism. Still more serviceable are those who find their chief

enjoyment in unfolding the plans and purposes of the Creator in the construction of the material universe. Whatever discovery in physics, astronomy, geology, or physiology makes the plan more clear and certain brings delight far beyond that of the possession of palaces or lands. Others engage in search after the far more subtle laws of the spiritual world and feel themselves rewarded as they draw near the Infinite Spirit. Literature and art have their devotees who esteem the gold of the millionaire as dross beside their own incomparable treasures. They envy not but rather pity those who are content with Mammon's hoards and blind to the world's true riches.

With a large proportion of the people of the United States caring little for wealth and refusing to be burdened with it, with another large fraction either incapable of holding what they might perhaps be industrious enough to get, or both incompetent and improvident and with others eager, skilful and prudent, why should any one expect an equal distribution of wealth, or come hastily to the conclusion that the whole social system is out of joint because of the evident inequalities?

It seems certain that we need a class of men capable of accumulating large wealth which may be used either to encourage the scholar by establishing schools and furnishing apparatus for scientific research or to cheer the laborer by promoting industries which will give employment and support as well as ideals and inspiration. The thinker and the toiler both feel the impulse; the former in having means furnished for the dissemination of ideas fruitful in civilization, the latter in having a way opened in which those ideas can prevail. The splendid mansion of the man of wealth with its libraries, its art, its well-kept grounds and tasteful improvement of nature has an influence through a large neighborhood. The laborer's cottage will be cleaner, neater and more artistic for this presence. Men begin again to feel the obligation imposed in the original Eden—to dress the beauty of nature and to keep it. Cleaner and more convenient dwellings come finally to mean purer and more beneficent lives.

I do not forget that wealth is sometimes used to corrupt and oppress. There are debased and unscrupulous rich men as

there are idle and malicious poor men, or sophistical and dishonest scholars. But as a class I believe the wealthy to be benevolent and humane and their wealth to be better administered and more useful than if it were scattered in many hands. The demagogic outcry against the rich is unjustifiable and leads to the worst excesses under our government.

I do not deny that the mercantile spirit is excessive in this country or that Mammon-worship needs to be rebuked. This, however, should be done without violence either of act or of speech, without revolution which will destroy property or bring about a hap-hazard redistribution of it. The methods that have recently been proposed to correct admitted evils have had the effect of intensifying them and making the owners of property hold it with a firmer grasp.

I am not indifferent to the hardships of the poor. They are often great enough to drive men to despair. To those seeking honest employment help, kindness and encouragement cannot be refused without inhumanity. Undoubtedly legislation can do something to improve the conditions of labor, but help is needed for individuals rather than the mass. Arson, riots, confiscations, debased currency,—the remedies of mob- or legal-vengeance,—will inevitably make conditions worse instead of better.

The general remedy for all ills must be righteousness. Admit the right of men to property which they have honestly acquired or lawfully inherited. Scourge dishonest means of getting wealth as severely as you please, but insist that an honest creation of wealth is not only justifiable but meritorious, that industrious producers are benefactors and worthy of their reward. Number idleness among the vices; emphasize the duty of each man to give the world a fair equivalent for what he gets from it. The evils that cannot be reached in this way require individual attention and not general movements. They are the accidents of life for which sympathy and neighborliness afford the only relief.

One of the grievances of labor much exploited is that the laborer is commonly unable to support his family without their help. I confess that this does not appeal strongly to my sym-

pathy. Useful labor, within proper limits, is as obligatory upon the woman as upon the man, and helpfulness should be inculcated upon children early in life. Virtue and industry are companions; so are vice and idleness. With the former couple goes contentment, with the latter perpetual complaint. The necessity for labor is a very strong preservative force in society. It keeps man in touch with nature; speedily and mercilessly, though without malice, corrects errors of judgment and trains that invaluable faculty which we call common sense. It cultivates dignity, self-respect, and regard for the rights of others. It teaches the value of things marketable by showing what expenditure of brain and muscle is needed to get them. The woman as the usual purveyor of the family will be all the better qualified for her task by some discipline of this sort.

It is the business of the church both by precept and by example to teach the right attitude toward wealth. Unfortunately, though there are many notable exceptions, the clergy as a class have not the training which fits them to be teachers in this line. Too willing to be regarded partly as objects of charity rather than laborers worthy of their hire, there is probably no other class of men so lacking in a standard of value for their services. More liberally rewarded than other men in equally exacting professions, as a class they have and appear to covet the reputation of poverty. Forethought and prudence in expenditure become difficult and are likely to be abandoned. A free and easy optimism that "the Lord will provide," fortified by the history of such men as George Müller, of Bristol, whose "life of trust," I fear, has done no little harm along with the good, has apparently rendered them independent of natural laws and thus unfit to be the instructors of ordinary men and women.

Not to overdraw the picture I will admit that these conditions are changing for the better, but some consequences of the old state of things still remain. One of these is the disposition to make benevolence a matter of impulse or feeling rather than a matter of duty. A good collection is supposed to be the consequence of a strong appeal rather than of a careful consideration. And so in some cases it is. We have heard of congre-

gations under a strong impulse giving large sums—giving in individual instances more than sober reflection afterward approved as prudent. But appeals often fail; they succeed not according to the merit of the cause but the eloquence of the pleader; they cannot in the nature of things continue permanently effective. It is unwise to rest the charities of the church on so insecure a foundation.

Nor, on the other hand, is the tithing principle to be adopted. Its operation is unequal when, for instance, an income of $1000 used as the support of four persons is expected to yield as much for charity as the same sum used by one person. The history of priestcraft shows, besides, that tithes may be made greatly oppressive by allowing the wealth of a country to be gradually accumulated in the dead hand of the church, no longer for benevolent uses but for heartless luxury and corruption. The past does not indicate that the churchman can be trusted with wealth any more safely than the modern capitalist.

No principle which directs attention to earthly treasure as the ultimate end is a safe one. Gold in heaven goes into the pavement on which the saints stand to contemplate the "vision beatific" above them. So in this world there are greater and better things than money. Possess the people of this belief and the passion for wealth will be tempered and men will look at it sanely as only a minister to social and spiritual good. Make the church collections less of a show, less of a superstition; emphasize the end to be attained rather than the less noble means. The church should seem a spiritual rather than a financial institution and relieve instead of intensifying the desperate struggle for wealth. Covetousness on the part of the poor may be rebuked and liberality on the part of the rich may be encouraged by example, without strain or unreasonable means.

Lack of discrimination in the utterances of pulpit and platform is responsible for much of the unjustifiable hostility between those who own property and those who do not. Vicious employment of wealth, such as in debauching morals and corrupting legislation, should be unsparingly exposed and denounced, but never so as to lose sight of the fact that the vast

body of wealth is beneficently employed and the great majority of wealthy men are our most useful citizens. On the other hand, a clear distinction must be maintained between laborers who render faithful service and those who are ill-tempered, mischievous and seditious. The rich are not the enemies of the poor, but unscrupulous men of either class are the enemies of society.

The fact that some men have enormous wealth and others have none proves no injustice legal or social. It is likely that one per cent. of the inhabitants of the United States have also more learning than the remaining ninety-nine. One per cent. have more mechanical ingenuity than all the rest. The military skill of 25,000 regular troops is sufficient to overawe the whole civic community. Wealth is not the only source of power; it is not the only kind that may be abused; it is made tributary to the general welfare perhaps as much as any other. There is hardly a community where there is not charity enough to keep even the undeserving from starvation; and lest charity should fail law has provided for the care of the aged and unfortunate poor. We conclude, therefore, that there is no general grievance against wealth.

Many forms of labor, especially such as result in instruments of use and beauty, are a privilege and pleasure and might be chosen by such beings as we are, were our daily subsistence and comfort in no way dependent upon them. All forms of legitimate labor are better than idleness, and in the eye of reason the moral and intellectual rewards exceed the physical. There ought to be, then, and there is no general discontent of labor. The evils to be corrected have a limited range. A cheerful rather than a despondent view is the proper one to take; wide generalizations are misleading and altogether useless in helping to a right estimate of the much-discussed "problem of society;" individuals are not helpless; national and state legislation of a drastic kind is not needed.

We conclude, therefore, that reformers should devote themselves to the correction of particular wrongs and not waste their

indignation on supposed national sins, which cannot be found. Discrimination should always be made between a right and a wrong use of wealth as well as between legitimate and illegitimate demands of labor. Careful instruction in the production and use of wealth and other forms of power is better than denunciation. Moderation in the pursuit of wealth can be taught by example as well as by precept and it is well not to aggravate by our manner and spirit the mischiefs we pretend to correct by our words.

ARTICLE IV.

THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE ANIMAL SOUL.

By Rev. John Tomlinson, A. M.

St. Paul says, 1 Thes. 5 : 23: "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

This is a wonderful prayer. It embraces Pneumatology, Psychology and Somatology. That man is made up of body and soul, is a fact which we know by experience previous to all speculation and before we express it in precise scientific terms. But it is more difficult to define the relation between body and soul and to assign to each its boundaries. Some hold that πνευμα (spirit), ψυχη (soul), and ςωμα (body), signify the whole constitution of man, (Whitby.) Others hold that the ψυχη is the medium by which the purely *spiritual* in man, the higher and ideal life of reason, is connected with the purely animal, the grosser and sensuous principle of the natural life. They claim this human triad is supported by the language of Scripture, namely, ςαρξ, ψυχη and πνευμα. Comp. Biblical Theol. and Commentaries. It is a Rabbinical and philosophical notion that the person of a man is constituted of three distinct substances, namely, the rational spirit, the animal soul (life), and the visible body the tabernacle of the soul. Probably St. Paul meant only to distinguish πνευμα and ψυχη, as two different powers of the

same substance; or perhaps he writes in strong excitement and has heaped these words together, though they do not differ in meaning, in order to give his admonition more effect. The Hebrews and Grecian Jews often meant by πνευμα the superior faculties of the soul, reason, will and conscience and by ψυχη the sensual part the desires, (sinnlichkeit), which we possess in common with the brutes.

There are evidently two theories in regard to man, namely, *dichotomy* and *trichotomy*. The latter of these was the prevailing theory with the early fathers, Irenàeus, Nemesius, &c. Spener and other Pietists of the seventeenth century believed in the three-fold nature of man, and it is at present the doctrine of the *Evangelical* Lutheran Church. Indeed it seems to be a popular opinion that man has a body and animal life and instincts in common with the inferior creation. Whether St. Paul meant to sanction this view or not, may be a question; but be that as it may, there seems to be a foundation for his distinction in the constitution (nature) of man.

What then does the Apostle Paul, mean by the term *soul* in the text? I appeal to the irrational animals for an answer to this question. These animals do not possess *a deathless spirit*; for Solomon makes a difference between the spirit of a man which goeth upward and the spirit of a beast that goeth downward to the earth. Yet animals manifestly have something besides a body, which may be called a soul, they love and hate, they can be pleased or made angry. They have various and marvelous instincts and, *evidently*, possess memory. Just where reason ceases and instinct begins, it is difficult to determine. But take away from man the rational spirit and he will be like one of these animals. He will still have the body and this animal soul, the seat of the passions, affections and appetites. Now St. Paul includes in his prayer for the sanctification of the Thessolonians, the sanctification of this *animal soul.* Note some of the principal attributes of the animal soul. I mention among these:

1. The affection between parents and children. Animals have as much of this affection as is found in mankind. Animals will risk their lives for their young. To illustrate this point, at

least partially, I will quote the following. Out west last spring, two young men were ploughing when they found two young coyotes, a species of prairie-wolf. They tried to take the coyotes home. After a good deal of trouble with the father and mother, who tried to recover their dear babies from these, to them, cruel monsters, the men succeeded in driving the father and mother away, and then tied the babies securely in a bag. They watched the bag for a while, but as the father and mother did not attempt to come nearer than the edge of the wood, they thought they were thoroughly frightened and would not try to get their babies back. The men followed the plough from end to end of the field, passing the little creatures several times, but suddenly there was a strange sight when they turned down the field. It was the mother coyote dragging the bag with her babies in it across the field to the woods. She reached the woods with the bag, escaping the men, and there, probably, ripped the bag open and let the babies out. She seemed to know that to let them out of the bag in the field would mean recapture; she could run with them tied up faster than they could run if free. But there is no moral goodness or holiness in the affection of animals for their young.

So of the affection of parents for their children. It is a mere animal instinct. Parents don't love their children because it is a duty to do so—because God required it. Their affection for them is simply neither sinful nor holy in itself. Through the fall, however, it became sinful and leads into other sins. It is sinful when it is immoderate and excessive or when the creature is loved more than God. Eli preferred his sons to God and was awfully punished for it. All parents naturally love their children more than God and are more anxious to gratify them than to please God; they even murmur when God takes them away. A certain doctor once reflected very much on the goodness of Providence at the death of his child. Many parents, indeed, strive to amass wealth for them and neglect their souls. Then again this affection is sinful when wrongly directed, as when their bodies are preferred to their souls. Such parents care no more for their children than irrational animals. They don't pray for them, nor

instruct them, nor set them a good example. Such conduct is irrational. Sinful parental affection is sinful, too, when it don't proceed from the will of God. Parents ought to love their children for God's sake; because they are his creatures. Children are God's gift. He gave them to be trained and educated for heaven. Parents should love their children, because God requires it. But parents do not naturally thus love their offspring. Therefore there is nothing *morally* good in parental affection and much that is *morally* wrong. And the same is true of filial affection. Hence the mutual affection between parents and children must be sanctified or brought under the saving influence of the Gospel.

2. Again: Sympathy is an attribute of the animal soul. Many animals discover this feeling, and children feel it before reason operates. And even in older persons, it seems to be mere animal instinct; for it is not guided by reason. Many persons who are sorely pained in view of the corporeal sufferings of their fellow creatures, are not at all affected by the mental sufferings of others. Others avoid their suffering friends when they most need their assistance. Some have no compassion for suffering ones who have offended them. Neither do they feel any sympathy for the souls of men, no grief in view of the future miseries of sinners. If any one is sick of a mortal disease and flatters himself with the hope that he will get well, they will not say a word to undeceive him for fear of causing him pain, and often prevent others from speaking to the deluded mortal—will leave him die unprepared rather than perform a painful duty. How this compassion differs from that of the blessed Christ, who shed not only tears, but blood to save sinners. Our sympathy must be like that of our Saviour. We must have the spirit of Christ. Rom. 8 : 9. Paul says: "If a man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

3. Natural temper is *chiefly* an attribute of the *animal* soul. It is granted that some of the passions, *e. g.*, pride, ambition, avarice, envy, malice, revenge, &c., belong to the rational spirit, the immortal part; for evil spirits which have no animal soul are subject to these passions. Nevertheless there is *something*

in the natural disposition of man that may be called *constitutional.* *Some* people are constitutionally timid, mild, gentle, affectionate, &c., others are bold, irritable and obstinate. Some are naturally quiet and tractable, whilst others are quarrelsome and perverse. Some people are mild and gentle when well, but fretful and peevish when sick. When such persons become Christians, we expect them to manifest a better spirit. Such a temper must be sanctified by the blood of Christ. But St. Paul says, Heb. 12 : 14 : "Without holiness *no* man shall see the Lord." Therefore *he* also who has an amiable disposition must be regenerated and sanctified by the Holy Spirit in order to admission into heaven. *No one* naturally loves God or the Bible, Christ or the Church, prayer or the communion of saints. Now learn some lessons from the subject under consideration.

1. Man is totally depraved. He is entirely destitute of holiness. He is as destitute of holiness as a dead man is of life. He is dead in trespasses and sins. It may be asked : How is the animal soul connected with morals? Ans. Just as the body may be. It is a part of the man himself and it is his duty to control *his whole* nature, that it may not be an occasion of sin.

2. The sanctified and unsanctified differ in those respects in which they seem to be alike. Both eat and drink : the sanctified man eats and drinks to the glory of God, and the unsanctified man eats and drinks to gratify himself. Both love their children—in the one, love proceeds from the will of God, and in the other, it is simply animal instinct.

3. Amiableness is not holiness. Morality is not religion. They must be sanctified, or they will always be imperfect and sinful.

4. The consideration of this subject will enable us to understand *these* words of our Lord better, namely, "From him that hath not shall be taken away that which he *seemeth* to have." Everything which appears to be naturally good and amiable in sinners, *e. g.*, parental and filial affection, sympathy and a sweet disposition, belong to the *animal* soul. Now this dies with the body. Homer, however, speaks of the ψυχη continuing to exist in Hades and was supposed to have a definite form there,

but could not be seized with the hands. Ody. II. 207. The general supposition, though, is that nothing survives death, but the immortal part. At death, then, sinners who have no grace, no real goodness, will loose all this *apparent* goodness, these affections which make them appear good *here*, and nothing will remain but a spirit, wholly given up to the power and rage of malignant and evil passions. Thus from those who have *no* grace, no *real* goodness or holiness, will be taken away all that which they now appear to have.

REMARKS.

1. We should earnestly seek the sanctifying grace of God. This alone can stamp on our souls the image of God, consisting in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness.

2. We should aim at universal and complete sanctification. spirit, soul and body must be sanctified by the *all-cleansing* blood. The rational spirit, the accountable soul, the source of reason, conscience, free agency and responsibility, and the vital principle, and the body, the tabernacle of the soul, must each and all of them be sanctified by the grace of God.

ARTICLE V.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MIRACLES.

By Rev. A. B. Taylor, A. M.

Lest the above title should seem to some to be pedantic, it is fair to state that it is not satisfactory, but that it seemed to cover better than any other title, the ideas which it was desired to express. It is not the object of this paper to present the evidences for belief in miracles, but to remove some objections if possible and to smooth the way to their acceptance.

It has been customary on the part of many scientists to consider miracles impossible. And this idea has invaded even Christian circles to some extent, especially those branches of so-called liberal Christians. But for this denial of the possibility of miracles, there is neither a scientific nor a philosophic basis. Miracles are conceded by Kant and Fichte to be possible. They certainly present no absurdity to reason, but on the contrary, we can understand an important moral reason for them. Indeed, the most advanced scientific thought of the day freely admits the possibility of miracles. In recent years Professor Huxley has occupied a leading place among unbelievers. In a book issued a short time before his death, he says:

"May I be permitted to repeat once more that the statements denoted by the terms 'natural order' and 'law of nature' have no greater value or cogency than such as may attach to generalizations from experience of the past, and to expectations for the future based upon that experience? Nobody can presume to say what the order of nature must be; all that the widest experience (even if it extended over all past time and through all space) that events have happened in a certain way could justify, would be a proportionally strong expectation that events will go on so happening, and the demand for a proportional strength of evidence in favor of any assertion that they have happened otherwise. It is this weighty consideration which knocks the

bottom out of all *a priori* objections either to ordinary 'miracles' or the efficacy of prayer, is so far as the latter implies the miraculous intervention of a higher power. No one is entitled to say *a priori* that any given so-called miraculous event is impossible; and no one is entitled to say *a priori* that prayer for some change in the ordinary course of nature cannot possibly avail."

Physicial science has come largely to be devoted to the investigation of forces. But no one worthy the name of an investigator will claim that he thoroughly understands all forces or all forms of force, whichever way he chooses to express it. New forces will undoubtedly be discovered. No one will deny but that there may be force sufficient to produce the effects called by Christ, mighty works and signs.

The atheist and pantheist consistently deny the possibility of miracles, but if there is a personal God, miracles are clearly possible. If there is a God who made the universe, his power still to act within his universe cannot consistently be denied. If God produced all things, his power to cure a disease or heal a maimed limb is concluded on the principle that a whole is equal to all its parts. We can rid ourselves of the supernatural only by ignoring a personal God and reducing the universe to a system of blind forces. As to whether such forces are sufficient to account for the universe, is not at present our subject of inquiry. If, as many hold, there are presumptions against miracles, or a miraculous revelation, "there is no presumption against such a revelation, as we should now call miraculous, being made, at the beginning of the world."

It is said that miracles violate the order of nature, but at the beginning there was no order. The question whether a miraculous revelation was made at that time, and, indeed, the question of any miracle, can only be determined by the evidences. Bearing on this point of an early revelation, it is of great weight that the Jews, while in many respects inferior to the surrounding nations, yet maintained a pure theism. Could they have done this if it had not been for the supernatural revelation which they claimed to have received?

Miracles, so far from being inconsistent with the system of nature, have constituted a large part of the history of the physical universe. While by many the question of the reality of miracles is lightly cast aside, to other and more serious minds the question is one demanding fervid thought. On the part of many there is an earnest desire to have the subject clarified and to be satisfied of this basis for their faith. Let such observe that theology is a science as much as biology. Those who deny the possibility of miracles, do so from a limited scientific point of view. They deny the possibility of miracles because they are not to be accounted for from the principles of one field of study, while from other accepted principles they are to be expected. Miracles are regarded as a mysterious interference with the laws of matter and force, and therefore, they are regarded as impossible. But creation is a miracle. Could not he who produced the world, work other miracles of inconceivably less magnitude? Organized beings now succeed each other according to law, but the first tree, the first man, was a miracle. This remains true, no matter what creative theory is held.

Since the objection is so frequently made that miracles are a suspension of or interference with the laws of nature, it is in order to show the falsity of this position if possible. This objection strongly appeals to many who put the problem in this way: "I cannot believe that God would first impose laws on nature, and then violate his own laws. What would be the use of making them if they were soon to be set aside?" But does God set aside these laws? Miracles imply the introduction of a higher power than those which ordinarily appear, but they do not imply the superseding of the powers which are already present. Men do many things in which natural laws oppose them, as, for instance, when a building is constructed story after story. This process is in opposition to the law of gravitation, but that law is neither broken nor suspended. In fact, the stability of the structure depends upon the continuance of that very law. So when a disease is cured by means of ordinary remedies, we do not consider any law suspended, but we do recognize the introduction of a new power. Why, then, is it

necessary to consider that natural laws are suspended when Christ heals immediately? It is more philosophical to consider miracles as worked according to law than in spite of law. All the remarkable recent achievements of men have been made possible by their knowledge of natural laws. Man has not triumphed over law; he has triumphed through obedience to law. And the reason why his progress has been so slow is that he had to learn nature, the materials with which he had to work, by patient investigation. God, on the other hand, did not need to study nature, for it is his creation. He, because of his omniscience, is able to re-combine forces and to produce results which we call miracles.

A miracle is an effect wrought by God in a different way or in a higher sphere than man can understand. This conception of the subject, it is believed, will be acceptable to the scientist as well as in accord with the teaching of Scripture. Sir J. William Dawson, who is both scientist and theologian, recently expressed himself as follows: "My view is that the possibility of miracles is enormous, because God's knowledge and power are infinite, and ours very small and limited. Anything God thinks proper to carry out that goes beyond what we know becomes to us a miracle, and he may make it a sign for the advancement of our moral interests. A miracle is really God carrying out his higher designs in ways perfectly within his own power but beyond our power of comprehension of causes. The proximate causes of miracles are, however, sometimes revealed to us in Scripture."

A miracle is evidently an act seen from beneath. As we observe the world, we see various realms or kingdoms rising successively above each other. Because man is able to observe all the kingdoms beneath him, and sees them apparently leading step by step up to himself as their goal, he naturally concludes that he is the apex of creation. He concludes that he is above all else because he is able to see and appreciate what is beneath him but not what is above him. Is man's life so exalted that he cannot conceive a higher realm? No; the life of Christ, the only perfect man, can be interpreted only as he is regarded

as the gateway to the spiritual realm from which he came. Upon the border line between this life and that other, should we be surprised to meet that of which we have not heard and which we cannot explain?

A miracle is simply the exercise in a new way of almighty power, for the purpose, at times, of accomplishing ends not provided for in the system of nature, and at other times for the accomplishment of familiar ends, but more rapidly than usual. Physical scientists lay much stress upon the doctrine of the conservation of energy. They teach that energy, in whatever form it appears, is a part of the whole store of energy,—that the sum of energy is unchanging, and that it can be changed from one form to another. This doctrine will answer as an illustration of another doctrine, which appears to the author better adapted to explain phenomena than that of the conservation of energy, namely, that it is God who works both in the natural and in the supernatural realm.

An Indian story relates that a Brahmin, one of whose disciples had been perplexed respecting miracles, ordered a flower-pot filled with earth to be brought to him, and, having put a seed into it before the doubter, caused it to spring up, blossom and bear fruit, while he stood by. "A miracle," cried the young man. "Son" replied the Brahmin, "what else do you see done here in an hour than nature does more slowly round the year?" At the wedding in Cana, the wine which the guests drank had been slowly matured by a mysterious elaboration, through light, heat and moisture. Christ's production of wine out of water was more striking than the production of wine in the ordinary way only because rarer. As much of divine power was required to produce wine in one way as in the other. Christ chose for once to make wine directly out of water in order to accomplish a special end.

The question naturally arises, are miracles natural or supernatural? The reply to which the above considerations have been evidently leading, is that they are natural so far as God is concerned. The life, the character and teachings of Christ are all miracles, for they are inexplicable unless he is assumed to be

more than a mere man. And it should be remembered, before objection is made to miracles on the score of the invariability of natural law, that natural law includes the phenomena of humanity as much as any other, and that we have the phenomenon of "the son of man" to deal with in deciding what natural law really is.

From the study of the whole of Christ's miracles, it is evident that it is not easy to assign a purpose for every one of them unless we consider them to be the natural outflow, or overflow, of his divine energy. If he was indeed divine, he must almost necessarily have revealed at times what other men could not learn, and have done what other men could not do. Miracles are regarded as the appropriate concomitants of an incarnate God. Just as some men of exalted nature or genius will at times unconsciously manifest their superior nature or power, so, as a natural consequence of his divinity, Christ lived in an exalted sphere and regarded the world not as his master, as was the custom of men, but as his servant. It is fitting to regard his miracles as evidences of his divinity, as is so commonly done, but they are not evidences alone. They are the appropriate, if not the necessary actions of the Creator. "Christ's greatest miracle was to refrain from miracles until he was thirty years of age."

It is possible for us to go a step further and show that miracles are, in a sense at least, natural so far as men are concerned. Christ has been prophesied as a messenger from heaven, and it was appropriate that he should perform miracles to support that character. If any one should appear, claiming to possess a divine character, we would spontaneously demand that miracles be wrought by him. This shows that we naturally believe miracles to be possible.

Not only are miracles evidences for revealed religion; they belong also to the religion of nature. They are so natural a demand of human nature that even religious unbelief does not rid the soul of a desire for them. None are so ready to give heed to spiritualistic drivellings as those who deny the resurrection of Christ. Man is conscious of a spiritual as well as a material

side to his life, conscious that he is going on to a purely spiritual existence. Hence, one of the cravings of his nature is that the veil between the material and the spiritual be removed. Christianity, since it satisfies the universal cravings of the human heart, and is also in harmony with the real science, is of a miraculous character.

The Bible miracles, more than any post-biblical so-called miracles, seem naturally to have occurred because they fit the system of which they form a part. Jewish history and institutions, and the supernatural revelations and appearances in connection with them, form a whole. It is possible that mere testimony would not be sufficient to establish the Old Testament miracles if we did not find the appropriate conditions for, and results of, the miracles, in the experience of the Jews. It is even possible that there would not be evidence for the gospel miracles, sufficient to accredit them to the present age, if testimony was the only evidence for them. It is because the life of Christ, with its miracles, is seen to be the fitting climax of the long line of prophecy and of Jewish expectation, and because, streaming down from that life is a church history, in which is reflected his miraculous deeds, that thoughtful men adore and follow him.

It is frequently objected that there is no order among the miracles, that they are accidental circumstances for which there is no more motive at one time than at another. But it may turn out, after all, that miracles are according to law. It is true that we can, at best, but inspect miracles from beneath, only catching, here and there, a glimpse of a higher realm, and it is, therefore, evdient that we are not in a position to generalize much in regard to them. If the physical scientist, with all his learning, had learned modesty, he would have been saved from many rash assertions. To assert that miracles are without order is as unreasonable as to assert that many so-called chance events are without order, simply because the law for their occurrence has not been discovered. For it is understood by every one who has learned to think, that there is no such thing as chance. There is just as good ground for assuming that miraculous works are controlled by general laws, according to which, all

things occur in the physical world. Did we but occupy a sufficiently elevated point of view, undoubtedly we should see that, "round him in calmest music rolls" even that which to us appears disorderly.

It remains but to consider more specifically some of the more prominent objections to miracles.

Hume created a great deal of discussion by asserting that miracles are contrary to experience, and that, therefore, they did not occur. But is it not appropriate to inquire, to whose experience he refers? If he refers to his own and to that of his friends, he was no doubt correct. But there is abundant testimony that miracles have formed a part of the experience of some men. What grounds have we for assuming that miracles are contrary to experience? To our ancestors, the present wonders of electricity and of steam were contrary to experience, but these things are a part of our experience to-day. Man can now do what he could never do before. And it is not reasonable to assume that God, who is both omnipotent and omniscient, cannot do that which has never occurred in our personal experience.

Another objection, which is likely to have much weight with those adept in the theories of modern science, is that drawn from the law of the conservation of energy. It is asserted that the sum total of the forces of nature is a fixed quantity. And also that nothing can be added to that sum and nothing taken from it. According to this theory, it is held that all the force which drives our machinery existed ages ago in the heat of tropical suns, then in vegetation, and ever since as latent energy in the coal beds. And it is asserted that the claim to add anything to that total is subversive of modern science. But it may be replied that the physician adds nothing to the sum of forces when he heals a disease. He simply makes use of remedies whose properties are well understood, and so brings about a change in the condition of the patient. Since this is so, must Jesus have added to the sum of forces in order to cure a fever or heal the darkened sight? Those who give exclusive attention to physical science, are apt to exclude God altogether from

the active forces of his world. They deny that God is, or at least that he is present in the world, and so assume that if God works a miracle, he must act from outside the world. But the Bible assumes that God is present in the world,—that "in him we live, and move, and have our being." The chemist is within the world, and he brings about new products and new forms of force, by re-combining the elements which already exist. Cannot God, who is in the world as really as the chemist, bring about new results—miracles—by re-combining the existing material forces, or by exerting his own power?

Probably objections to miracles are most frequently raised on the ground of the uniformity of nature. We are told that, as nature follows unchanging laws in all her operations, miracles, which are held to be interferences with the laws of nature, are impossible. It is true that nature's laws are uniform, but let us inquire in what sense they are uniform. It is in accordance with nature's laws that people, who live in the vicinity of certain swamps, should sicken and die of fever. But, by means of drainage, swampy land is often changed so that it produces food for the support of human life, instead of the germs which destroy. Nature's laws remain the same but, in this case, another force, intelligently directed, has so operated as to entirely change the products of the land in question. Thus, by hundreds of resources of civilization, the operations of nature's unchanging laws are so modified as to bring new and useful results. In view, then, of the control of man over nature, will any one say that the Creator cannot still more profoundly change the operation of natural laws, since they are also his laws?

ARTICLE VI.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR: A PLEA FOR ITS WIDER OBSERVANCE.

By Rev. Frederick G. Gotwald, A. M.

There are many points in common between all who observe the Christian Year, whether they be Greek or Armenian, Roman, Anglican or Lutheran. And yet there are interesting distinctions and differences. For example, in the eastern church the Christian Year begins with the fast preparatory to Easter, while with the western church the year begins on the fourth Sunday before Christmas.

So in the western church usages differ as between the Roman and Protestant divisions, and again between the two main and original representatives of Protestants, the Lutheran and Anglican.

The Roman adheres closely and rigidly to its ancient usages. The Lutheran and the Anglican (after a Protestant manner) make the ancient usages conform to present needs. The Anglican practice is distinguished by greater order and more elaborate observances; the Lutheran by less uniformity and regularity, on account of the divisions between the German states.

All, however, as originally suggested, have much in common. In all, the different seasons, Sundays and feasts have special Gospels and Epistles, special Collects and Sequences, special Psalms and Introits, together with proper colors for the altar cloths and vestments.

Our first word would be concerning the principle which actuated our Reformers in the retention of the church year. They "changed only those customs which were contradictory to Scripture and admitted only those feasts and days which are based upon Scriptures and separated from common days by a gospel fact." They distinguished between the use and the

abuse of the system. They simply aimed to purify, reform and renew the church and all her right and ancient usages.

Luther says: "Especially should all keep Christmas. Circumcision, Epiphany, the Easter festival, Ascension and Pentecost, un-Chiristian legends and songs which have been affixed to them being done away." In this view Melanchthon concurred.

In the Augsburg Confession they say, (Article XV.): "Concerning ecclesiastical rites our churches teach that those rightly are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquility and good order in the Church." In Article XXVI.: "Among us, in large part, the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a calumnious falsehood, that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches."

Guericke, the Christian historian, says: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church retains every undoubtedly ancient festival:" But in doing so let us also remember that she thoroughly rejected all the unscriptural and superstitious abuses which grew up about this venerable institution of the Christian Year. Saint's days and festivals were being commanded daily, so that the labor of the common people was interrupted and they grew idle and immoral. Besides, the people grew into the idea that they earned merit before God by the mere keeping of the feasts prescribed by the Church. Such and many other abuses are condemned in our confessions. And instead of these perversions and errors, the Reformers restored the Year of the Ancient Church, simple, consistent and time-honored.

The old order and the pericopes were retained, many of the feasts were dropped, and the whole was conformed to the foundation plan of the gospels, the great features of which were the great facts in the life of our Lord. The Reformers *laid all stress upon the Word*, and denied that sanctity inhered in special days, except as "the Word of God, in the order of its living events, sanctified them." In this way and by this Scriptural standard, we find restored to us the Church Year in its purity. "Thus," says Kliefoth, one of our ablest liturgiologists "through her ac-

knowledgement of the sacramentalness of the word of God, our Church was led to the right acknowledgement and use, not only of the service, but also of the Church Year, and was not (like the Reformed branch) so unfortunate as to wreck the whole Church Year, but rather restored it, according to its original idea, and its sound arrangement."

Let us now notice this Church Year in detail.

The Church Year is divided into two parts, according as the epistles and gospels form two series which may be distinguished as doctrinal and practical. The first part extends from Advent to Trinity and is designed to commemorate the life of Christ on earth in its historic order; that is, His Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany; His Baptism, Fasting and Temptation; His Agony, His Cross, His Death, His Burial; His Resurrection, His Ascension, and the Mission of the Holy Spirit. The object of the Scripture lessons in this period is to remind us of the benefit which we receive from God the Father through the meditation and atonement of God the Son and through the ministration of God the Holy Ghost. Hence, it properly concludes with Holy Trinity Sunday.

In the second part, from Trinity to Advent, the portions of Scripture are, largely, miracles and parables; selected with the view of instructing us to order our lives after Christ's example.

Thus the complete cycle is made up, half and first doctrinal, then half, and naturally so, practical outworkings. Both roots and fruits!

During the Advent Season, the four weeks preceding Christmas, the Church celebrates the three-fold coming of Christ: (1) His lowly coming in the flesh—Matthew 21 : 4; (2) His spiritual and daily coming into the hearts of the pious—John 14 : 23; and (3) His glorious coming in judgment—Matthew 24 : 30. So that most properly it is observed not merely as an introduction to the Christmas festival, but more especially as the "introduction for the whole Church Year, in whose successive parts the coming of our Lord in flesh to his work, the coming of our Lord to his Church, and the future coming of the Lord to judgment is declared." During Advent season

the altars are clothed in violet, typical of a time of Christian sobriety and preparation.

Then follows the "dear, lovely feast of the holy birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Luther calls the *Christmas festival.* On this glad day, with joy and thanksgiving, the church militant joins the heavenly hosts in the Gloria in Excelsis and with shepherds and wise men and saints of all ages surrounds the manger wherein lies the incarnate Son of God in swaddling clothes. The nativity of Christ has thus been celebrated since the fourth century.

Next comes the feast of the circumcision of our Lord, on January first, commemorating the active obedience of Jesus Christ to the law, in the fulfilment of a perfect righteousness, the liberty of the Christian in the abrogation of the old rite, and the lessons and greetings for the new year.

On January 6th occurs the feast of the Epiphany, the earliest of the so-called Christmas festivals. It is referred to by Clement of Alexandria in 200; and by Chrysostom it is spoken of as an old and leading festival of the Asiatic Church. In the west this great feast can be first traced in the middle of the fourth century. The design of it is to show our gratitude to God for admitting the Gentiles to those religious privileges which had been confirmed to the Jews. In such privileges, certainly, we of the Gentiles should particularly rejoice. In the Epiphany there are really three Epiphanies or manifestations of our Saviour. The first is the one recorded in Luke 3, for which the day has sometimes been called the feast of the three Kings; the second is the manifestation of the trinity at the baptism of Christ; and the third is the manifestation of his glory and divinity when, in Cana of Galilee, the water, in the presence of its maker, blushed into wine. All of these are set forth in the Scriptures appointed for this day.

Then ensue the six Sundays of the Epiphany season whereby are set forth his real humanity; his divine nature; his early miracles; and, last, his transfiguration. This last gospel is peculiar to the Lutheran Church's pericopes.

But the minds and hearts are now called away from the

brightness and joy of the Advent; from the brilliance and triumph of his early manifestations; from the hopes and prospects of his early ministry, and we now look forward, amidst the gathering clouds of opposition, to the denial and desertion, darkness and death of Calvary. Lent is now upon us. The sorrowful experiences of our suffering Saviour are now to possess our hearts. We are to accompany him to the feast in Jerusalem; be with him in his last encounters with his relentless enemies; commune with him in his last supper; witness his excruciating agony in Gethsemane; stand with him before tribunal and Sanhedrin; help bear his cross as he wearily ascends the place of the skull; weep with the faithful women at the base of the cruel cross; contemplate him there transfixed between earth and heaven, there having been lifted up to draw all men unto him; there breathing forth messages of forgiveness and love, until, with a loud groan, his life goes out. To the contemplation of all this the Lenten season induces us, and more! It tells us the cause of all this anguish. It presents in resistless power the estimate of the world's sin for which he must thus suffer. It demonstrates the matchless love of God in thus sending his only-begotten Son; and of the Saviour in thus enduring infinite pain and disgraceful death that we might enjoy his infinite salvation and glorious immortality thereby. It thus moves us irresistibly to humiliation and fasting, to prayer and self-denial, to true faith and love, to a loving fellowship in his sufferings and a keen and lively appreciation of his coming resurrection.

This Lenten fast originally continued only for forty hours, but, in course of time, other days were added, until in the eighth century the fast was observed during forty days. It thus agrees in length with other periods of sorrow and abstinence, for example: the rain of the deluge; the twice repeated fast of Moses; the fast of Elijah; the space of repentance allowed the Ninevites; and the fast of our Saviour. It is called Lent from the Anglo-Saxon, *lencten*, spring. It begins with Ash Wednesday; so-called, from the ceremony described by Gratian, in which the Bishop put ashes and sack-cloth on the heads of those admitted to penance. It concluded with the Great Week, or Holy Week, in

which the catechumens are examined and confirmed, the passion history repeated and preached upon in daily services, the Holy Communion administered especially to the newly confirmed, *Good Friday*, with altar clothed in black, observed with great and yet hopeful solemnity. Good Friday has thus been celebrated from the very first ages of Christianity.

Thus his Church is brought forward to the joy of Easter, with a heart sincerely penitent, intelligently grateful and expectantly joyous. Then comes the chief of the festivals, the climax of the year, *Easter Day*, of which John Keble sings:

"Oh! day of days! shall hearts set free
No "minstrel rapture" find for thee?
Thou art the Sun of other days,
They shine by giving back the rays.

Enthroned in thy sovereign sphere
Thou sheddest thy light on all the year;
Sundays by thee more glorious break,
An Easter day in every week.

And week days, following in their train,
The fulness of thy blessing gain,
Till all, both resting and employ
Be one Lord's day of holy joy.

Now everything is gladness. The churches resound with the mighty rapture of the Resurrection. Everywhere flowers and signs of life are seen. The altar is now adorned with white, like the tomb on the Resurrection morning. Immortality is now assured! The grave is now bereft of sting and power, and the risen Lord leads forth his Church with quickened hopes and into grander victories. Forty days of after-Easter joy and reassurance now follow, until the day of our Lord's ascension, when, as King of Glory, the everlasting doors opened wide to receive him back into heavenly glory. This *Festival of the Ascension* has been observed from the very beginning of Christianity and appropriately concludes the work of the historic Christ. Now comes the week of expectation, that anxious period in which they tarried at Jerusalem earnestly expecting the promised Comforter. He comes on *Pentecost.* We call the day *Whit-Sunday*, Wit-Sunday or Wisdom Sunday, in commemoration of the

wondrous gifts bestowed on the Apostles. The Jewish Pentecost, it will be remembered, "celebrated the giving of the law on Sinai, fifty days after the Passover, so, after the same interval from the true Passover, when Christ was offered for us, the Holy Ghost was given to the Church." Thus the Christian Church was founded in history and Whit-Sunday is its birthday. Red is the color of the day as signifying the cloven tongues of fire. Thus, with the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, the doctrinal portion of the Christian Year is concluded.

The remainder of the year is the Trinity season. Trinity Sunday does not rest upon one distinct fact in the church's history, so that it is not surprising that there is no sure sign of its observance before the tenth century. It is dedicated to "the Holy Trinity and the undivided unity." The remainder of the Church Year, the Sundays after Trinity, is the application to the lives of the facts commemorated in the doctrinal part, just as the present is the dispensation in which the Holy Spirit takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us in his Church. The Gospels are selected from the parables and miracles and conversations of our Lord, and the Epistles are a series of exhortations to the practice of Christian virtues, taken chiefly from St. Paul's writing. These now are the general seasons and chief festivals of the cycle of the Christian Year, briefly outlined. Besides, there are minor festivals; for example, the Annunciation, Purification and Visitation of Mary; St. John the Baptist's Day; St. Michael's Day; and Reformation Day, now being more and more observed.

Such then, is a meagre delineation of the course of the Christian Year and the import of its seasons. Much more might be said to further indicate the striking appropriateness of the various lections which would fill in with better finish what, necessarily, is here only outlined in the rough. Suffice it to say that there are five Cardinal Festivals; celebrating, respectively, his birth, his death, his resurrection, his ascension, his Comforter's coming. *About these five major features the whole system revolves.* Their observance the General Synod has, for years, recommended, for to celebrate these properly is to observe the

Christian Year worthily and to profess the Christian faith sufficiently, for these five facts fix immovably the whole Christian system.

Our next effort will be to establish some of the preëminent merits which can be suggested for the plan of the Christian Year, and so for its universal observance. These merits I find to be of at least three kinds: *Historical, Scriptural and Practical.* Its historical merits are both striking and weighty.

First: The Christian Year binds us with intimate bonds to the old Jewish year, and ever reminds us of the unity of that divine purpose which came through the latter to its successful consummation in the former. For certainly no one will claim a mere co-incidence in the striking fact that Easter and Whit-Sunday of the new are the Passover and Pentecost of the old. Memories both tender and valuable attach to the fact that our Lord, consistent Jew that he was, observed all the Jewish feasts most faithfully, and further that he saw fit to link his new dispensation in its two chief festivals to the old, which he had so steadfastly honored and observed. Is it not an important indication to us of his abiding desire regarding the observance of those well established features which the Christian Year emphasizes? The objection that because we do not know exactly whether the days we observe are the correct ones does not hold as to Easter, Good Friday, Ascension Day or Pentecost, as these four can all be identified by their relation to the Jewish year. Dr. Schaff testifies: "As early as the second century we find them universally and without opposition observed, and this gives strong presumptive evidence of their existence in the Apostolic age."

Second: The Christian Year stands like a mighty monument to the triumph of the Christian faith over pagan and barbarian people. By gradual changes and accommodating processes the Christian festivals superseded the cherished usages of of the peoples whom Christianity conquered. For it was the wise policy of the Christian bishops and missionaries to adopt and Christianize the feasts which had a firm hold on the popular life, whenever this was possible. Thus the church gained greatly,

although contaminated temporarily, by making the very customs of those peoples the teachers of Christian truth. This was repeatedly done with Egyptian, Roman and German usages, so that these festivals, like old battleflags, have not only their inherent value as symbols, but the accrued prestige which comes from victories represented.

Third: But especially has this system the merit of keeping us in agreement with the Ancient Church. "The great feasts date from the earliest ages, and new feasts are the natural outcome of Christian life; so that practically the Christian Year commemorates the history of which the Christian Church, today, is the product." St. Paul kept Pentecost with the Gentile Christians of Ephesus; spent Easter of 58 at Philippi and then hurried on to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, Acts 20 : 16. Polycarp testified in 160 that he had kept the Christian Passover, Easter, with St. John. Easter has been observed on the Sunday after spring full moon ever since the Council of Nicæa, 325. So by innumerable authorities, it could be shown that this venerable system has come to us through the ages—the gradual development of the life of the Church in those times. It thus perpetuates the bond of visible unity between all believers, and gives us all the assurance and reverence that come from such ancient observances. And we need not hesitate to accept it because it comes to us through the corruptions of the Mediæval Church, any more than we reject the Apostles' Creed or the Word and Sacraments. But it thus acts as a bond of unity, venerable and universal, between all believers whether Eastern or Roman or Protestant. How thrilling, therefore, to feel that in this usage we are in unison with the Apostles themselves!

We shall now consider the *Scriptural* merits of the system. These we regard as far more important than any mere historical prestige acquired by venerable use. Indeed, the Christian Year finds its greatest value, as well as its greatest claim on our regard, for its thorough scripturalness. For after all, the Christian Year is nothing more nor less than the pericopes appointed to be read. These sections make the days what they are and their

absence would make invalid any observance of times or days. The Christian Year, like the Christian Creeds, is only valuable as it rests on the word of God as it basis. But, better yet, this scriptural element is Christo-centric. While there is a general connection between it and the old Jewish pericopes observed by Christ and his apostles, just as our cultus is the child of that of the synagogue, in which Christ worshiped, yet its whole aim and tendency under the blessing of the Holy Ghost is to take of the things of Christ and show them to the world. This is the church's prime mission, to thus make known to the world the inspired record day after day and Sunday after Sunday; and depend on the Holy Spirit to honor and bless the truth thus sown.

Take for instance that splendid series of the pericopes running from Advent to Trinity, constituting the doctrinal or festival half of the year. Herein are contained all those doctrinal facts which are the fundamental sources from which we derive all our doctrinal bearings. That series of facts, if faithfully believed and preached will preserve the church against every heresy from within and every errorist from without. It is a complete, full, rotund presentation of the essentials in the wonderful scheme of grace. So also through the balance of the year are these vital doctrines applied to the lives of men, with especial force in St. Paul's epistles during the Trinity season.

Thus we see that as the pericopes are the centre and essence of the Christian Year, so Jesus Christ in his mediatorial mission and work is the heart and vital centre of these time-honored lections.

Notice now, finally, some of the practical merits of the Christian Church Year.

First, it unifies nature and grace. "It blesses the passing seasons in his name. It compels the planet on which he was crucified to mark in its vast orbit the successive stages of his Messiahship from Advent in meekness to his final Advent in glory." It thus gives him lordship over nature, and instead of secularizing the church cycle, it spiritualizes the entire order and process of natural things. Thus, year after year, especially on the mind of childhood, the impression on Christ the King and Lord over

the year of grace as well as of nature becomes most valuable in influencing that mind to his service.

As Ahlfelt beautifully puts it: "As the earth moves around the sun, so the Church moves round the sun of divine grace; so she travels through the sacred history of the Saviour. Her spring is the lovely season of Christmas and Epiphany, when Christ is born. Her summer is the season of heat and the passion time of Jesus Christ. And her harvest and autumn are the Whitsuntide days, when the Holy Spirit is poured out on the disciples, and when in the long lovely Trinity Sundays one kind after another of the gifts of the triune God is born into the granary of the heart." Then its presentation of a comprehensive and symmetrical view of Scripture is of immense practical value. For instance, under Cramner's arrangement of the pericopes and daily lessons, in every year, the entire Old Testament, except the strictly ritual sections of the Pentateuch, was read through once, the New Testament three times, and the Psalter twelve times. Its arrangement thus guarantees variety and at the same time continuity and entirety in scriptural presentation. It presents in its cycle the full-orbed, symmetrical and complete system of Christian truth. It thus obviates the possibility of a hobbyist or sensationalist in the pulpit. It assures the people that in the course of a proper season they shall receive every phase of this many-sided scriptural system; that no single phase or fact or doctrine shall be exalted to the disparagement or neglect of the many others, equally important. It plainly and regularly presents the great facts of the Gospel, always emphasizing the sacramental or Godward features of Scripture and worship rather than the morbid and subjective human elements so much emphasized in these times. It early acquaints the young with scripture doctrine and history, so that, when grown, they will not be guilty of such conspicuous ignorance as that shown, recently, by a certain senator, who moved an adjournment of that venerable and intelligent body from Ash Wednesday until the following Monday, "so as," he thoughtfully suggested, "not to be in session over Good Friday." Every year thus becomes an educational course and by enabling the indi-

vidual to compare himself with the Scripture's standard from season to season, and from year to year, it is eminently conducive to the production of a sound, rotund, conservative, spiritual growth.

Again, the observance of the Christian Year would be a decided step towards the unification of the Christian Church. Already it is observed by three-fourths of Christendom and with no prospect, however remote, of its discontinuance. With those, therefore, who do not observe it, we must look for a move towards union on this basis. And instead of a recently adopted and roaming observance of an inconvenient week of prayer and fasting in January, why not observe the time-honered Holy Lenten season or at least the historic week of the passion, as a time wealthy in sacred associations and eminently practical as a fitting climax to the church's winter activities. And instead of the inappropriate International Series of Lessons for our Sunday Schools, which, for example, a year or two ago, placed the Christmas lesson in midsummer; the Y. M. C. A., the Y. P. S. C. E., and sundry other series of topics for our various meetings, which ignore the great Christian festivals and adopt an irresponsible and arbitrary order of lessons, instead of these, why not unite on a system of pericopes or scripture selections which are historically consistent, rational in arrangement, and ecumenical, both in time and extent, in their past and present observance!

The well-known Congregationalist, Dr. Washington Gladden, in his splendid word on "The Christian Pastor," (1898) has some important words on the value and appropriateness of utilizing the lessons of the Lenten Season. On page 399 he says, "Is not this observance [the Lenton Season services] on the whole, a salutary one? Is it not well to concentrate our thought and desire, in this manner, upon the things that so deeply concern our peace? Might not all the churches appropriately choose this season, or some portion of it for daily service? There seems to be some tendency in this direction, and it may well be encouraged." "A period favorable to special religious services," says an experienced pastor, (Rev. Chas. H. Richards) "is the Lenten Season. The attention of men is more readily arrested then;

there are fewer divisions to distract their thoughts when once turned to these momentous questions and the sacred and touching events in the life of our Saviour which are associated with the observance of this season make it a particularly fitting and impressive time for evangelistic meetings. The very days speak of penitence, of consecration, and of grateful devotion to Christ." And the same weighty reasons might be urged for the observance of the Christian Year as a whole, as well as for the Lenten portion of it. For it has been quite well demonstrated that Christendom will never unite on any Puritanic basis of obliteration, but why should it not agree on a basis so historic, so positive and so scriptural as the observance of the Christian Year? May it speedly come!

Again, there is great practical advantage to both people and preacher in the year's observance. It protects the people by its constant insisting upon the great central facts of the Christian faith, and guarantees to them the presentation of such fundamental Scripture truth as vitally affects their spiritual life and growth. To the preacher himself its advantages are many and weighty. But on this point let Bishop Brooks speak to us as preachers. "Look at the way the pulpit teaches. I venture to say that there is nothing so unreasonable in any other branch of teaching. You are a minister and you are to instruct these people in the truths of God. All the vast range of God's revelation and of man's duty is open to you. And how do you proceed? If you are like most ministers there is no order, no progress, no consecutive purpose in your teaching. You never begin at the beginning and proceed to the end of a course of orderly instruction. No other instruction ever was so given. No hearer has the least idea as he goes to your church, what you will preach to him about that day. He cannot get ready for your teaching. It is this observance of the Church Year to which we owe so much as a help to the orderliness of our preaching. It still leaves the largest liberty. It is no bondage within which any man is hampered. But the great procession of the year, sacred to our best instincts, with the accumulated reverence of ages, leads those who walk in it, at least once every

year, past all the great Christian facts, and however careless or selfish be the preacher, will not leave it in his power to keep them from his people. The Church Year, too, preserves the personality of our religion. It is concrete and picturesque. The historical Jesus is forever there. It lays each life continually down beside the perfect life, that it may see at once its imperfection and its hope."

In concluding this plea we urge the observance of the Christian Year universally because we have found that, (1) It is historical warranted; (2) It is educational in principle; and (3) It is conservative and salutary in all respects. And it is being observed more and more universally from year to year. There seems to be a widespread renaissance in this regard. Repeated pleas are heard for its observance, coming from sources hitherto hostile; and may we not hope to see in our day this splendid and venerable system observed as extensively as that Gospel is preached which is its center and life?

ARTICLE VII.

THE PRESS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.*

By Prof. Victor L. Conrad, Ph. D., D. D.

Journalism in the Lutheran Church in America, like that in all other religious denominations, arose from a very small beginning.

In March, 1826, the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer began the publication at Frederick, Md., of a small octavo monthly named "*The Lutheran Intelligencer.*" This was the first Lutheran periodical published in America. It was continued in this form for five years, until 1831, when it was suspended for a few months, but was re-issued in the same year as a semi-monthly under the name of "*The Lutheran Observer.*" The first numbers were

*An address delivered before the Lutheran Congress of the General Synod, in the Parliment of Religions during the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in September, 1893.

published at Gettysburg, Pa., and were edited by the Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, Professor in the Theological Seminary. Soon after, it was transferred to the Rev. J. G. Morris at Baltimore, who became both editor and proprietor. In 1833, Dr. Morris transferred the *Observer* to the Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, as editor and proprietor, who issued it as a weekly. In 1880, Dr. Kurtz conveyed the ownership of the *Observer* to the "Lutheran Book Company" of Baltimore, but continued to be its editor. This arrangement was continued for about twelve years, when the Book Company was dissolved and the ownership of the paper was transferred to the Synod of Maryland in 1853, and Dr. Kurtz continued as its editor. In 1855, however, the Maryland Synod sold it to the Revs. F. R. Anspach, George Diehl and T. Newton Kurtz, Esq., and the Revs. F. R. Anspach and Diehl became corresponding editors, with Dr. Kurtz as editor-in-chief.

During the next few years, several changes of proprietors occurred, in which the Revs. Anspach and Theophilus Stork became associate editors with Dr. Kurtz.

In 1862, the paper was purchased by the Rev. Drs. George Diehl, Theophilus Stork and F. W. Conrad, and was conducted by them jointly until 1866, when it was transferred to the Lutheran Observer Association organized for the purpose, and removed from Baltimore to Philadelphia, where it was conducted by Dr. F. W. Conrad as editor-in-chief, with Drs. Theophilus Stork and E. W. Hutter as associate editors. In 1870, Drs. Stork and Hutter retired, and Prof. V. L. Conrad became associate editor and continues in that position to the present time. In 1890, the Rev. Sylvanus Stall was added to the staff as an associate editor.

The *Observer* from its beginning until now, has been the organ of the General Synod, which represents the more liberal and progressive portion of the Lutheran Church in America, as distinct from the General Council, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Missouri Synodical Conference, and other general Lutheran bodies which are more conservative and strictly confessional, and which endeavor to maintain the exclusive spirit and usages of

the Lutheran Church in Germany and other countries of Europe where it is a state church.

The *Observer* has taken a prominent part in the theological, confessional and other controversies that have agitated the Lutheran Church in this country for the last fifty years, but strives to maintain "the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace" with those of the same household of faith from whom it differs. It maintains the doctrines and usages of the Lutheran Church in their integrity, not with an intolerant dogmatism, but with a liberal, yet conservative spirit.

It is thoroughly Lutheran, not in a narrow, sectarian, but in the true historic, pietistic and ecumenic sense. It maintains and defends the confessional position of the General Synod on the Augsburg Confession alone, and in the liberal Christian spirit of its founders. Throughout its entire history, it has represented not a faction or a party, but the general and predominant views and tendencies of the ministers and congregations of the body to which it belongs. Between the extreme views of parties in the General Synod, the *Observer* has sought to represent a "golden mean," in a tolerant Christian spirit. This is regarded as the wisest and best policy to observe on the questions which have agitated the General Synod in recent years, and that are likely to agitate it in the future.

It is not only Lutheran, but it is also thoroughly Evangelical. It advocates not only the work of the Lutheran Church in all its departments at home and abroad, but also the cause of temperance, and the fellowship and coöperation of Christians of all denominations in general efforts and movements for the promotion of Christian benevolence and reform.

Its motto is the familiar one of the irenic Melanchthon, who, though not its author, observed its spirit in all the controversies of the Reformation. "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

The foregoing sketch of the *Observer* is presented not only because it is the first and oldest, and for many years was the only Lutheran journal in America, and is therefore the most appropriate representative of "The Press in the Lutheran Church;"

but also because on its pages are recorded almost the entire history and progress of the church in this country for the past sixty years; and it is only the simple truth to say, that no true and complete history of the Lutheran Church in America during that time can be written, without drawing most of its facts and information from the columns of the *Observer.*

THE LUTHERAN STANDARD.

The first number of the *Lutheran Standard* was issued as a small folio, at New Philadelphia, Ohio, in 1842, under the authority of the Joint Synod of Ohio, with the Rev. E. Greenwald as its editor. In 1844, the Rev. Greenwald resigned, and the paper was issued for a short time at Zanesville, Ohio, with the Rev. S. A. Mealy, as its editor. About a year after it was removed to Somerset, Ohio, where it was edited by the Revs. C. Spielman and Lehman. In 1847, its place of publication was changed to Columbus, Ohio, where the Rev. C. Spielman continued to edit it until 1860, when the Rev. Daniel Worley became both editor and proprietor, and for several years issued the *Standard* at Marysville, Ohio.

In 1864, the Rev. M. Loy took charge of it, removed it to Columbus and had the editorial management of it for twenty-six years. It is now edited by a Committee appointed by the Joint Synod of Ohio.* It was established to maintain the confessional position of that Synod, which accepts as binding the entire Form of Concord, and opposes pulpit and altar fellowship with other Christians and also with Lutherans of other general bodies.

THE MISSIONARY.

In 1848, the Rev. W. A. Passavant began the publication of a folio church paper at Pittsburg, Pa., called the *Missionary.* It was issued there monthly for eight years, when it was changed into a weekly and continued thus until 1862. It was then transferred to a Publication Society organized in Philadelphia.

*Its present chief editor is the Rev. Dr. Simon and Prof. G. H. Schodde, D. D., is news editor.

Its name was changed to *Lutheran and Missionary*, and was edited by the late Dr. C. P. Krauth, with a Pittsburg department under the editorship of Dr. Passavant. Some years later the name was changed to *The Lutheran* and the Rev. Drs. Krauth and Seiss were its editors for a number of years. Since then several changes in its editorship have been made, and it is now edited without any personal announcement.*

From its beginning, and throughout its successive changes of names and editors, *The Lutheran* has advocated a more strictly confessional and exclusive type of Lutheranism than that of the General Synod, and when this led to the disruption of the General Synod at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1864, and when the General Council was formed in 1866, it became the representative organ of that body, and continues such to the present time.

It maintains the confessional basis of the General Council, which requires that all the Symbolical Books of the Form of Concord be accepted "in every statement of doctrine, in its true, native, original and only sense." Its form of subscription is the most strict and absolute of any Lutheran body in the world.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN.

In 1853, the *Evangelical Lutheran* was commenced at Springfield, Ohio, in the interest of Wittenberg College, with the Rev. V. L. Conrad as editor, and Rev. F. W. Conrad as associate editor. It was continued for about three years, when dissatisfaction arose in some of the Synods in connection with the attempted introduction of the "Definite Platform," which the editors declined to approve; in consequence of which the paper was transferred to and merged in the *Lutheran Observer* at Baltimore.

THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN.

In 1864, the Rev. P. Anstadt, at the recommendation of the Rev. D. B. Kurtz, began the publication of the *American Lutheran* at Selinsgrove, Pa., to promote the interests of the Mission-

*It has since become the property of the General Council, with the Rev. Dr. G. F. Krotel as editor-in-chief, and G. W. Sandt, managing editor.

ary Institute. He conducted it there as editor and proprietor for eleven years. In 1875, he removed it to York, Pa., where he continued its publication until 1877, when he sold it to the Lutheran Observer Association, and it was merged in that paper.

THE LUTHERAN VISITOR.

This representative of the Lutheran Church in the South was commenced as an individual enterprise, when the connection of that portion of the Church with the General Synod was broken off by the late civil war in 1861–'64. The unsettled and embarrassed condition of the church at first necessitated a frequent change of editors, so that within fourteen years, it had for editors the Revs. N. Aldrich, G. D. Bernheim, D. I. Dreher, W. S. Bowman, J. H. Honor, A. R. Rude, T. W. Dosh, and I. Hawkins. Some of these served a few months, and others a few years. In 1876, the Rev. I. Hawkins became permanent editor, and with the aid of some assistants, he continued as such to the present time.*

The *Visitor* represents the position and views of the Lutheran Church of the South—or rather of the Pietistic type of Lutheranism which prevails in most of the churches there, over against the exclusive type of extreme Confessionalism. It advocates revivals of religion, temperance, and also insists on the freedom of pulpit and altar fellowship, and in short, represents very much the true conservative and ecumenic Lutheran spirit of the General Synod, from which the Church in the South was separated during the Civil War.

OUR CHURCH PAPER.

This exponent of strict Confessional Lutheranism in the South was commenced at New Market, Va., in 1873, by the Rev. Socrates Henkel, who, with his two sons, is the proprietor and editor-in-chief. The Revs. Prof. W. E. Hubbert and J. A. Fox are

*The *Visitor* is now published at Prosperity, S. C., with the Rev. Dr. S. T. Hallman as editor, and Mr. W. P. Honseal as managing editor.

associate editors, and the Rev. J. E. Bushnell is missionary editor.*

It was established to represent and advocate the exclusive type of Lutheranism of the Synod of Tennessee, which stood separate and independent until the United Synod of the South adopted the Form of Concord, when it united with that body. It is highly exclusive in its "richtung," and opposes pulpit and altar fellowship with other Christians, and also with Lutherans of other bodies.

THE LUTHERAN EVANGELIST.

In 1876, the Revs. A. R. Howbert and W. H. Singley commenced the publication of the *Lutheran Evangelist*, at Bellefontaine, Ohio, with Prof. J. H. W. Stuckenberg as chief editor. In a few years it was removed to Fort Wayne, Ind., where the Keil Brothers published it, with Rev. W. H. Singley as chief editor, and Revs. Ort and Imhoff as associates. Two years later it was removed to Springfield, Ohio, where Drs. Stuckenberg, Ort and Helwig became its editors for several years, when Dr. J. F. Shafer took entire charge of the paper as editor and manager, and conducted it for a few years. Then the Rev. Singley again assumed the editorship with Rev. A. B. McMakin as his associate. A few years later the Rev. A. B. McMakin withdrew, and the Rev. Singley became the sole proprietor. Some time after, he sold it to the Hosterman Brothers, who engaged the Rev. E. K. Bell as editor for about a year, when Dr. S. A. Ort and Rev. L. S. Keyser became his successors. In 1892, the paper was sold to the Lutheran Evangelist Company of Dayton, Ohio, where it is now published and edited by the Rev. Dr. H. R. Geiger and Rev. E. E. Baker.†

The *Evangelist* was established to promote the interests of Wittenberg College, and to advocate the liberal, progressive and Pietistic type of Lutheranism of its founders, over against that of the Joint Synod of Ohio. After several changes in its

*The name of the Rev. J. A. Fox does no longer appear as associate editor.

†Subsequently the Rev. Dr. J. G. Butler became editor-in-chief, Rev. L. S. Keyser associate editor. At present Dr. Butler is sole editor.

"richtung" under the changes of its editors and proprietors during the last few years, it now advocates the type of Lutheranism for which it was originally established, in opposition to a more strictly confessional and liturgical type which has been developed in the General Synod, and which now prevails in Wittenberg College and Seminary.

THE WORKMAN.

In 1891, the Rev. Dr. A. W. Passavant began the publication of a semi-monthly church paper at Pittsburg, Pa., called the *Workman*, and has edited it up to this time, with the exception of two years, during which his son, the Rev. W. A. Passavant, Jr., conducted it. One of its alleged aims was to furnish a cheap paper to those who could not well afford to subscribe for higher priced papers. It is conducted in the "richtung" of the General Council, and is especially devoted to Home Mission work among our foreign population, and the benevolent and charitable institutions founded by Dr. Passavant in different parts of the country.*

THE LUTHERAN WORLD.

The latest additions to the journals in the Lutheran Church is the *Lutheran World.* It was started in Cincinnati, Ohio, in March, 1892. by a company of Lutheran ministers and laymen, chiefly, it seems, to counteract the course and influence of the *Lutheran Evangelist* on the Common Service question, which had occasioned much dissatisfaction, excitement and controversy in the General Synod. Its proprietors were also dissatisfied with the moderate, conservative and irenic course of the *Lutheran Observer* on that question, and desired to have an organ to advocate their views. The Rev. Dr. E. K. Bell was at first announced as its editor, but at present no personal editorial announcement is made.†

The journals whose origin and character we have just mentioned, are the English Lutheran church papers now published in

*It was since bought and merged in the *Lutheran*, published in Philadelphia.

†It has since been removed to York, Pa.

the General Synod and in other general Lutheran bodies in the United States, and the limits of this occasion do not admit of including those of other languages. Besides those mentioned, however, there is our excellent *Missionary Journal*, edited by the secretaries of our Church Boards, and some other monthlies published in the interest of our Young People's Societies, and they are all doing a good work in promoting the objects for which they are designed. During the past ten or more years also, many wide-awake pastors in the General Synod, and some in other General Lutheran bodies, have published monthly and quarterly parish papers, and these have served the good purpose of pastoral letters, and awakened interest and activity in Church work in their congregations.

It is true in respect to all the regular Lutheran Church papers mentioned above, that they were commenced and continued for many years under various difficulties, and at great pecuniary sacrifice and loss to those who published or conducted them. These difficulties were occasioned by the lack of sufficient patronage and support from the members of our churches. It was largely the result of a lack of interest and efforts on the part of the pastors to introduce them among their people. It is a sad fact, that until within a few years, comparatively few of our pastors recommended their church paper to the members of their congregations, or made any special efforts to introduce it into their families. As a result of such neglect of duty, some of their most intelligent members subscribed for and read the religious papers of other denominations; lost interest in the work of their own church, became interested in that of other churches and as a natural result, many such persons and their children have left the church of their fathers and entered other communions.

In consequence of the inadequate patronage extended to the papers of our church, they could not, and cannot rank in typographic style or literary ability and excellence with the leading papers of some other denominations, or with some general religious journals which have attained a large circulation and can therefore afford to engage the highest literary and other talent to

contribute to their pages. Although the small patronage extended to our Lutheran Church papers did not admit of such expensive journalistic enterprise yet, notwithstanding the difficulties under which they have been issued and conducted—often by busy pastors and others who could devote only a portion of their time and labor to them—the ability, learning, and literary style displayed by the editors and many of their contributors in the discussion of the question which have agitated the Lutheran Church, will compare favorably with similar discussions in some of the ablest religious journals in this country. If any one is inclined to doubt this, let him refer to the old files of the *Observer* or *Lutheran* of former years, and he will find this estimate confirmed. In fact, he will discover that the theological and confessional questions which have been contested and thrashed over in our Church in almost every generation for centuries, have been discussed in our American Lutheran Church papers, with a thoroughness and ability which the present generation may imitate and perhaps equal, but cannot surpass.

No religious journal can rise much above the general average of the literary ability, intelligence and culture of its ministers and people. If it is conducted chiefly to interest ministers, it will fail to serve its greatest purpose of instruction, edification and culture among the people; and this important fact is sometimes overlooked by those who conduct them.

Any one acquainted with the history and character of journalism in the Lutheran Church, must be aware of the significant fact, that every new paper started in the General Synod, after the *Observer*, whatever other interests it was designed to promote, became the exponent of some distinct dogma, theological tendency or type of Lutheranism which it advocated over against other views and tendencies which existed in the church. This has naturally occasioned dissension and controversy; created factions and parties in the Church, engendering strife, alienation and division, as illustrated most strikingly by the disruption at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1864. Such results arise naturally and almost invariably out of the circumstances of each new paper. It seeks to show the reason for its existence—its "raison d'etre,"

as the French say—by criticising and opposing those of different views. This provokes replies and controversy among brethren, disaffection and distraction among the people, and prevents the cordial co-operation of many in the work of the Church.

The papers which represent the other general Lutheran bodies are influenced by similar considerations. They are all on the Confessional basis of the Form of Concord, and as they are intent on promoting its exclusive theological "richtung" or type of Lutheranism, they all oppose the liberal and ecumenic Lutheran basis of the General Synod. Few numbers of their papers are issued that do not contain some disparaging allusion or thrust at the General Synod, or at some persons or things connected with it.

That there should be freedom of discussion in the papers of the Lutheran Church of questions of interest and practical importance, or of doctrine or polity when proper occasions arise, is to me a self-evident proposition; but it should be conducted in a manly, candid, truthful and Christian spirit, and not in that of an intolerant dogmatism and assumption of superior Lutheran orthodoxy by those of other Lutheran bodies who oppose the General Synod, or by any others who are in sympathy with or hold their views.

In view of the foregoing, I venture to offer a few suggestions: Wendell Philips once remarked, that "religion has caused more quarrels than politics," and I think the remark is well grounded in fact. Centuries ago it became a proverb that the "odium theologorum"—the hatred of theologians—was the bitterest of all hatreds. Their fierce and malignant controversies have often demonstrated the truth of the proverb.

Now it is a reprehensible practice or vice, more or less prevalent in the religious journalism of various denominations, in the past and at the present day, that some who engage in controversy misrepresent the views of those whom they oppose, and then criticise and refute their own misrepresentation as if it were the real sentiment of the person criticised. This is done by misquoting or garbling, by misapplying or wresting out of its connection, and thus changing and perverting the words and

meaning of an opponent. It is a humiliating fact that this has been done by some ministers of the Gospel of Christ, and that some Lutheran journals have furnished illustrations of it.

A sad feature of this vice of religious journalism is, that the controversies which have furnished the most conspicious examples of it, have not been about the great essential doctrines of the Lutheran Church, or of Christianity, because upon these there is a consensus of practical agreement; but about speculative views and theories of doctrines which are not clearly revealed in the Scriptures, which are therefore not properly confessional, and which are not essential to salvation or to Christianity. In regard to these, there are and always have been, and always will be, differences of views among Lutherans, as well as among other Christians, and not only should there be liberty allowed in regard to them, but in the discussion of them, the chief object should be not the refutation and disparagement of an opponent, but the ascertainment of the truth. This can and should be done without misrepresentation or personal reflections and imputation of motives. I earnestly submit that this practice and vice of some disputants in our Lutheran church papers should cease.

It is a momentous and significant fact, that the press at the present day, both secular and religious, exerts a more powerful culturing influence upon the people, than any other agency of modern civilization. The religious press is often more potent in its varied departments of instruction and culture in a congregation than the ministrations of the pastor alone. It forms the sentiments of the people on all subjects and questions that interest or agitate the Church; and those who conduct them are therefore invested with the gravest responsibility. They can promote animosities, strife and division in the Church, or they can heal alienations among brethren; remove dissatisfaction and distraction among the people, and promote charity and peace in the Church.

In all sincerity and in the fear of God, I humbly submit that this should be the aim of those who conduct our church papers. The discussion of subjects of interest and of practical impor-

tance, should be freely allowed, if conducted in a proper Christian spirit. This is one of the chief uses of a church paper, and it should not be restricted or suppressed, when confined within the limits and requirements of manly Christian discussion. Such discussion in a church paper is not only interesting, but highly instructive and valuable as a means of promoting religious intelligence and culture among the people.

The Parliament of the Religions of the world is now in session in this building, during the Columbian Exposition, of which we form a part. The Congress of the Roman Catholic Church held its sessions last week. Cardinal Gibbons delivered the opening address, and in it he gave this word of good advice to his priesthood:

"In all your discussions be ever mindful of the saying of St. Vincent of Lerins: *In necessariis unitas; in dubiis libertas; in omnibus caritas.*" This is a truly Christian guide and motto. Although its origin and authorship have thus far been regarded as uncertain, I am inclined to think that the authorship assigned by Cardinal Gibbons is probably the correct one.

Dr. Schaff, who has traversed the history of the Christian Church through all the ages down to the present time, in his last volume, the History of the Reformation in Switzerland, makes this affirmation: "Heresy is an error; intolerance is a sin; persecution is a crime."

This declaration, and the motto of St. Vincent just quoted; embody the consensus of enlightened Christendom at the present day, and I humbly commend them as guiding and governing rules to all who conduct or contribute to our church papers.

ARTICLE VIII.

MELANCHTHON AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

(CONCLUDED FROM VOL. XXVIII., p. 380.)

BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D.

After stating, in harmony with the whole argumentation in these papers, that Melanchthon drew up the Augsburg Confession "in the undeniable intention of approximating as closely as possible to the Catholic doctrines," Ranke goes on to say:

"I do not venture to assert that the Augsburg Confession dogmatically determines the contents and import of Scripture; it does no more than bring back the system which had grown up in the Latin Church to a unison with Scripture; or interpret Scripture in the original spirit of the Latin Church. That spirit had, however, wrought too imperceptibly to produce any open manifestation which could have served as a bond of faith. The Confession of the German Lutheran Church is itself its purest manifestation, and the one the most immediately derived from its source.

"It is hardly necessary to add that its authors had no intention of imposing this as a permanant and immutable standard of faith. It is simply the assertion of the fact: 'Our churches teach'—'it is taught'—'it is unanimously taught'—'such and such opinions are falsely imputed to us.' Such are the expressions Melanchthon uses; his intention is simply to state the belief which already exists.

"And in the same spirit he wrote the second part, in which he enumerates and explains the abuses that had been removed."*

Melanchthon's correspondence with the Evangelicals, and his correspondence and negotiations with the Catholics, both during and after the reading of the Confession, show conclusively that both he and the Evangelical princes were intent upon making peace, though not at the cost of what they regarded as funda-

**Hist. Reformation*, V : IX.

mental truth and sound doctrine. Melanchthon's whole theological life, indeed, was an effort to reproduce and to restate the consensus of the teaching of the Catholic Church. Time and again he affirms that he will not be the author of a new doctrine. In the Epilogue to the first part of the *Confessio Variata*, he says: "We do not despise harmony with the Catholic Church, nor is it our intention to introduce into the Church any dogma that is new and unknown to the Holy Church, nor do we wish to advocate godless or seditious opinions which the Catholic Church hath condemned."*

In his Will, written in 1539, he declares his adherence to the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, and makes confession "of the doctrine of the Catholic Church of Christ."† He published his *Commentary on the Nicene Creed*‡ in the year 1550 for the purpose of showing the harmony of the Lutheran doctrine with that of the Ancient Church. In his famous open letter, written in 1549, in refutation of the calumnies of Flacius, he appeals to the *Loci Communes*, and says: "In that book I did not aim to set up any new doctrine, but faithfully to embrace the common doctrine of those churches which adopted the Confession presented to the Emperor, Anno M. D. XXX., which I consider the invariable doctrine of the Catholic Church." Again: "I am satisfied that this doctrine is the invariable doctrine of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ,"§ In his private correspondence he constantly reiterates his adherence to the catholic consensus, and his determination to reproduce that consensus in his teaching. The later editions of his *Loci* show the greatest respect for the Fathers, and the abiding determination not to propound or defend a new dogma. This was in harmony with the cast of his mind, which was antiquarian and reproductive, rather than original and speculative.

For its conservative character, its adherence to the catholic

*C. R. (*Corpus Reformatorum*, containing in 28 volumes the works of Melanchthon and many other original letters and documents,) XXVI., 373.

†C. R. III., 825 *et seqq.* ‡C. R. XXII., 193 *et seqq.*

§C. R. VII., 478 *et seqq.*

censent, the Lutheran Church is indebted mainly to Melanchthon. In writing the Confession, his aim was to show that the Evangelicals had not departed from the genuine principles of the Catholic Church, and that consequently they ought to be tolerated in the Empire. The prime object proposed by the Diet was the removal of dissensions and errors, and the restoration of fellowship and unity in one Church.* The Evangelicals were accused of holding errors and heresies which had been rejected by the Catholic Church. They are now put on trial; they are required to present in writing what they believe and teach. The Confession is their response or defense. From the very nature of the case it could not be an *ultimatum.* It could only be "the assertion of a fact." It could be a confession of faith only in so far as it set forth the doctrines held at that time, and the errors rejected in the churches of the subscribers, who close their Confession by saying: "The foregoing Articles we have, in conformity with the Edict, desired to submit as an evidence of our Confession and of our doctrine. If any one should be found who has any objection to them, we are ready to give him further information with reasons from Holy Writ." This is a declaration that the Confession is open to expansion and improvement; that is, the confessors reserve to themselves the right of adapting it to new exigencies, of making it a better expression of their faith, and a better refutation of the errors that had been charged against them. Of a fixed and unchangeable form of expression they had no thought. They did not even make an official copy, or authorize a text. Hence there is no such thing as an authentic text of the Augsburg Confession. What changes were made in both German and Latin during the forty-eight hours that intervened between the signing of the Confession on Thursday afternoon, June 23rd, and the public reading of it, June 25th, may never be known. It is known only that Melanchthon continued to change it up to the hour of the reading, and that he wrote, June 26th, that he would have changed it more, had the counselors permitted him to do so.† The

*Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch.* I., 8. †*C. R.* II., 140.

originals have been lost, and all the transcripts and manuscript copies differ from each other and from the first Melanchthonian edition of 1530–1531. It was long thought that the German original had been discovered in the imperial archives at Mayence, but it has been demonstrated by Weber that this, like many others, is a transcript without authentic value, made before the Confession had been signed; and yet it is the original of the copy in the Book of Concord;* that is, the German Augsburg Confession in the Book of Concord does not represent the text subscribed by the princes and the cities; but an earlier and defective text. The same may be said, though with different historical relations, of the Latin Confession in the Book of Concord: It is not a diplomatic reproduction of the Latin text signed at Augsburg. Indeed it must be said once for all that there *is not now*, and there *never has been*, a *Confessio Augustana Invariata.* Hence it is absurd for men to talk about an "Unaltered Augsburg Confession," and about the "true, native, original and only sense" of the Augsburg Confession, and to say that those who subscribe the Confession, "must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense."† No two manuscripts of the Confession contain "the same words." The Augsburg Confession was not read before Charles V. in "the same words" in which it had been subscribed by the princes and the cities two days before. Of Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps*, that is, the first printed edition, 1530–1531, quarto, there are three varieties, with not unimportant verbal differences *inter sese.*‡ Moreover, the *Editio Princeps* differs not only verbally, but *materially* from the Original as delivered to the Emperor.

1. There are reasons for believing that the word *vescentibus*, "to them that eat," was not in Article X. of the original. It is wanting "in two copies of the Augsburg Confession," and in

*Oehler, *Symbolik*, 2nd ed., 134.

†*Fundamental Principles of Faith, etc.* Minutes of the General Council, Evang. Luth. Church, 1866.

‡*C. R.* XXVI., 251–5; Weber, *Critical History of the Augsburg Confession*, II., 14 *et seqq.*

"the complete copy of the first form of the answer to the evangelical confession," which repeats the articles of the Augsburg Confession.* The presence or absence of this word *materially* affects the sense. The word is found in the other manuscript copies,† but it is not at all improbable that it may have been stricken from the copy signed by the princes and cities, or it may have been stricken out later by Melanchthon. Indeed it may never have appeared in this particular copy, which was signed and delivered to the Emperor.

2. It is documentarily certain that the antithesis to Article XIII. was added by Melanchthon in the *Editio Princeps*.‡ In the *Original* the Article was as follows: De usu sacramentorum docent quod sacramenta instituta sint non modo ut sint notae professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis dei erga nos ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his qui utuntur proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quae credat promissionibus, quae per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

The Article in this form was unqualifiedly approved by the Catholic Confutators. In the first Confutation they say: "In this article the princes differ in no respect from the true doctrine of the Catholic Church."§ In the Confutation of August 3rd, they say: "The thirteenth article gives no offence, but is accepted." And as further evidence that the article is entirely acceptable, they request that the doctrine contained in it be applied to the seven sacraments of the Church.||

In the *Editio Princeps* Melanchthon adds the antithesis, which "condemns those who teach that the sacraments justify *ex opere operato*, and do not teach that faith which believes the remission of sins, is requisite in the use of the sacraments."

The antithesis does not appear in any of the manuscript cop-

*Müller's *Symbolik*, 257; J. T. Müller, 795; Ficker's *Die Konfutation*, XVI and 40.

†*C. R.* XXVI., 278. ‡Ficker, 48. Müller, 257.

§Ficker's *Die Konfutation*, 49.

||Francke's *Libri Symb.*, *App. Quint.* 5. Jacobs' *Book of Concord*, II., 217.

ies of the Confession, nor in the first Catholic Confutation. Fabricius, a Catholic writer, says expressly that it is wanting in the copy delivered to the Emperor.*

No one will deny that this antithesis is *material.* It adds to the *matter* of the Confession. It brings into it a new thought. Save possibly Article IV. there is nothing more important, nothing more directly and positively anti-Romish, in the entire Confession than this antithesis. It is aimed right at the heart of the Romish system. For ten years or more both Luther and Melanchthon had opposed the *opus operatum.* Eck and others had valiantly defended it. It had so entered into the Roman Catholic system, that at the Council of Trent it was officially declared a "canon" of the Church. It would have been impossible for Eck, Cochlaeus, Wimpina, Fabri, and other Confutators, to approve Article XIII. as it now stands. As well expect them to approve Articles IV. and VII. When Melanchthon saw the Confutation, he undoubtedly perceived that the article in question was defective, that the enemy had misunderstood or misconstrued it. As it appears in the original form, there was nothing to show that the Lutherans had rejected the *opus operatum* in the use of the sacraments. The misapprehension could be most easily removed by adding the antithesis. Though whatever may have been the motive, the occasion, or the prompting cause, it is certain that it appears first in the *Editio Princeps.*

3. Bertram has shown that the antithesis to Article XVIII. also appeared for the first time in the *Editio Princeps.*† It is not found in any of the manuscripts, nor is it given by Fabricius,‡ who claims to have made his copy from the Original, a claim which is conceded by Bertram,§ and by Chytraeus.||

This antithesis is also a *material* addition to the Confession. It assists very much in defining the Lutheran doctrine of the Will. The *et alios*, "and others," is understood, as shown by the *Apology*, to have direct reference to the Romish theologians,

C. R. XXVI. 280, n. 49.

†*Beytrag z. Crit. Geschichte d. Augs. Conf.*, 14. Müller, 258.

‡*C. R.* XXVI., 284 n 16.

§Beytrag, 8–10. ||Historia A. C., 1576, fol. 2.

who "teach that without the aid of the Holy Spirit, man can love God and keep his commandments."*

These examples are sufficient to show that the *Editio Princeps* did not reproduce the Augsburg Confession as it was delivered to the Emperor. It is not at all improbable, that the discovery of the originals would create some surprise, though it is altogether improbable that they would reveal any important differences in doctrine, save possibly in Article X. The manuscripts are sufficient guarantees of sameness of teaching. As neither Melanchthon nor the princes had kept a copy of the originals as they were delivered to the Emperor, it would have been impossible for Melanchthon to have made a verbally exact or diplomatic copy. Nor was any such thing as verbal accordance, or sameness of words, thought of at that time. Substance of doctrine was the all-important thing. If upon further reflection, or after reading the Confutation, Melanchthon discovered that another form of words or an additional clause or sentence would serve to remove ambiguity or misapprehension, or would more clearly exhibit the teaching of the Protestant churches, it would be exactly in harmony with the whole course of his earlier procedure, to make the desired changes. Such changes when made would be applauded, for the Confession did not then have the authority of an ecclesiastical symbol.† It stood for a present fact. Its author and subscribers so little thought of it in its

**Book of Concord*, New Market, 280.

†Dr. J. T. Müller, whose *Historico-theological Introduction* is a classic wherever the Symbolical Books are known, speaking of the period of the Reformation, says: "At that time the Confession and Apology were, indeed, regarded as general confessions, but by no means as symbolical writings in our sense of the term," p. LXVIII. Rudelbach, a very prince of confessionalists, says: "When persons still lived more in the clear oral word of the Confession, and gnawed less around the written Confession; when persons were not ashamed to receive in trust and confidence what was supposed to proceed from a believing heart and confession; when persons generally still lived in the period of doctrinal development, which in many respects had not yet been completed, then it could not be expected that the letters should be weighed and the syllables counted as is done in epigraphs." *Einleitung in die Augs. Conf.*, 107.

future relation to the Church, that they did not even deign to keep copies of the originals. They thought they had discharged their duty to their churches, and answered the summons of the Emperor, when they read and delivered the Confession.

It is due to causes outside of the subscribers that the Confession was published; and it is well to bear in mind certain facts connected with the history of the *Editio Princeps.*

1. "That it was issued solely as a private act of Melanchthon, of course in the interest of his party, that is, in behalf of the truth."* The subscribers did not order it, and as it appeared, it was not, speaking diplomatically, their Confession. It was an *altered* Confession; in part, a private work of Melanchthon.

2. This edition was published for the purpose of counteracting the evil influence of the several editions, six German and one Latin, which had been published by avaricious book-sellers.†

3. This edition was not prepared from the originals, but from what Melanchthon calls "a trustworthy copy," *ex exemplari bonae fidei.* The author does not pretend to give a faithful reproduction of the originals; on the contrary he expressly says in the Preface: "It was necessary to publish a revised and amended edition."

This is proof positive that Melanchthon did not place the meaning of the Confession in the letter, and that he was not careful about "the same words." From the very beginning he *revised* and *amended* it, so as to make it a more accurate expression of the evangelical faith, and to guard it better against misapprehension. In regard to his honesty of purpose in making *these* changes and improvements, and in regard to his right to make them, there never has been a question among Protestants.

*Köllner, *Symbolik*, I., 232. Similarly Zöckler: "Though he (Melanchthon) acted with the knowledge and consent, yet in no sense by command, of the Elector. The authentic edition prepared by him does not indeed have the significance of an official act of the Evangelical estates. It resulted only from the interest of the author, which in the present instance was essentially the same as that of the entire evangelical party." *Augsburg Confession*, p. 33.

†Melanchthon's *Preface*, *C. R.* XXVI., 259.

His work was approved by his co-religionists, and his first edition has been called "the Unaltered Augsburg Confession," though in reality, as we have already demonstrated, there is no such thing as an *unaltered* Augsburg Confession.

These facts are significant. Kaiser, an Erlangen Professor of Theology, a thorough Lutheran, writing on this subject, says: "The matter is more important than might at first sight appear; for here we have the incontestable proof that Melanchthon, even in the original edition, unhesitatingly changed and improved whatever did not stand in vital relation to doctrine, whether in the German or Latin Original which was delivered to the Emperor. The archival manuscripts and the pre-Melanchthonian Latin edition have tota. But the amiable Melanchthon, then thirty-three years old, in such small changes did not think of his glory, or of diplomatic exactness, but of a strong, true and simple refutation of the adversaries, so that even during the printing he made improvements."*

The *Editio Princeps* was published the last of April or the first of May 1531.† But Melanchthon was not satisfied with it. In September or October of the same year he issued a new Latin edition in octavo.‡ This he did, not in secret, but with the knowledge of his friends, Luther included. "His purpose was to present the system of the Evangelical Church, especially the doctrine of justification, with more clearness and distinctness."§ There can be no doubt that this edition is an improvement on its predecessor, though the changes are not many nor great.‖ And it was so entirely acceptable that it threw its predecessor in the shade, and caused it for a long time to be forgotten. Weber says: "This improved Latin octavo edition of the Augsburg Confession and Apology had the fortune at the

**Beitrag z. Krit. Lit—Geschichte* * * *der Augsb. Conf.*, quoted in *C. R.* XXVI., 254. All the MSS., and the pre-Melanchthonian Latin edition, have *tota dissensio* in the Epilogue-Prologue. The *Editio Princeps* has simply *dissensio*. *C. R.* XXVI., 291, n. 55.

†Weber, II., 83. ‡*C. R.* XXVI., 337. Weber, II., 56.

§Weber, II., 86. *C. R.* II., 506.

‖See articles compared in Weber, II., 86 *et seqq.*

Naumburg Convention in 1561, of being furnished with a Preface and of being signed and sealed as the original—which shows how little the theologians of that time knew about the Melanchthonian editions, and how little they were able to distinguish one from the other."*

This octavo edition was taken by George Rorer into volume IV. (1558), of the Jena edition of Luther's works; into the *Corpus Doctrinae Thuringicum* (1570), prepared by Flacius and others in direct opposition to the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum*—a proof of the ignorance that sometimes entered into the anti-Philippistic hostilities of the period. Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, had this octavo edition printed in volume I. (1562) of the Wittenberg edition of Melanchthon's works *as the first edition*; and Nicholas Selneccer placed it in the first Latin edition (1580) of the Book of Concord, which, as he says in the title, "was published in the name of the princes and estates."† Thus for almost fifty years the *Editio Princeps* had been quite forgotten. Lutherans of all tendencies were using a second revised edition *without knowing it;* and the authors of the Form of Concord were appealing to this as "the original Unaltered Augsburg Confession delivered to the Emperor Charles V. at Augsburg in the year 1530, at the great Diet."‡

Weber says that "Melanchthon did not have this varied edition printed again at Wittenberg. The reason undoubtedly is to be sought in the fact that then already he was engaged in preparing the large *Variata* which appeared in 1540." What Weber says here has reference to the Latin Confession. In 1533 Melanchthon published the Confession in German, enlarged and improved in articles IV. V. VI. XII. XIII. XV. XX.§ This edition was placed in volume IX. of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's Works; in the Philippistic and Pomeranian German *Corpora Doctrinae;* and in the Saxon *Visitation Articles* of 1555, ordered by the Elector Augustus, and thus authorized and legally

*Weber, II., 98. †*C. R.* XXVI., Weber, II., 85, 102.

‡*Form of Concord, Epitome.*

§Weber, II., 57, 59, 81. Köllner, *Symbolik*, I., 347–7; *C. R.* XXVI., 695; Feuerlin, *Bibliotheca Symbolica*, 45.

introduced into the churches and schools of Saxony, as the Confession "delivered to the Emperor at the Diet held at Augsburg anno 1530."*

Weber gives strong reasons for believing that this edition was also signed by the theologians at Schmalkald in 1537, and has demonstrated that as a reprint it was laid before the Diet of Worms in 1541.† Certain it is that the amended and enlarged German edition of 1533 had a remarkable career. It is altogether probable that for a long time it completely supplanted the German *Editio Princeps* of 1531.

But all these editions, both Latin and German, original and amended, declare, each by its title, that it is the Confession of faith delivered to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg, anno 1530,—thus furnishing a guarantee of honesty and sincerity on the part of Melanchthon, viz., that he did not intend to change the doctrine of the Confession, but to elucidate it, to improve the form of statement, and to render the Confession less susceptible of being misunderstood. Indeed this is exactly what he says in two letters,‡ in which he refers to the revision of the German Confession. He is particularly intent on improving the articles on Original Sin and Justification. Turning now to Article II. of this revised (1533) German edition, we find that it has received an addition of numerous important words which aid materially in the elucidation of the article; while Article IV. is expanded to about three times its original size, and is one of the clearest and most satisfactory expositions of Justification by Faith ever penned.

There can be no doubt that Melanchthon's contemporaries would regard this amended edition of 1533 as a great improvement on its predecessors, both Latin and German, and it is to a high degree probable, that when the theologians say at Schmalkald they "have re-read the articles of the Confession which was presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg," they mean, for German, this edition of 1533, since Melanchthon's original

*Weber, II., p. 72–3. *Kirchenordnung*, fol. 289. †Weber, II., 316–320.
‡*C. R.* XXVI. p. 624–5.

edition was well known to them, and did not need to be examined anew by them.

But whether Melanchthon's colleagues, and especially Luther, counseled and assisted him in the preparation of *these* new editions, can be neither affirmed nor denied. In his open letter,* to which reference has already been made, he says: "I have always submitted all my writings to the judgment of our Church and of Luther himself. I particularly asked Luther for his opinion." It will be remembered that on the title page of the presentation copy of the *Editio Princeps*, Melanchthon wrote: *To Doctor Martin, with the request that he read and correct.*† That Luther annotated this copy is certain. Dr. Maximilian Morlin tells us that he saw this presentation copy; that at various places Luther had annotated it; that he himself copied Luther's annotations into his own copy of the *Editio Princeps.*‡ Weber tells us that he saw Morlin's copy in the ducal library at Gotha, and says that it is liberally annotated. Whether Melanchthon saw and used Luther's annotations or not, or whether he consulted Luther in particular about the new definitions and explications that he meant to introduce into the revised editions of the Confession is not a matter of record. We may venture an affirmative conjecture, basing it on Melanchthon's well-known habit of consulting Luther on all important ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions. But there can be no doubt that Luther knew of and used the revised editions, which were in everybody's hands, and which so soon supplanted the *Editio Princeps.* To know of and to use them was to approve them. Even to let them pass unchallenged was to approve them. Melanchthon's request for emendations involved on his part both the desirability of change, and the probability that changes would be made. We know from Luther's correspondence that he himself did not regard the Confession as entirely satisfactory, as incapable of improvement. In this he was at one with Melanchthon. Luther could have no private reasons for preserving the *Editio Princeps* intact. Melanchthon could have no private reasons for changing it. On

*C. R. VII., 478 *et seqq.*

†LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1898, 330. ‡Weber, II., 296.

this point the words of Weber are as apples of gold in pictures of silver: "That Melanchthon sent a copy of the Confession and Apology to Luther for emendation is a lasting honor to his character. It shows his great modesty, which is evident from so many of his transactions. Had he been ambitious of praise had he like many a writer regarded his work with partiality, with the eyes of self-love, he would not have submitted to correction. But this circumstance proves also that Melanchthon and Luther regarded the Confession and Apology very differently from what so many blind zealots and heresy-hunters of later times have done. For they did not look upon them as the clear sun in midday, but as the light coming up in darkness, whose flame having dispersed the mist and fog, must be strengthened and nourished, in order that it may burn ever brighter and clearer, and wholly drive away the darkness.

"Melanchthon's various letters to his friends, Camerarius, Brentz, and others, show how he studied to present ever more plainly and clearly the truths of the Evangelical doctrine contained in the Confession and Apology, and to guard them from all misunderstanding. I need not again quote those letters. They show how those variations of the improved Latin and German Confession arose.

"It is easy to perceive how Melanchthon was induced to improve the Confession. He knew only too well that the essay prepared and engrossed in haste, so to speak, here and there remained incomplete. Moreover, at the Diet the Confession had been subjected to a Confutation, and had not been accepted by the opposite party. And as the Confutators and other controversial theologians of the Romish Church of that time misunderstood the Confession in many passages, who dare wonder that Melanchthon should feel constrained to expand and to perfect the first essay? He proceeded in the same way with all his writings, especially with his *Loci*, which show how the tree of truth became more and more deeply rooted, and brought forth flowers and fruit, and how he made it his duty to lop off that which had become barren."*

*Weber, II., 398–9.

What Weber has said here with reference to the earlier variations, applies with equal force to the great Latin *Variata* or *Altered Confession* of 1540. June 25th, 1533, Melanchthon wrote to Anthony Corvinus: "I am carefully reviewing all the controversies in the *Commentary on Romans* and in certain parts of the *Loci.* I hope you will profit by my example. I will revise the Latin Apology throughout."* In July of the same year he wrote to Brentz: "I am now lecturing again on the *Loci Communes*, that I may prepare a new and amended edition."† March 10th, 1535 he wrote to Camerarius: "I am revising the *Apology* and *Loci.* I earnestly desire to explain the principal doctrines in a simple manner."‡ To Frederick Myconius he wrote in April: "I am now revising the *Apology*, and am making it almost wholly new, that it may have less sophistry. The *Loci Communes* are also being published."§ To John Lachmann he wrote, April 25th: "I am now revising both the *Loci Communes* and the *Apology.* I hope to throw more light on the subjects under discussion."||

That by the word *Apology*, Melanchthon means the Augsburg Confession, is proved by the fact that no edition of the Apology proper was published by him after 1531. On these points there is no difference of opinion among the historians of the Confession.¶ Melanchthon uses the name by which the Confession was still frequently called, especially in the circles of the learned. It is also evident that Melanchthon means the Latin Confession, in distinction from the German, which, as has already been shown, was published in revised and improved form in 1533. He could hardly be content that the Latin form, which was intended chiefly for scholars, should remain inferior to its more popular companion, the German. A comparison of the two, viz., the Latin *Variata*** of 1540, and the German†† edition of 1533, shows that these two editions have their chief

C. R. II., 861. †*C. R.* II., 661. ‡*C. R.* II., 861. §*C. R.* II., 872.
||*C. R.* II., 871. ¶See *C. R.* XXVI., 239–40. Weber, II., 103.
**See Latin in *C. R.* XXVI., *et seqq.*, English in Jacobs' *Book of Concord*, II., 103 *et seqq.*
††In the German *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum.*

changes in the same articles, and that the changes are such as to make it demonstrable that the Latin is simply a free reproduction of the German. The conformity of one of these editions to the other is quite as close as is that of the respective *Editiones Principes.* It is found in the frequent use of the same passages of Scripture, in references to the same Fathers and histories, often in like paragraphing, in the employment of the same technical words, and in the condemnation by name of the same heresies and heretics. Those who are acquainted with the Latin *Variata* will recall that Article XX. is very much expanded, that it is divided into three distinct parts, that in the third part the paragraphing is numbered up to "fifthly." We find the same division, and the same order of treatment in the German.

These facts show beyond question that Melanchthon had the German edition of 1533 before him when he prepared the Latin *Variata* published in 1540, and that it was his conscious aim to make the two as nearly alike as the differences of linguistic idiom and the difference in the ends to be served by each, would permit. The German was chiefly for the people; the Latin for scholars. Hence the Latin is more technically learned. But the existence of an approved German edition would almost necessarily require the preparation of a corresponding Latin edition.

Now when we recall the fact that the Latin *Variata* was prepared in 1535, that is, before the Wittenberg *Concord* (1536) and the union with the Oberlanders, we see at once that its author could not possibly have had in mind any *specific* end, but only the general one of rendering the Confession a clearer, stronger and better expression of the evangelical faith. We learn from his letter to Corvinus (see above) that he was contemplating a "thorough revision" of the Latin Confession in 1533, the year in which he published the great German *Variata.* From the rest of his letters quoted above, we learn that he was actually revising the Confession in March and April of the year 1535, and that he was at the same time revising the *Loci Communes,* which we know was published in 1535. It was but natural that

these two Latin works should be revised at the same time, and that Melanchthon should incorporate in the Confession the new and clearer definitions that had come to him as the result of study, and reflection, and conference with his colleagues.

Weber is of the opinion that this *Variata* was not *printed* in the year 1535; but he gives good reasons for believing that Melanchthon took it with him to Schmalkald in 1537 in manuscript, where it was examined and subscribed by the theologians present.* Bindseil, who examined all of Melanchthon's letters from May 1st, 1535 to the end of the year 1540, and found in them no allusion to the preparation and printing of the revised edition, concludes that this great Latin *Variata* was completed and printed in the year 1535.† He thinks he is supported in this conclusion by two of Melanchthon's letters. In a letter‡ without date, but assigned to May, 1535, Melanchthon writes to Justus Jonas: "My *Apology* has been revised, and improved in the Article on Justification. Read it, and then write me your opinion."§ Bindseil says: "From this it is evident that at the time this was written, this book was already printed and in the hands of his friend."‖ The second letter quoted by Bindseil is addressed to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Cruciger, and bears date, November 1st, 1536. In this letter Melanchthon says: "But inasmuch as at the beginning I saw that the proposition, *We are justified by faith alone*, was understood by many persons to mean, *We are justified by renewal* or by *infused gifts*, (that is, not by faith alone) it was necessary for me in the Apology to speak of gratuitous imputation, and to state certain things in a plainer way. From this arise questions, as, if we are accepted alone through mercy, to what purpose then, or why, is new obedience required? The matter has been explained. And I do not shun criticism from you nor from *Amsdorf*. I have sought to explain, in the most appropriate way, what you teach, because I know that many persons have erroneous notions about your teaching."¶ Bindseil says: "From this we may infer that the author is defending himself in regard

*Weber, II., 318, Köllner, *Symbolik*, I., 249. †*C. R.* XXVI., 342.
‡*C. R.* II., 872. §*C. R.* II., 872. ‖*C. R.* XXVI., 342. ¶*C. R.* III., 180.

to a passage in the *varied and already* printed Confession."* He expresses surprise "that no copy of this Wittenberg Latin Edition of the Confession of the year 1535 has been discovered by anyone."†

We believe that Weber is right in maintaining that this edition, prepared for print in 1535, was held in manuscript until 1540.‡ Caspar Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, says that this "later edition was written in the year 1538, just before the diets of Worms and Ratisbon."§ Nicholas Selneccer says that "the Augsburg Confession was revised in 1538."‖ Feuerlin thinks that it was not printed in 1538, though following Hoornbeck and Peucer, he refers its preparation to that year.

Putting all the facts together we reach the following conclusions:

1. The Latin Confession was thoroughly revised in 1535, and made to conform closely to tbe revised German of 1533.

2. It was again revised and perhaps slightly enlarged just before the Diet of Worms in 1540, and printed near the close of that year. Peucer and Selneccer may not be strictly accurate in the chronology.

This edition bears the following title:¶

CONFESSIO

FIDEI EXHIBITA

INVICTIS. IMP. CAROLO

V. Caeſari Aug. in Comicijis

AVGVSTAE.

ANNO. M. D. XXX.

Addita eſt Apologia Confeſſionis diligenter recognita.

*C. R. XXVI., 341. †C. R. XXVI., 341. ‡Weber, II., 319, n.
§*Preface* to Melanchthon's Works. ‖*De Synodis*, 91.
¶*Corpus Reformatorum*, XXVI., 343.

PSALMO. CXIX.

Et loquebar de teſtimonijs tuis in conſpectu Regum, et non confundebar.

VITEBERGAE. 1540.

This, we repeat, is the *Confessio Augustana Variata*, that is, *The Altered Augsburg Confession* of history. Says Weber: "This is the famous edition which in later times became a stone of stumbling in the Evangelical Church, for the reason that Sacramentarianism, Synergism and similar heresies were raked out of it; though it was authorized by the earlier Evangelical Church in Luther's life-time and was presented at different religious colloquies as a norm of faith and doctrine."*

The *Variata* differs from the *Editio Princeps* in the following respects:

1. It contains about twice as much matter as the *Editio Princeps.*

2. Articles IV., V., VI., XI., XIII., XVIII., XX., are much enlarged.

3. The order of Articles XI. and XII. is the reverse of what it is in the *Editio Princeps.*

4. Article X. reads as follows: "Of the Lord's Supper they teach that, with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly presented to those that eat in the Supper."

5. The order of the Articles in the second part of the *Variata* is: Of the Mass; Of Both Kinds; Of Confession; Of the Distinction of Meats and Similar Popish Traditions; Of the Marriage of Priests; Of Domestic Vows; Of Ecclesiastical Power.

Bertram compared the *Variata* of 1540 with the *Loci* of 1535. He found that in phraseology and definitions they agree in many places. This is additional evidence that they both underwent revision at the same time. But there is no evidence leading sat-

*Weber II,, 104.

isfactorily to the belief that the *Variata* was printed and published either in 1535 or in 1538. Had it been published in print in either of those years, some copies would certainly have survived. Nor was there any *special* reason why it should have been published in those years. The German *Variata* was widely circulated, and the *Loci Communes* was still looked upon somewhat as a confession of faith. But now a new exigency arises. The Diet of Hagenau in the Summer of 1540 reached no conclusion touching the points in controversy. It adjourned to meet at Worms in the Autumn of the same year, and "resolved that there the *Augustana* should be made the basis of conference, and that on this basis an effort should be made to come to an understanding on the subjects in controversy."*

The Evangelicals believed that an honest effort would now be made to heal the schism. Hence they came with a proper preparation. The Elector of Saxony gave his legates to the Diet,—Francis Burkhard, Philip Melanchthon and Justus Menius,—an *Instruction*, viz., "that they were to stand by the Confession and Apology in word and in sense, as they had been recently approved again at Schmalkald by all the estates and their allies in religion."† Weber has proved from an examination of the imperial archives, and from the Acts of the Diet of Worms, and from other authentic sources, that not the *Editio Princeps*, but the German edition of 1540 ("almost throughout line for line and page for page, a reprint of the German *Variata* of 1533") and the Latin *Variata* of 1540, "were delivered to the President of the Colloquy, November 28th, by the counselors, legates and embassadors of the Evangelical Princes and Estates."‡—that is, the *Variata* was formally and officially laid before the Diet of Worms in accordance with the *Instruction* given by that most uncompromising Lutheran Elector, John Frederick, and, as the theologians believed, in accordance with the Hagenau decree. Thus, as will appear also hereafter by the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses, the *Variata* was not prepared and laid before the Diet of Worms by Melanchthon as a private act, but

*Herzog, *Realencyc.*, v. 537. †Original in Weber, II., 318.
‡Weber, II., 320, 321.

was presented by the official action of the Evangelical Estates as the Augsburg Confession which had been approved at Schmalkald three years before and subscribed by so many theologians. At least it was believed to be so fully in harmony with the Confession signed at Schmalkald, as to come within the requirement of the Elector's *Instruction.* It thus becomes demonstrable that the *Variata* received *symbolical* recognition. Moreover, the Evangelical legates and the embassadors insist in writing, December 27th, 1540, that they "have no need of new articles," and that "the Diet must be conducted in accordance with the Hagenau formula."* Also: About January 13th, Melanchthon sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession and Apology to Bishop Vergerius, saying: "This little book is evidence that we do not depart from the true consent of the Catholic Church of Christ. I'd rather be swallowed by the earth, than contend against that august assembly of the Church in which the Son of God reigns."† There can be no doubt that he sent the *Variata.* Or if perchance he sent a copy of the *Editio Princeps*, his letter is proof that he identifies the contents of the two editions. In other words we have documentary evidence of the honesty and sincerity of the Evangelicals in their presentation of the *Variata* at Worms. They believed they were presenting the unchanged doctrine of their churches as it had been delivered at Augsburg, though in an expanded and elucidated form.

Finally, January 14th, 1541, after a delay of seventeen weeks, the colloquy on religion began. Eck and Melanchthon were the colloquists. The former opened the debate by saying: "The delay has been not a little increased because the gentlemen on the opposite side have presented us with a copy of the Confession and Apology not in harmony with the Hagenau resolution, by virtue of which that Confession ought to have been presented to us simply and truly as it was delivered to the Emperor and the princes. Hence we gave not a little time and trouble to comparing them, so that we have had very proper reason for

*C. R. III., 1256.
†C. R. IV., 22.

delaying the colloquy."* When Melanchthon's turn to speak came, he said: "He (Eck) apologizes for the delay, and lays it to the difference of copies. I reply that the meaning of the things is the same, though in the later edition some things have been either more mildly expressed or have been better explained."† When Eck still insisted on the difference in the copies, and especially instanced Article X., Melanchthon replied with evident feeling, and requested that "there be some moderation in the matter of accusations.',* Eck acquiesced and went on with the debate, he accepting and Melanchthon in the presence of all the other evangelical legates using the *Variata* as the basis of discussion.

In 1542 Melanchthon published a formal report of this altercation between himself and Eck.‡ Of the thirty-two evangelical Legates who were present and heard it, not one is known to have raised his voice or pen in contradiction or protest. This shows that they accepted the *Variata* and Melanchthon's explanation as their own action, and yet among those legates were such stalwart Lutherans as John Brentz, Erhard Schnepf, Nicholas Amsdorf and Andrew Osiander, two of whom at least were by no means friendly to Melanchthon, and would have been only too glad to embrace an opportunity to bring an accusation against him. Their silence was their acquiescence, and their acquiescence was their approval of what Melanchthon said about the *Variata.* And why should they not approve? Had not they themselves officially presented the *Variata* to the President of the Diet?

But more: In an official report sent to the Elector of Saxony,

**C. R.* IV. p. 34. The Brandenburg Protocol of December 4th, 1540, says: "Dr. Eck has attacked the new Confession and Apology, to which since the Diet of Augsburg some leaves have been added, much altered, and the hair beaten into the wool, as he says, and a new glaze given to it, wherefore he desired to have the original, which had been presented to his imperial majesty at Augsburg, out of the Mainz Chancery, which accordingly did not refuse, and permitted the same to be given to him." Quoted from Ranke, who says: "I do not find, however, that Eck produced the collation he promised." *Hist. Ref.* V. IX. n.

†*C. R.* IV., 43, 47. ‡*C. R.* IV., 33 *et seqq.*

it is said: "Master Philip Melanchthon presented against Dr. Eck such a splendid, well-grounded writing, and spoke in such pure Latin and with such modesty as to remind one of the song of the nightingale."* That "writing" could have been no other than the *Variata* and the explanation of the same in the Apology. Francis Burkhard, electoral chancellor, wrote to chancellor Brück, that the debate between Melanchthon and Eck "seemed like the meeting of David and Goliath."† Dr. Chilian Goldstein wrote to a friend: "You would scarcely believe with what attention and admiration our Philip is heard by all. In clear and simple language he explains many dark subjects, and by his distinct enunciation he impresses certain things more deeply upon our minds."‡ Joachim Moeller wrote to a friend: "To-day Philip consumed nearly three hours in explaining the doctrine of original sin as it is taught in our churches."§

It is thus made evident by official and by private documents that Melanchthon's course at Worms was fully endorsed by his colleagues.

The Diet of Worms was suddenly brought to a close, January 18th, or, rather, adjourned to meet at Regensburg (Ratisbon) the following spring. It is an undeniable fact that the *Variata* was carried to Regensburg by the Evangelicals and employed in the Diet. Melanchthon's conduct at this Diet was so steadfast and heroic as to call forth the most unqualified praise from his fellow-legates,|| and from Luther who wrote to the Elector that Philip "had stood by the dear Confession."¶ In several official papers the Protestent legates declare their adherence to the Confession and Apology,** meaning the *Variata*, for that and that alone had been presented at Regensburg as the Augsburg Confession, and that too with the knowledge and consent of Luther.††

The facts may be condensed into the following propositions:

1. By the official action of the Protestant legates, the

C. R. IV., p. 25. †*C. R.* IV. p. 22. ‡*C. R.* IV. p. 26. §*C. R.* IV. p. 27.
||*C. R.* IV., pp. 298 *et seqq.*, 317, 323 *et seqq.* ¶De Wette, V. 537.
**C. R.* IV., 476 *et seqq.* ††Schmidt's *Philipp Melanchthon*, 375.

Variata was made the basis of the colloquy at Worms in 1540–1.

2. It was carried to Regensburg for the same purpose in the Spring of 1541.

3. Neither at Worms nor at Regensburg was a single Protestant voice raised against it, nor against Melanchthon's vindication of it.

Melanchthon's conduct at Worms and at Regensburg was privately and officially endorsed by his fellow legates, and called forth a letter of gratitude from John Frederick, the Saxon Elector.*

These propositions are based on official and other authentic documents now lying before the writer. They can be supported and established by pages of the most unimpeachable testimony. The sceptical reader is requested to examine the authorities referred to in the margin, and to hear the witnesses who shall yet be summoned to the stand. And the full significance of the endorsement given to the *Variata* at Worms and Regensburg, can be understood only when we recall the fact that at those diets more than three times as many Protestants were officially represented, as had been represented by the signers of the Confession at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Indeed it would have been scarcely possible for it to have had a more comprehensive and unanimous endorsement from German Protestantism, than it received in those two diets, which contained Protestant legates from Pomerania to Strassburg, from Hamburg to Nurenberg.†

The *Variata* was now fully launched in the Lutheran Church. Men who officially signed themselves "the Electors, Princes, Estates and Cities of the Augsburg Confession,"‡ had sanctioned it. Even the Roman Catholics had recognized it as the Augsburg Confession, and had allowed it to be made the basis of two colloquies on Religion. No one now any more thought that it was not the Augsburg Confession. Dr. Heppe, writing of its preparation and publication, says:

"In the immediately succeeding years this edition was circu-

*C. R. IV., 346. †Weber, II., 322—4. ‡C. R. IV., 498.

lated in so many editions and copies, that the earlier editions gradually disappeared and fell out of use. In many countries it was immediately introduced, as in Hesse, where the Landgrave Philip provided copies for all the parishes of the country. At Naumburg in 1561 at the convention of the princes, it was expressly approved by nearly all of the Evangelical princes of the Empire."* Dr. Carl Schmidt says: "So long as Melanchthon lived the *Variata* of 1540 was objected to by no one. Even his enemies used it without hesitation."†

Strobel says: "No one found an error in the varied edition so long as Luther and Melanchthon lived. Only after the death of Melanchthon did the uproar about it begin. If any one can show me a valid proof that prior to 1560 exception was taken to Melanchthon by any Evangelical on account of the changes of the Confession, I shall welcome it. This change was undoubtedly known, but it was considered objectionable by no Evangelical, so long as Melanchthon lived. At least I have found no proof of it, though I have been at great pains, and have examined many books with that end in view."‡ Weber says: "It is and remains settled, that the theologians until Melanchthon's death, even his greatest antagonist, Flacius, did not object in the least to the enlarged copies, and did not find in them anything prejudicial to the evangelical doctrine. Yea, what is still more, we can and even must believe that the modest Melanchthon unquestionably took Luther into his counsel in these changes, and that the varied editions were not printed without Luther's knowledge and approval. As from time to time Melanchthon reported to his friends on the changing of the Confession and Apology, why should he hesitate to inform Luther, Jonas and Bugenhagen, since he lived with them in the same place?"§

Finally: That the *Variata* of 1540 was published with the knowledge, consent and approbation of Luther, and that it was publicly and officially presented and used by Lutheran Princes,

**Philipp Melanchthon*, 89. †*Philipp Melanchthon*, 373, n.
‡*Apologie Melanchthons*, 94. §Weber, II., 508–9.

Counselors and Theologians in great imperial diets, is established by testimony that is absolutely irresistible.

1. Caspar Peucer, in the Preface to his edition of Melanchthon's works (1562), says: "I have inserted two forms of the Augsburg Confession: The first one, which was presented to Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530; and the later one, written in the year thirty-eight, just before the colloquies of Worms and Ratisbon (Regensburg), which contains a fuller and clearer explication of those subjects which were too briefly indicated in the former one. Moreover, this one was written by Philip, *mandante, recognoscente et approbante Luthero*, (that is, 'ordered, revised and approved by Luther'); and it was necessary that it should be written, because of the adversaries, since they found fault with many subjects, which had to be explained in order that the occasions and reasons for caviling might be removed, in case further discussions should be held. Then, inasmuch as many things could be borrowed from the former one with which to deck their own affairs, facts show that in many controversies they (the adversaries) did tone down many things, using our formulas, that they might impose upon the ignorant. Hence a fuller exposition was needed.

"We recall that when at the Colloquy of Worms, Eck objected to the differences in the copies of the Augsburg Confession, Melanchthon replied that there is no difference in the meaning of the subjects, although here and there in the later edition, some things have been presented more mildly, or have been better explained; whereupon Eck acquiesced."*

This was written when the *Variata* enjoyed full recognition as the Augsburg Confession. Hence it cannot be regarded as a proposed defence of the *Variata*, but as a statement of facts which ought to be given to the readers of Melanchthon's works. And the editor introduces this *Variata* with the following heading: "The same Articles more copiously and explicitly set forth at Worms, Anno 1540, on account of the calumnies, interpretations and sophistical evasions of the adversaries. The meaning of the subjects has not been changed."

* *Witt. Ed.* fol. 39.

2. The theologians and superintendents of Electoral Saxony, some of whom had been Melanchthon's Wittenberg colleagues, say at the Altenburg Colloquy (1568): "It is well known to us that Philip's emendation was made and published, not only with Luther's approval, but by his assistance and command. Because of the adversaries of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and because of their cavils, a clearer and plainer statement had to be made, so that opportunity for caviling might be removed."* Again: "They (the opposing party) reject also the *Corpus Doctrinae* as wholly reprehensible; and they most violently blame the Augsburg Confession which was enlarged by Master Philip, and revised and approved by Luther."†

These same colloquists tell us further that the last revised edition was held in the highest esteem by all the churches of the Augsburg Confession, and was presented publicly to the Papists at Worms and Regensberg in 1540, '41, '46.

3. Nicholas Selneccer, one of the authors of the Form of Concord, says in the Preface to his Commentary on Genesis (1560): "Away with the ungrateful cuckoos, apes and foxes, that abuse the name of Luther, calumniators and defamers of Philip, hornets and bumble-bees! Let them arrange their *Corpora*,‡ rather, their *Cadavera*, as they best may. Let them not complain that the Augsburg Confession and the *Loci* have been corrupted—a charge which, though they should burst, they cannot sustain. Those writings have been revised, elucidated and more fully explained in many parts. We need only common sense to perceive that they have not been changed in meaning; but only in words have they been more clearly and fully presented. Hellebore and an iron rake ought to be applied to these calumniators as an instrument for clearing out their heads."

In his *Brief Catalogue of the Principal Councils*, 1571, fol. 97, Selneccer wrote: "At Worms John Eck and Philip Melanchthon argued for three days on doctrine until the Colloquy was

**Acta et Handlungen*, fol. 314–5. †Ibid, 335.

‡Used evidently in contemptuous reference to the various *Corpora Doctrinae*.

dissolved by a letter from the Emperor, and adjourned to Ratisbon where it was held the following year, since with the knowledge and approbation of Luther, as witnesses still living affirm, the later Augsburg Confession, that is, that of 1538, had been revised. Hence absolutely no credence can be given to those who complain that the copies do not agree. We need only a little common sense to discover that the difference consists in copiousness of subjects, and not in sense, since at the Colloquy of Worms, Philip, in reply to Eck's objection about the difference in copies, said: 'The meaning of the subjects is the same, though here and there in the later edition, some things are either rendered plainer, on account of the adversaries, or are given less harshly.' It is also known that Eck acquiesced in this reply."

Once more: In his *Narratio de Luthero*, 1575, Selneccer says: "They (Surius and others) claim that it (the Augsburg Confession) was frequently changed, and became a cloak for many sects. I would say, God rebuke thee, Satan, did I not have a milder answer, which ought to satisfy all honest men. They vociferate that a public writing presented in the name of the Elector and Princes ought not to be changed even in the least, as regards substance of doctrine and the meaning of the articles on doctrine. That some things were elucidated, and some things more fully explained we do not deny: but this was done not as the private undertaking of an individual, but in the name of the teachers."*

4. Chytraeus, also one of the authors of the Form of Concord, says in his *History of the Augsburg Confession*, 1575–6, fol. 47: "In the life-time of Luther the Confession and Apology were enlarged and improved; and beyond doubt they were laid before the adversaries at the councils of Worms and Regensburg with the knowledge and by the request of Luther." He says: "As regards doctrine and substance, there is almost complete and absolute agreement."

Martin Chemnitz, another of the authors of the Form of Concord, next to Luther and Melanchthon the greatest Lutheran theologian of the sixteenth century, says in his *Judicium de*

*Quoted in Weber, II., 302.

Controversiis, published at Wittenberg, 1597: "The edition of the year 1531 neither can nor ought to be rejected, for this is the real Augsburg Confession, as it was presented to the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1530. In this form it has always been the custom to quote it. This edition was subscribed at Schmalkald by all our churches in the year '37. *But I do not see how the edition of the year '40 can be profitably and justly rejected.* For when the Colloquy of Hagenau had been appointed in the year '40, and it was decided that it would be useful to present the corpus and form of the doctrine of our churches as the subject of the Colloquy, it (the Confession) was published that year at Wittenberg in a somewhat ampler declaration. *That edition the same year was presented at Worms under the name of the Augsburg Confession.* The same was presented *at the Colloquy of Ratisbon* to the adversaries as the form of doctrine of our churches. *And that was done in accordance with the advice of Luther and with his approbation and consent. Likewise in the year '46 and afterward at all the diets and in the negotiations about religion, ours appealed to this edition and called it the Augsburg Confession, etc.* Yea, Cochleus at Worms [he means Eck] and Pighius at Ratisbon were displeased that *in many articles light was added by means of the ampler declaration*, for they saw that thereby the true doctrines were more clearly set forth, and that the lewdness of the Babylonian Thais was more manifestly exposed. Their *preference was* simply to retain the edition of the year '31. So their writings declare. But since the edition of the year '40 *is in everybody's hands* (and the first edition of '31 is unknown to and has scarcely ever been seen by most people) and contains no error, *but only some necessary explanations*, I do not see how it can be utterly or simply rejected and condemned without disturbing the churches. Therefore it seems very proper to restore the edition of the year '31 to the churches, and to commend it as of plenary and primary authority. Also let the edition of '40 be retained as a declaration which is not in conflict, but in every way harmonizes with the first edition.*"

*Quoted from Köllner's *Symbolik*. II., 254.

6. The Hessian *Bedenken*, an official document relating to the Form of Concord, says: "The Elector and Princes at Naumburg not only approved the first confession delivered to Charles V. at Augsburg, but did not in any sense reject that of the years '40 and '42, printed at Wittenberg, which as an authorized document during the life time of Luther was defended at the Colloquy of Worms against Dr. Eck."*

7. The Magdeburg *Bedenken*, also an official document relating to the Form of Concord, says: "As regards the later edition of the Augsburg Confession, it is a fact that this improvement did not proceed from a rash purpose, but it was revised by command of the Elector and the Princes, with the knowledge, good-will, counsel and assistance of Herr Luther and other distinguished theologians in these lands; nor did it remain a private writing, but in the states of the Augsburg Confession it was subscribed and approved the same as the first."†

8. John Brentz, a very prince of Lutheran orthodoxy, wrote to Veit Dietrich, in 1541: "I am in the habit of comparing this later edition of the Apology (Augsburg Confession) with the earlier edition to see what changes have been made. I find that much has been changed. But I know that Philip changes nothing rashly and injudiciously. When I consider and inquire into the reasons for the changes, I am greatly profited by the reading."*

9. Vögelin, the learned Leipzig publisher, in a prefatory note to the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum*, says: "When I had decided to publish this *Corpus Doctrinae*, I very carefully compared the most ancient editions (of the Confession) I could find with the most recent. I have discovered that the sense is not changed even in the smallest particular."

Additional testimony would only tax the reader's patience. What we have given comes from the most upright and learned men of the second half of the sixteenth century, from men who took an active part in the great religious movements of the day.

*Semler's *Preface to the Torgau Book*, 25.
†*Ibid.* p. 31. ‡*C. R.* IV., 737.

Some of them had been the personal friends and pupils of Luther and Melanchthon; that is, their relations had been such as to enable them to know the facts. They furnish the three conditions of competent testimony: intelligence, opportunity and integrity. Analyzing their testimony given in formal and official deliverances, we learn that the *Confessio Augustana* of 1540 was prepared:

1. On account of the perversions and cavils of the enemies of the Gospel, in order to make it *clearer* and *plainer.*

2. That it was prepared with the knowledge and by the advice, approval and assistance of Luther.

3. That it was universally regarded during the life-time of Luther and Melanchthon as an improvement and explanation of the earlier editions.

4. That it was officially laid before diets of the Empire by the Lutheran theologians and legates as the Augsburg Confession, and defended as such.

5. That it practically superseded all the earlier Latin editions of the Confession.

What do we have *per Contra*? Simply this and nothing more: At the Weimer dispution between Strigel and Flacius, August 5th, 1560, the former refuted the latter from the *Variata.* In the afternoon Flacius returned to the debate with the following supplementary answer: Testatur M. Balthaser Superintendins Jenensis, M. Rorarium saepe dixisse, se indicasse Luthero, cum Philippus augeret Confessionem, ac Lutherum aegre tulisse: verum cum editio peracta esset, non potuisse impedire. That is, "Magister Balthaser (Winter), Superintendent at Jena testifies that Magister Rorer often said that he had informed Luther when Melanchthon was enlarging the Confession, and that Luther was displeased, but when the edition had been completed, he was powerless to hinder it."*

1. Flacius who makes this statement had been for fully twelve years the avowed and unrelenting enemy of Melanchthon. He was reputed a *calumniator* and *liar.* He obtained Melanchthon's letters, either by theft, or through violation of confidence, and published them with the most outrageous slan-

*Quoted from Weber, II., 360. See Salig. *Hist. Aug. Conf.* III., 604.

ders.* Melanchthon, who was the soul of truth and honor, *openly* charges him with calumny and "barefaced lying."†

2. He announces this hearsay of a hearsay in lieu of argument in a debate in which he had been vanquished. His opponent, Strigel, at once replied: "The difference between the altered and unaltered Augsburg Confession, was first mentioned at the Colloquy of Worms by Dr. Eck. Dr. Schnepf and Francis Burkhard declared that to prate about an altered Augsburg Confession, is only a papistical subterfuge,"‡ which answer silenced Flacius.

3. The saying was reported only after Melanchthon's death. Aptly does Strobel say: "Though the notorious and intractable quarreler, Flacius, published many writings against the good Melanchthon, and eagerly took into them all lies and slanders, provided they served to insult him, yet during his (Melanchthon's) life-time he never charged him with having corrupted the Augsburg Confession."§ When, finally, Flacius makes his declaration, George Rorer and Balthaser Winter were both dead. That is, a man notorious for his calumnies, slanders and *manifesta mendacia*,‖ says that a certain dead man, an enemy of Melanchthon, had said that another dead man, an enemy of Melanchthon, had said that Luther was displeased with Melanchthon's *enlargement* of the Augsburg Confession, but couldn't help it! In other words, over against the *written* testimony of a number of the most intelligent and upright men of the age, we have a dead man's hearsay of another dead man's hearsay, reported by a vilifier of Melanchthon, after it had been conjured up as an afterthought to cover the mortification of defeat!—an anti-Philippistic fabrication which is now regarded by historians as worse than apocryphal. No fair-minded historian gives it credence, and were it subjected to the laws that control evidence in courts of justice, it would be ridiculed off the witness stands. Not for one moment can it be allowed in abatement of the weight of the documentary evidence, and of the personal

**Concilia. Witebergensia*, 325 *n. passim.*

†See Melanchthon's letters, *C. R.* VII., 478, 658. ‡Salig, III., 604.

§*Apologie Melanchthons*, 99. ‖*C. R.* VII., 658.

testimony contained in the preceding pages, viz., that the *Variata* was revised, approved and authorized by Luther, and that for more than twenty years, it was publicly and officially employed and endorsed by the entire Lutheran Church. Moreover, the statement of Flacius carries the elements of its own condemnation in the words: "Luther was powerless to hinder it." Had Luther lost his authority at Wittenberg and in the Evangelical Church? Who does not know that a single word, *Damno*, written by his pen across the title of the *Variata*, would have doomed it forever? We do not have one word from his pen, nor an authentic word from his lips, to show that he ever disapproved of the *Variata*, or censured its author for preparing it, though he lived for almost six years after its publication, and continued to be, in the highest and best sense, the *archiepiscopus* of the Church which he had helped to call into existence.

When busy-bodies, slanderers and strife-makers sought to destroy his confidence in Melanchthon, he exclaimed: "I will share my heart with Philip; I will pray for him."* Of the *Loci* of 1535, which contains the very same doctrine contained in the *Variata*, he said to the students: "Read Philip's *Loci* next to the *Bible*. In this most excellent book the pure theology is stated in a quiet and orderly way. Augustine, Bernard, Bonavatura, Lyra, Gabriel Biel, Staupitz and others have much that is good; but Master Philip can explain the Scriptures and present their meaning in brief compass. By reason of affliction he has learned to pray, and he has disputed with the greatest and most learned opponents."‡ Finally he places his testamentary seal on the *Loci* by extolling it above all other works of systematic divinity, and writing thus of the author: "Philip Melanchthon was called hither by Prince Frederick to teach Greek, but beyond doubt that I might have a companion in theology. What God has wrought through this organon, not only in letters, but in theology, his works sufficiently testify, though the devil and his rabble rage."‡ Even at a time when he was raging against the Swiss, April 21st 1544, he wrote: "I have

**C. R.* III., 428. †Matthesius, *Twelfth Sermon.*
‡*Preface to Works.*

absolutely no suspicion in regard to Master Philip;"* and a little later, November 12th: "If you should hear that Master Philip or Luther has yielded to the insane error of the sacramentarians, for God's sake, do not believe it."† And January 9th, 1546, just before they separated not again to met on earth, Luther wrote to the Elector: "Philip is a true man. He fears and shuns no one, but he is weak and sick. It cost not a little effort to fetch him from Mansfeld, for he didn't want to eat or drink. Should he be taken from the University half the students will leave in consequence of his absence."‡

It may be worth while to quote from two modern Lutheran theologians of ample learning and of unquestioned soundness:

1. Dr. Carl Schmidt, in his *Philipp Melanchthon*, the most impartial and scientific biography of the great Wittenberg theologian ever written, says: "Since 1531 he (Melanchthon) had published several editions of the Confession in which some changes were made in expression. His effort was to find the most definite forms in order to prevent all misunderstanding. In the Preface to the Apology, he had declared that he had treated of Christian doctrine in the usual way in order to make approach and agreement easier, 'though he might properly have conducted the men of that generation farther away from the opinions of the adversaries'. But now agreement with the Catholics scarcely seemed any longer possible. By the Schmalkald Articles on the Papacy a breach with the Romish Church had been openly made. The adversaries had abused the Confession of 1530 by explaining its 'mild' language in *their own* sense, and by demanding from the Protestants concessions which could not be granted. Hence a more definite wording of the Confession had become necessary. In doing this Melanchthon felt himself justified, not only because he saw how favorably the *Loci* of 1535 had been received; but because no one had yet publicly found fault with the changes in the Confession. The great majority in the Evangelical Chureh did not yet think of regarding it as a stereotyped book of laws. In the edition of

*DeWette's *Luther's Briefe* v., 646. ‡Ibid, 697.

‡*C. R.* vi., and De Wette, v., 774.

1540 Melanchthon brought some things into better form, and expanded others, in order to exhibit the antithesis to Catholicism the more sharply. * * This edition was received without scruples. Neither Luther nor the Elector, who must necessarily have known it, troubled themselves about it. Even the usual censurers of Melanchthon kept silent."*

2. Dr. H. E. Jacobs, in an address delivered before the professors and students of the Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, February 16th, 1897, said:

"When a serious Romanizing aberration from the evangelical doctrine appeared in the teaching of Osiander, it is to Melanchthon that the Lutheran Church is indebted for the clear distinctions and the final settlement of the subject in the Formula of Concord.

"On the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, there is no evidence that he ever abandoned the explanation of Luther. If the testimony of any one is worthy of consideration, it is that of his pupil, Nicholas Selnecker, whose soundness is undisputed, and whose part in the preparation of the Formula of Concord, is well known. He maintains that there was not even in the slightest point, the least variation from the teaching of Luther. He affirms that Melanchthon repeatedly declared that: 'When Calvin writes to me, I cannot make out what he wants, and must read the letter over two or three times, before I can catch his meaning.' Calvin complained that for three years, Melanchthon neglected his letters. Add to this, the fact that Melanchthon himself constantly declared that there has been no change from the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession of 1530, and the Visitation Articles of 1528. The assertion of his conversion to Calvinism, is a reflection upon his honesty.

"The changes in the *Variata* of the Augsburg Confession, have no doctrinal significance. They were intended to introduce into the Augsburg Confession all the definitions of doctrine that, up to date, had been officially approved in the Lutheran churches. That in Art. X. is intended to introduce the statement of the Wittenberg Concord, as that which had supplanted

*Page 472–3.

the statement of precisely the same doctrine of the Confession of 1530. In like manner, the treatment of the subject of Justification, introduces a summary of the statements of the Apology, guarding the definition as presented in 1530, from ambiguities, that its author was free to acknowledge. This explains the fact that Luther never made any serious protest. Melanchthon knew that the Confession of 1530, could not, in the nature of the case, be adequate amidst all circumstances, that would arise afterwards in the Church. It was the very answer demanded for the adversaries, then in view, and for the hour, at which it was written; but it is unreasonable to bind the Church forever to the precise definitions of one hour and crisis, in such way, as to preclude a presentment of the same truths, in a varied form, adapted to new issues, and to new forms of old errors."*

ARTICLE IX.

MARTIN LUTHER AS A PREACHER.

By Professor J. Yutzy, D. D.

The foremost man in any age is the true minister of the Word of God. His mission is heaven-born, his message divine, his theme immortal, and his position the highest on earth. The faithful preacher of the Gospel of Christ will always be the true primate in history, and his life and labors will ever be full of interest and edification. This being true, the hope is sincerely cherished that this brief article on the prince of mighty men in the sacred desk may bring some help and inspiration to the thoughtful reader.

I. At the outset let us observe the manner or style of this apostle of Germany. When we know of one who has won the admiration of ages, and who has become the mightiest hero of his time, we naturally wish to know, not only what he did, but also how he proceeded in his marvelous achievements. Good method, proper style, excellent manner are very far-reaching in

* *The Lutheran*, February 18, 1897.

sacred oratory as well as in secular culture, and very often the manner or method gains the victory rather than the man behind the method. What then was Luther's leading characteristic of manner?

1. The foremost characteristic of this great man of God as a preacher, was *boldness.* Not bold in the sense of impudence, but as having courage, bravery, intrepidity and dauntlessness that would shrink from no exposure to loss, injury or destruction. Like St. Paul in Jerusalem, Luther always "spake boldly." He was an entire stranger to moral cowardice or dissimulation, and coupled with his moral courage was a physical courage witnessed only in the hero of the battlefield, the shipwreck, or the great conflagration. He is a perpetual rebuke to the time-serving trimmers now standing in the pulpit as "men-pleasers," entertaining perishing sinners with pointless platitudes and glittering generalities. He spoke without reserve and was entirely undaunted by the quality, rank, or haughtiness of those before him, and was as cutting as a double-edged sword when he spoke against sin or wrote of the Law.

"Heaven" we are told "had endowed him with extraordinary gifts as a disputant, a keen discrimination and wonderful faculty for discerning the weak points of his opponents, a never failing memory, an uninterrupted fluency of speech, an amazing knowledge of Scripture, a coolness of temper amid the most vigorous onslaught, and an unshaken confidence in the righteousness of his cause." With these qualifications he stood like an Alpine mountain against every wind of doctrine and storm of error issuing from the Vatican of Rome or the strongholds of Satan in Germany and Spain, never retracting his words and never receding unless convinced from Scripture and reason that he was in error.

He was the only man then known who was fearless enough to strike the blow hard enough to set the German nation free; the only man in the whole Empire of Charles V. in whose intrepid voice were heard the ringing tones of the Lion of the tribe of Judah; the only man then on earth who was in himself, by the grace of God, "terrible as an army with banners." He

himself says: "I am rouge, boisterous, stormy, and altogether war-like, born to fight innumerable devils and monsters, to remove stumps and stones, to cut down thistles and thorns, and to clear the wild woods." He appalled, terrified, assailed, overwhelmed and signally conquered very often through his spirit of fearlessness alone. Like Elijah before Ahab and Jezebel, like Nathan in the presence of David, like John the Baptist before Herod, like Paul before Felix and Agrippa, and like Latimer before Henry VIII., Luther would point with steady finger at sinning king or erring pope, and say: "thou art the man." He would tell the truth, he would speak out the convictions of his inmost soul in the most public manner, and put himself into open danger and the jaws of death on the line of duty, without feeling the twitching of a nerve or the fainting of an emotion. He was in constant jeopardy and yet feared nothing on earth; and in that respect differed from the boldest man that ever stood in an American pulpit, namely, the Rev. Lyman Beecher, for he confessed that he was afraid of dyspepsia and the devil, while Luther feared not disease, man, nor devil, when the voice of God called to duty. He would brandish the Sword of the Spirit under the nose of a king and challenge the world to combat and tremble before his God only. And yet while a lion in the pulpit and the hall, he was a lamb in the circle of friends and home. He would beard imperial councils in their gilded palaces, and yet fall as humbly as a child before the cross of Calvary. It was consequently a boldness born of God and sustained by the power of the Holy Ghost, a gift from heaven which all may possess to-day.

2. Another noteworthy characteristic of Luther's preaching was his *Zeal.* He nearly always spoke under the pressure of the white heat of a soul kindled by the glowing coal taken from Heaven's burning altar. He was great in thought, great in speech, and great in action nearly all the time, and was *supremely intense* in thought, speech and action. The dynamics of heaven always burned in his soul, and a half-hearted or half-meant word he never uttered. His zeal was glowing as the noon-day sun and fresh as the morning dew, and he will ever stand forth as

the great national hero of the German people, the ideal of German life, and the true type of German character; and the world knows that when the German is in earnest he is in terrible earnest. He who moves against the zeal of a German will meet with a wall of adamant and head of flint in all ages; but Luther had more than national charactaristics in his zeal.

God, the mighty God of Israel, the God of Elijah, was speaking in and through his servant, and therefore the people heard the voice of a man whose zeal was almost literally burning him up.

The immortal phrase of Bismark, "Patriae inserviendo consumor," applies to Luther more fully than to the "Iron Chancellor," for the Reformer's zeal was hotter than the Chancellor's.

Luther's righteous soul loathed the disgraceful buffoonery, and heathenish profanation of a corrupt priesthood, and he was disgusted with the fact that priests were converted into buffoons and churches made stages for mountebanks, The state of the world seemed to him to resemble its condition just before the flood or the last destruction of Jerusalem. He styled Wittenberg "That Sodon," he saw those highest in authority hostile to the Church, he saw that the Papacy was best suited to gratify the corrupt tastes of those who wished to serve God and Mammon at the same time, whose god was Belial. He felt that he was in a constant hand to hand struggle with the devil and his innumerable host of evil spirits, together with the combined force of a corrupt Church and a morally rotten empire. He therefore felt that not a moment could be lost without danger to himself and his great undertaking, and consequently he threw his whole being, heart, soul and body into the struggle—working, praying, preaching, teaching, writing, fighting, believing, hoping and conquering with might and main all the time.

He plunged into his work with all the earnestness of a man who leaps into a madly rushing stream to save his friend from a watery grave; he rushed to the rescue of his fellowmen as the brave fireman dashes into the burning building to save his own child, forgetting self in the effort to save others. It was the deep earnestness of this great man of God, it was his burning

zeal for the salvation of sinners and the glory of God, that made him more like unto Paul than any preacher of his day.

Luther was very rugged by nature, and when warmed to the burning point his eloquence was terrific, and he has sometimes been criticised for needless harshness, when it was only the zeal of a man set on fire of heaven who cared more for the salvation of a soul than for a rule of rhetoric, however skilled in belles-lettres. He says, "I am accustomed to use very severe language in my writings, in the pulpit and in the lecture room, but God knows that my heart is not bitter, or envious, or vindictive against my enemies." "But my spirit is unskilled in the art of fine speaking, and I disgorge nothing but a chaotic mass of words; it is turbulent and impetuous as when an athlete is forced to encounter a terrific monster," * * of the quadruple spirit of Elijah. "I have the wind, the earthquake and the fire." "With these I will continue to uncover the truth and bring it to light."

The zeal of this great preacher was overwhelmingly contagious and sweeping, and bore down every obstacle that obstructed his onward march, and is worthy of more consistent imitation than is usually observed among his successors in the present day.

3. But there is another feature in the manner of this great preacher which is worthy of mention and careful imitation, namely *simplicity*. His plain, simple, clear and pungent language used in his most learned discourses make Luther one of the finest models for imitation since the days of the Apostles. Though he might have understood all the then known languages of the world, and though he was master of scholastic erudition, yet in the exposition of the word of God he would use the simplest, shortest, clearest German word that could possibly carry the beautiful message of salvation home to the soul of the humblest mortal on earth. When standing before the vast concourse of people assembled to hear him, he used those little burning monosylables, the true beacon lights of literature, as far as possible, and thereby carried enlightment into the

mind, conviction to the conscience, life into the emotions, and subordination into the will of every hearer, opening the gateways of heaven to the footmen and servants as well as to the scholars and theologians composing his audience.

He carefully avoided exuberant fancy and bewildering feeling, and was free from all dialectic subtlety and scholastic erudition, and *compelled* the mind *to see and understand* the will of a Father in heaven.

Luther was a scholar, and an eminent scholar, but when in the pulpit his scholarship became an accident while his love of souls was the permanent condition of his being. The love of souls spiritualized and celestialized his entire nature and made him Christ-like in his sympathies, and gave him that divine view of man which annihilates human distinctions and points out individuals as redeemed by the blood of the Lamb.

Luther therefore never saw theologians and scholars in his audience, but souls, precious, immortal souls, souls illiterate, souls sorrowing, souls lost, and to those he preached in a style and manner similar to that of the inimitable Sermon in the Mount. "He embodies in his single person the boldness of the battlefield, the song of the musician, the joy and care of the parent, the skill of the writer, the force of the orator, and the sincerity of rugged manhood, with the humility of a Christian," and could be understood by the child as well as by the scholar or theologian, by the illiterate as well as by the learned.

His style preserved from beginning to end a freshness and vigor largely due to this mark of a great scholar and a good preacher. In his plainness of speech was his power, in the simplicity of his language was his eloquence and in the clearness of his statements was his triumph in the pulpit and on the rostrum.

It would be helpful to every man whose mission it is to preach the Gospel if the simplicity of true greatness and divine goodness would characterize every sermon proclaimed, and if human bombast, philosophic lecturers, and literary pedantry were never palmed off as real sermons. As Lutherans we must beware lest we fall below the high standard of excellence which characterized the great Reformer in this respect.

II. And now passing, by an easy transition, from the manner of this man's preaching, observe next *the matter* or *substance* of his discourses.

This can be pointed out in a very few words. Of St. Paul it is said: "He spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus;" and so likewise can it be said of Luther that in his preaching he spoke only "*in the name of the Lord Jesus.*" His great and almost only text-book was the Bible. His theme in the morning and his theme at night, his topic in the pulpit and his topic in the lecture-room, the burden of his letters and the weight of his books, was Justification by Faith.

Justification by Faith in the *Lord Jesus Christ* is the great central doctrine of Christianity which it was Luther's special mission to evolve from the New Testament record alone. That doctrine was the central point of his thoughts, the ordinary conclusion of his arguments, the basis of his moral precepts, and the life and power of all his labors. That doctrine changed his whole life, gave tone to his whole character, and imparted a vigorous consistency to his entire system of teaching, preaching, writing and living. The controlling element of his character, the motive power of all his actions was his piety, his strong faith in God, his breathing of continual prayer and his unbounded enthusiasm for the salvation of men and the glory of God.

The study of God's word had brought him to a personal knowledge of sin and through bitter and practical experience, to a clear and confident faith in Christ alone for salvation. The study of God's Word was his daily meat and drink. He lived deep down on the foundations, and high up in the mysteries and glories of the Bible. He felt the power of the Gospel through his whole being and had a personal experience in divine things, almost like inspiration. No man since the days of the Apostles had a more powerful realization of eternal verities as revealed in the Bible. No man has ever been a more pains-taking, humble, prayerful and devout student of God's Word than Luther, and no man ever preached more purely and exclusively the sacred message without the admixture of human speculation.

Luther was not as much of an organizing legislator and strict

disciplinarian as Calvin, nor as much of a statesman as Zwingli; but he was the greatest preacher then on earth, because he took God strictly at his word, and preached only that Word when he did preach. For that reason God put Luther in the front of the ranks, in the hottest of the battle, in the thickest of the darkness, and in the deepest of the Church's degradation, to guide the Church, by the pure and simple Gospel, back into the marvelous light and liberty of Jesus the Lord of Glory. By a careful examination of all the different sermons preached by the various Reformers it will be found that Martin Luther reached more people in less time with the fresh, full, free, and pure Gospel than any of his compeers.

No man ever spent more hours of prayerful study of the Sacred Scriptures than that student of divine things. No man has yet appeared since his day who has used the sword of the Spirit more constantly than he. Much of the sensationalism carried into the pulpit to-day would have been as shocking to the refined sensibilities of Luther, as the buffoonery of the babbling mountebanks who came as wolves in sheeps clothing to sell indulgences to German peasants in the sixteenth century. He used only Bible topics, nothing more, nothing less. His three great propositions on the pulpit, at the desk, or in the lecture room were: By the deeds of the law shall no man be justified. By faith in Christ alone *can man be justified before God*, and finally faith in Christ Jesus as a personal Saviour, works such a radical change that man becomes an entirely new creature in heart and life.

He especially taught the supremacy of God's Word, the prerogative of man's conscience, the right of private judgment, and freedom in matters of religion. He taught that God alone can forgive sins, that man is responsible to God for his actions, and that man must worship God in person and not by proxy, and he iterated and reiterated these great doctrines until the Bible became luminous under the exposition and promulgation. He preached the great doctrines of the Bible so perpetually and practically, and hopefully that for a thousand years to come the

Great Reformer will remain one of the most Biblical preachers the world has ever seen or heard.

He studied not about the Bible but the Bible itself, he preached not about the Bible but the Book itself. He preached the pure, beautiful, saving message of an unadulterated Gospel, from a lack of which many a parish is famishing to-day. Let our colleges, seminaries, and especially our pulpits get the Bible back to the high position it held under the leadership of the Wittenberg professor and the world's greatest reformer and preacher, and a new era will dawn upon the Church of Jesus Christ and the true millennium will come in less than a decade of years.

III. Let us now briefly glance at some of *the effects* of Luther's preaching:

"As the lightening cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west," so were the effects of all the labors of the hero of the Reformation, and especially was this the case with his preaching. The light of his genius, the ardor of his zeal, and the fire of love enkindled by the Pentecostal touch of the Holy Ghost, flames like a celestial beacon around thc world. This great prophet, priest and apostle of Germany, this great spiritual hero of the sixteenth century has filled the ear of the world with glad tidings of great joy. He is a colossal figure that has stamped the rolling ages with the impress of his own greatness, and has exerted a beneficial influence over every government, creed and home of the entire civilized world. His preaching has echoed and re-echoed over vast continents and over the isles of the seas, until Luther's name is known wherever the Bible is known. The great Reformation started in Germany over three centuries ago was a religious and social change emanating from God himself bearing on its face all the marks of a regeneration of the whole human race. It has already exerted an influence which extends over all the nations of the earth, and is destined to be felt in its effects to the uttermost limits of time. All this was so grandly accomplished, all this is so powerfully felt to be real, not because an Augustinian monk drove nails into a church door and tacked up a sermon on the outside of the house of God; but because a great preacher stood up in the midst of sur-

rounding and overwhelming error and corruption and began to preach salvation through Christ alone, by faith in the merits of his righteousness.

It was not through the driving of nails and the smiting with hammers, but through the "foolishness of preaching" that Luther rescued the Church from the errors and bondage of the Papacy, and the world from the thralldom of sin.

Luther's voice as heard in the sacred desk led in the constitutional struggle of England, in the revolution of France, and in the revolution of freedom of the United States. It was the influence of his teaching that led George Buchanan to declare "The will of the people is the only legitimate source of power." It is due to the same influence that in our own Declaration of Independence we are taught, "that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and happiness." In short the effects of Luther's faithful preaching are seen in that marvelous revival of religion, learning, literature, sociology, morality and political economy found among all nations since the pious monk became the famous preacher.

Faithful preaching complemented by voluminous writing, kindled the most ardent piety known since the days of the Incarnation. The greatest, soundest, and most thoroughly Scriptural revival Church on earth is the Lutheran Church, when true to her doctrines and practices as taught by her first and foremost preacher. It was the preaching and teaching of the pure Word of God that made the Lutheran Church the "Mother of Protestantism," the leader of nations, the pioneer of Foreign Missions, the formulator of the finest system of divinity extant, and the most conservative and substantial denomination in the world. The Lutheran Church is the thinker, the book-maker, and the educator of the world, because her greatest preacher voiced so faithfully the Divine Message to men.

"The soul-stirring songs, the child-like piety, the divinely stamped creeds, the profound theology, the evangelical cultus and polity, the pure dogmatics, the clear-cut ethics, the gentle apologetics, the versatile histories, broad sciences, the world-

famed erudition of the Lutheran Church to-day, have come to us as the legitimate fruit of the faithful exegesis and the fearless proclamation of the will of God as revealed in the sacred Scriptures.

Had the Reformer's preaching been different, the results would have been far otherwise. By the marvelous results achieved through one man's preaching we are convinced of the wonderful power of the Word of God. If the Christian Church to-day desires greater results, the quickening must begin in the sacred desk. The Gospel of Christ, the Immortal Word, the sublime and pure doctrines of the Bible, must be expounded with a more fearless fidelity and a more vigorous consistency, leaving results to God alone while proclaiming the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We are then again forced to the conclusion that the Word and the Sacraments must be more exalted, if we are to have richer harvests in the Master's vineyard.

Let the preacher of the Gospel, *preach the Gospel* and not something else, and let him be assured that God will always bless such a presentation of his Word, and then will that Word prove a savior of life unto all that hear, for hearing will then be believing.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Christianity and anti-Christianity in their final Conflict. By Samuel J. Andrews. pp. 356, 8vo.

This is a book for the times, an analysis of the pretentious theories which divide human thought, an exposure of the perils involved in skeptical criticism, a tonic for impaired faith. The author accepts the idea so generally proclaimed that a new age is at hand, that we have come to the border-line that separates two eras, and he sets himself the task of answering the question, what is the significance of this fact?

The extraordinary phenomena of our day, modern pantheistic philosophy, the deification of humanity, the tendencies of Biblical criticism, of modern science, of modern literature and of Christian socialism, are the spreading of the anti-Christian leaven through Christendom, the manifest preparations for the fulfilment of the Scripture predictions concerning the Anti-Christ. "The present purpose is to state and illustrate the religious tendencies and movements of the time, and not to confute them. Their confutation lies in seeing the goal to which they lead."

Not all who share the author's convictions will accept his every interpretation, but the general spirit which breathes through these pages will refresh and reinvigorate many who have been inhaling the languid airs of the new theology. What it says of the different classes of Biblical critics is alike entertaining and instructive. That pantheists, agnostics, and atheists should think it worth while to employ themselves in attacking the Bible in detail, when they have already condemned it in the gross, seems indeed strange enough. If the reader knows the philosophical starting point of these, he may know in advance their conclusions about everything in the Bible. And this holds as well of the critics who do not wholly deny the truthfulness of the Bible on *a priori* grounds. Their criticism is determined by their philosophy, their science or their feelings. "Many coming to the Scriptures with a philosophical theory of the order of man's religious developement, will make this order the test of truth, and reject all statements that do not conform to it." "Others base their criticism mainly upon scientific grounds, into which more or less pantheistical elements enter." "Others still reject the Bible on the ground that in many things it affects their moral sense." "Then there is a school of critics who come to the Gos-

pels in the Kantian spirit, and who make very little of facts ; the idea is all." Thus each critic determines by his own pre-accepted criterion what measure of truth there may be in the Gospel narratives.

The so-called "Christian Socialist" will not find much support for his position. When the emphasis is put on "Christian," there is little socialism that passes beyond the familiar teaching of the Gospel, for Christianity is the religion of love and beneficence.

The danger of the Protestant Churches lies in the impression that they must yield more or less to the prevalent socialistic tendencies, even if anti-Christian in spirit. "Obnoxious doctrines are given up or put in the background, and the Church is popularized by minimizing its claims as a divine institution, and by effacing in a great degree its distinction from the world."

One thing is very clearly set forth and that is the irreconcilable antagonism between Socialism and Christian Socialism. The latter claims that through, the application of Christian principles to society will be reconstructed and perfected, the former would accomplish this result "by emancipating men from their long bondage to religious systems of every kind."

No earnest student of modern problems can fail to profit from the reading of this volume. E. J. WOLF.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

An Outline of Christian Theology. By William Newton Clarke, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. 1898. Price $2.00.

This volume is due to Dr. Clarke's work in his class-room. It is marked by freshness and ability. It is emphatically a product of the present time, reflecting a movement in recent thought. It comes, manifestly, as an effort to restate the teaching of Christian theology in accordance with the evolutionary conception of the world and life and the modified doctrine of the Scriptures as presented by the new Biblical and historical criticism and concomitant tendencies. As such the volume is of special interest. As the author occupies, in general, the evangelical standpoint, his views furnish a suggestion of the trend that may become more widely prevalent.

About sixty pages of the book are devoted to introductory matter, such as Religion and the Sources and Methods of Christian Theology. These sources are found chiefly in the Christian revelation, but in auxilliary way also in the study of man and the universe as interpreted by science. Dr. Clarke is happy in his statement of the manner of God's self-revelation in Christianity, as made in an extended course of divine *action and deeds*, a supernatural movement in coming forth in actual help and saving goodness, all consummated in the incarnation and redeeming work of his eternal Son and the gift of the Holy Spirit—all

set, through sure records, deep in the history of the race. In this part we have the author's doctrine of the Scriptures. They are the progressive record of this progressive revelation. They are the guide of the Christian life and chief source of Christian theology. Complete inerrancy, in the sense of freedom from all inaccuracy or incorrectness of statement, does not belong to them. Nevertheless a divine influence in their production is certain from their quality. Dr. Clarke allows no abatement from the divine and supernatural character of Christianity, and only looks upon its records as more marked by the human conditions characteristic of progressive historical testimony than the traditional theories of inspiration have usually accorded them. The authority of the Scriptures is the authority of the truth which they present. The method of theology aims to ascertain and state the doctrinal contents of Christianity. In harmony with his advanced view-point, as seeing these contents in the light of the present time and modes of thought, he abandons almost all the old technical theological terminology. "The long-used terms of theology," he says, "have gathered about them a mass of conflicting definitions and associations that seriously embarrass straightforward study." The whole treatment is given under the six divisions of God, Man. Sin, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Divine Life of Man, and Things to Come.

The discussion of the first topic begins, not as usually with the question of God's existence, but with the true Christian conception of God. Only after the conception of God is reached, is the evidence sought whether such a being exists. The conception of God is well-drawn, after the type which conceives of him as "the Personal Spirit who in holy love creates, sustains and orders all," and the theistic evidences are sketched with freshness and force. The trinity of the God-head is recognized and defended not only as a threefold divine manifestation, but as an immanent triunity of being; but it is not the trinitarianism of the Athanasian creed. Dr. Clarke prefers to be guided toward the divine mystery by following the modern suggestion that the reality is shadowed forth in the movement of human self-consciousness —after the anology of which self-knowledge *objectifies* the self to view, and in recognition returns to unity in the Spirit of love. "These three essentials of self-consciousness may well be real to him as they are to men; and when we think of the perfect Being, it does not seem impossible that to him each of the three should be a centre of conscious life and activity, and that he should live in each a life corresponding to its quality. The assertion that he lives such a life is the assertion of the divine Trinity. He lives as God original and unuttered, he lives as God uttered and going forth, and he lives as God in whom the first and second are united. He not only lives and is conscious in these three modes, but from each of these centres he acts from everlasting to everlasting."

The anthropological view is molded thoroughly into accord with the evolutionist theory of man's origin. It finds in him the full constituents of a moral and spiritual constitution, for responsibility and immortality. It recognizes his freedom of will, over against all denials of it by either determinist or predestinarian theories. It sees in the capacities of the human spirit an image or likeness of God. And it recognizes the depravity of the race. "Moral evil has tainted that continuous stream of life which we call humanity." There is a "central alienation of man from God and from his brothers." "Race connection perpetuates depravity or corruption of the common stock of mankind." The author's explanation of this, under his adoption of the derivative origin of man, is that when the evolutionary ascent reached the human grade, endowing the constitution with moral capacities, a failure in the right use of free-will resulted in an abnormal sway of the remaining animalistic life or passions. "The race was born with passions of animalism and self-will that were not sinful until the higher life of the spirit had become developed. But when the estate of genuine humanity had been reached, animalism and self-will were not normal to it, but were false and degrading elements, fatal to the higher life unless they were rejected; and through the consent of the human will to the now abnormal rule of lower passions, what had been innocent passed into sin." This corruption of human nature, however, is not viewed as itself involving *guilt:* "There is no such thing as inheriting guilt before God from the first sinner or from any other ancestor."

In Christology Dr. Clarke has presented the incarnation after the extreme *kenotic* conception, as a perfect humanification of the divine Son, after the idea of Gess, the Logos himself becoming the human soul which dwelt in the body derived from the Virgin. He says: "In Jesus the divine provided the spirit, and formed the material of normal humanity so far as the spiritual nature was concerned; and his humanity further consisted, outwardly, in his possession of a human body and human relations, but not in this alone; it consisted inwardly, and more significantly, in the human limitations which restricted the action of that divine which constituted his spirit. While he was divine in spiritual nature, he was human in range of life and action, and hence in experience. The spirit that constituted his personality was divine; the fact that that spirit was living within human limitations, spiritual as well as physical, rendered the personality human." Besides falling in with this radical doctrine of the kenosis, the author also adopts the view which seeks to place the incarnation apart from the contingent fact of sin and the need of redemption, and make it part of God's absolute plan for the perfecting of humanity. The old theories of atonement are modified in the direction of excluding the vicarious conception; and justification, though allowed a forensic element, is placed in closer relation to the internal moral regeneration.

In its eschatological views this volume departs widely from the traditional views. The second coming of Christ, misunderstood by the apostles to be a visible coming at an early day, is to be interpreted wholly of a spiritual return and presence with his Church, the perpetual coming in grace and power by which his kingdom is to advance. "No visible return of Christ to the earth is to be expected, but rather the long and steady advance of his kingdom. The expectation of a single dramatic advent corresponds to the Jewish doctrine of the nature of the kingdom, but not to the Christian." The doctrine of a future life for all men is maintained over against suggestions of conditional immortality and the annihilation of the wicked. But the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is repudiated. "The reasonable view of the matter is that the present body belonging wholly to the material order has no further use or destiny after death has detached the spirit from the material order, and is abandoned, to be known no more." "If we accept the view of Christ's coming that has been expressed on previous pages, we shall naturally think that each human being's resurrection takes place at his death, and consists in the rising of the man from death to life in another realm of life. The spirit does not rise thither alone, but whatever organism is needed for its uses in that other life the spirit receives; so that the man, complete in all that the personality requires, stands up alive beyond the great change that we call death, having in the same hour died and risen again." In harmony with these views, excluding a second coming of Christ and a resurrection of the body, a final general judgment also disappears.

The chief interest connected with this finely written volume is that it thus shows the kind of modifications in theology supposed by some to be required by the new learning of our day. The volume itself indeed illustrates how, on many Christian doctrines, the traditional teaching is illuminated and strengthened by this learning. But it shows at the same time, how it may be made the occasion of urging weakening and destructive changes. The tendency is toward giving up one after another of the teachings of the Church, toward milder or more hesitating statement of others, toward naturalism and less positive faith, and often toward indefiniteness and weakness. We are carried into the margin of the agnostic atmosphere of the times with regard to the spiritual verities of supernatural and redemptive Christianity. Theology will need to guard itself against hasty and undue modifications.

M. VALENTINE.

Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology. Its Principles. By Abraham Kuyper, D. D. Free University, Amsterdam. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. Hendrik De Vries, M. A. With an introduction by Professor Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D., L. L. D., of Princeton Theological Seminary. pp. XXV. and 682, Octavo. Price $4.00. 1898.

We suspect that the name of the author of this book is known to very

few readers of the QUARTERLY. But whoever reads the book will recognize a vigorous and aggressive thinker, whose acquaintance he will be delighted thus to have made. For many years, Dr. Kuyper, as the leader of the Anti-Revolutionary party in the State, and of the Conservative party in the Church, the founder and developer of the Free University, has been one of the most conspicious figures in Holland. He has given us here a strong and conservative book. He defends with all the ardor of personal conviction the Bible and the Reformed Confession. He was not born a Calvinist, but became one chiefly by the study of Calvin and John a Lasco. Yet in this book he does not discuss Calvinism as a theology, but treats of the great fundamental principles that underlie all Christian theology. Hence this book is of permanent value, and of general interest to all who take delight in deep thinking, and are in search of a sure foundation for faith.

Only the title of the book displeases us. In our opinion it should be named *A Metaphysic of Theology*, or, *The Philosophic Basis of the Christian Religion*, since it does not discuss the subjects of theology, but treats of the great principles which precede and condition a right understanding of the subjects of theology. It is metaphisical and philosophical throughout. But this its chief characteristic constitutes its great merit, since the discussions are not abstract, but to a high degree concrete. The author is a realist in philosophy, but it would not be possible to identify him with any particular school of philosophy. Rather is he a Christian philosopher who seeks to find a reason for his faith in the deep realities of the human spirit. Yet he recognizes the Scripture as "the principium of theology," and says: "In all this controversy the Holy Scripture is the question at stake, and the encyclopedia that places itself unconditionally upon the Scriptures as its basis cannot find a plan until the all-embracing question of the Scriptures has been fundamentally solved." The Scriptures are accepted by the author unconditionally as the Word or Revelation of God. One leading object of the book is to assign these Scriptures their proper place in the science of theology.

The first fifty-five pages of the book are taken up with the discussion of "Theological Encyclopedia." Thence to p. 227 the author discusses "The Organism of Science." The discussion here is so thorough and generic that it would serve as an introduction to the science of geology or of astronomy as well as to that of theology. The two most important sections in this part, it seems to us, are the "Organic Relation between Subject and Object," and "Faith." They go to the root of the matter.

In the third "Division" "Theology" is treated in five chapters under the titles: "The Conception of Theology," "Principium Theologiae," "The Method of Theology," "The Organism of Theology," "The History of Theology." In the whole Metaphysic of Theology we know of nothing superior to these chapters. They ought to be read by every

student of theology in connection with Apologetic and Theological Prolegomena.

The author has given us a book of the times and for the times, and no better book can be placed in the theological libraries of the country. Dr. Warfield's "Introductory Note" is chiefly biographical. The translation reads like an original. J. W. RICHARD.

Problems of Philosophy. An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. By John Grier Hibben, Ph. D., Stuart Professor of Logic in Princeton University. pp. 197. Price $1.00.

Philosophy has of late fallen somewhat into disrepute. Many regard it as a chase after shadows. They tell us that we want something real and practical instead of the dreams of the schools. They forget that the busy, bustling world is made up of the transient. The wealth and fame and pleasure which engage their energies and ambitions are merely of the passing present. "The fashion of this world passeth away." Behind the phenomena there must be something abiding. The permanent is the most real. The things seen are temporal, the things unseen are eternal. This practical age of ours is pursuing the shadows. Philosophy is the search after realities. It is the philosopher who is dealing with the most real among real things. He is uncovering those principles which enable us to understand the feeling present and forecast the impending future. He holds up the substance that we may know how to interpret the meaning of the shadows. As soon as men begin to think they begin to philosophize. They ask for the reason of facts and as they learn them they become really practical. The child with its incessant why is a budding philosopher. Some who sneer at philosophy have been philosophizing all their lives but did not know it. A little careful study of the schools would be of very great benefit to them. They need a book just like this of Prof. Hibben's to begin with. It will give them a proper perspective and save them a great deal of aimless drifting. It is an excellent introduction to the study of philosophy. The style is clear. Technical terms that could not be avoided are explained. It is very pleasant reading and any one who is willing to think can understand it. The chief problems of philosophy are clearly stated and additional interest is imparted by the historical setting. The problems of Being, of the World, of Mind, of Knowledge, of Reason, of Conscience, of Obligation and of Beauty earn the greatest part of the field of philosophy. We commend the work to students just about to enter philosophical studies, to intelligent laymen who want to keep acquainted with what the schools are thinking about, and especially to young ministers who touch at so many points the current of philosophical thought but are too busy to give much time to philosophic reading. L. A. FOX.

Theory of the Will in the History of Philosophy. By Archibald Alexander. pp. 353. $1.50.

Such a book as this could be written only by a scholar whose knowledge of the subject is encyclopoedic. It is "an account of the development of the theory of the will, from the earliest days of Greek thought down to about the middle of the present century." Beginning with the conception of necessity as given by Homer and the Greek tragedians, he traces concisely the doctrine of the will through the Socratic period (Socrates, Plato and Aristotle), the Stoic and Epicurean schools, in Christian theology (St. Paul and the Greek and Latin fathers), and in British and German philosophy down to the time of Lotze. The first adumbrations of the freedom of the will are found in Aristotle, and from him onward the idea grows steadily more clear. Of the will itself the author offers no definition for the reason that the content of the term has been perpetually changing and no definition could embrace its every phaze. Nor does he advance any theory of the will which he himself has elaborated, refusing "to anticipate in any way conclusions which may hereafter be drawn with respect to the many points which this progress (in ethical science) has brought into prominence."

The correctness of the quotations, the fact that they are given in the original tongue, the condensation and terseness which characterize every page, and the remarkable lucidity with which each thought is presented, are points calling for special notice.

It is a book with which every religious teacher ought to be familiar in these days when ethical problems are of such absorbing interest. The problem of the will is still unsolved; men are still asking whether the human personality is absolutely or only conditionally free. Must the theory of the future be a modified indeterminism, or do heredity and environment count for nought in the question of responsibility? These are vital problems and to know what others have thought is a corrective and incentive in one's own thinking; and to the earnest seeker after truth this book can be a great boon. It brings to light some things which are worth noting:

1. That determinism as an explanation of ethical fact antedates indeterminism.

2. That "speculation and the introspective method have almost reached their limits."

3. That the revolution in the method of psychology and ethics, from which large things are expected, is due to evolution. O. G. KLINGER.

The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. By Edmond Stapfer, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Paris. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton, New York. 1898. Price $1.25.

This is the third and concluding volume in a series devoted to the study of the *person*, the *authority*, and work of Christ. The first vol-

ume covered the thirty years before his ministry; the second the period of his ministry. This volume completes the study in tracing the remaining portion of his history.

The aim of the author throughout this work has been a high and most worthy one; to discover from the history the thought of Jesus, concerning himself, "what went on in his soul," "how he understood himself," "the authority he attributed to himself," and the import of his "work which was one of obedience unto death." He has sought to give a picture of Jesus in which his readers may discern "the Christ who lived, the Christ of history, the Saviour of the world, the Saviour of their souls."

We cannot call the work a success. Despite the talent and scholarship employed in the effort, the result is disappointing. Prof. Stapfer, in his critical propossessions, has becomc one-sided and unfair in his estimates and representations of the meaning of the historical data which he seeks to interpret. With his conception of the New Testament records concerned, as "swarming with petty contradictions," including both mistakes and misrepresentations, he has allowed himself an excessive recoil from what he terms "the Christ of the Church," the Christ of metaphysical formulas and more or less satisfactory dogmatics," and has felt free to form and offer an ideal of the Christ which he thinks required by the modern world. The Church has been wont to trace the divinity of Christ in strong and impressive features. Over against this the author's endeavor, as he declares, has been "to sketch a figure which is very human," to show "the human reality of the life of Jesus." He has sought in this way to offer "a protest against the incorrigible docetism of our Christianity and our theology." But if this theology has sometimes so emphasized the divinity of Christ as to make his humanity seem unreal, there is need of bearing in mind that the opposite course, to exaggerate the human side of his person so as to obscure or obliterate the divinity and present only a human and fallible Saviour, is a far greater and more destructive error. And surely this volume goes to this opposite when it pictures Jesus Christ as misled by error and superstition, as unquestionably "sharing certain erroneous opinions of his time," as so ignorant and mistaken in regard to what his saving mission and work would include, that, while apprehensive that it might bring him to a violent death, he cherished continuously and to the last "an invincible hope that it might be spared him." And what are we to think when it is declared: "Christ does not ask us to believe like him;" "to believe like Christ—who in our day could do it? Jesus believed in demons, and we no longer believe in them"—"it necessarily follows that we make a choice in his saying, there is no way to avoid it; hence we accept, we declare authortative only what we *consent* to accept as such"? Is not this to transfer the seat of authority from Christ in spiritual truth to each individual?

The ruling conception in this work is that Christian faith is its own

own master and stands comparatively independent of historical facts, or "beliefs" concerning them. The author is one of the three professors of the University of Paris—Auguste Sabatier and Ménégoz being the other two—who have introduced the term "*Fideists*" to denote those who hold to this idea, that a man is saved by faith without regard to doctrine. But this idea goes upon the more than questionable assumption that "faith" can continue to live and wield triumphant moral direction and regenerative power, if once severed from the historical truths, beliefs and doctrines which formed its justifying and divine ground for confidence? We may indeed be told, as Professor Stapfer tells us: "The true believer has no need of historical proofs; he has intuitions of heart and conscience, and those eternal reasons which lie in the depths of his soul and which the abstract reason knows not of," but if this process goes on of weakening belief in the reliability of the record of the life and work of Christ and of his specific teaching, removing from under "faith" the foundation truths on which rests, what is to save this so-called "faith," deprived of its objective warrant and support, from sinking down into the importance and uncertainty of mere individual opinion?

These views are an index of the theological tendency throughout the volume. Its trend breaks away from the orthodox setting of the Christological doctrine almost all along the line. The doctrine of Christ's physical resurrection is replaced by that of the simple continuance of his spiritual personal existence after death and of various manifestations to his disciples. Well-meant and able as is the book we cannot but regard its interpreting principles as unsound and its conclusions very misleading. M. VALENTINE.

FLEMING H. REVELL CO., NEW YORK.

Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions. By the Rev. James S. Dennis, D. D. Vov. I., large 8 vo., pp. XVI., 468. $2.50.

This is a work for reference and study. It is projected on a large scale. It is encyclopedic in its scope and scientific in its method. It purports to be a sociological study of foreign missions. With a fine appreciation of the magnitude of his task, the author approaches it in a discriminating chapter on the sociological scope of missions. Social results are a later and more indirect product of missions than the spiritual. They are not the primary aim. Have they evidential value? Is Sociology a mere academic dicipline? Is it not predominantly ethical? Must it not take the social evolution of missions into its account? These are some of the questions raised by the author and discussed with true scientific candor. He treats his theme in the premises with the acumen of a trained sociologist and leaves little doubt in the reader's

mind and to his competence to make the study. Having clearly defined the terms of his problem and adduced the *a priori* arguments in support of his view, he marshals an array of facts, accumulated by direct inquiry and exhaustive research, that is overwhelming. The lengthy chapter on the social evils of the non-Christian world covers the whole field of paganism. They are not arranged in statistics, but studied in their social bearings. They are classified as to their primary effects, the individual group, the family group, the tribal group, the social group, the national group, the commercial group, the religious group. The proof is convincing that there is a necessity for a regenerating power which heathenism has not supplied. In the succeeding chapters Dr. Dennis argues that neither education nor state legislation nor pagan religious acievements have been, or can be, adequate. The shortcomings of the ethnic religions are reviewed at length. The concluding chapter discusses Christianity as the social hope of the nations.

The volume contains very full tables of contents, bibliographies and notes. It is also profusely illustrated. In our estimation it stands second to no other hand-book on missions for the pastor's library.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Among the Forces. By Bishop Henry White Warren, LL. D. pp. 197. $1.00.

This little book is a nature-lover's "Arabian Nights." Bishop Warren has already rendered much useful service in leading worshipers in God's temple of nature. Those familiar with his happy, devout style, and his fertile imagination will want this book. It is an excellent little volume for Sunday-School libraries. H. C. ALLEMAN.

FLOOD AND VINCENT, MEADVILLE, PA.

From Chancer to Tennyson. By Henry A. Beers, Professor of English Literature in Yale University. pp. 325.

In scope and plan this work is not very different from other histories of English literature. There is, however, less biography than usual and more criticism. A great merit is that the author has evidently read the writings of which he treats and gives us his own estimate of them. This estimate is that of a well-balanced, penetrative mind served by a vocabulary which allows exactness and nice discrimination. The skill in characterizing an author with an adjective or a phrase is remarkable. This accomplishes the two-fold purpose of condensation and picturesqueness. Few books are so crowded with thought and at the same time so free from heaviness. Professor Beers could hardly be dull if he tried.

It is perhaps inevitable that books on English literature should be crowded with names and titles. One sees evidence of a desire to avoid

such a result, which, nevertheless, is not fully accomplished. The student must still be confronted with lists of names that are meaningless until a life-time has been spent in reading. The day may come when histories of literature will be books of reference rather than text books.

We find on page 98 the following statement: "It was customary in the eighteenth century to speak of Shakespeare as a rude though prodigious genius. Even Milton could describe him as 'warbling his native wood-notes wild.' " This, like similar statements by other authors, has again caused us to question whether Milton meant to characterize Shakespeare's genius in a general way and not rather to specify a few of Shakespeare's comedies, such as "As You Like It," "The Tempest" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream," in which woodland scenery predominates and the subject best coincides with the mood of L'Allegro.

JOHN A. HIMES.

Twenty Centuries of English History—James R. Joy. Chautauqua Press. $1.00.

We have nothing but praise for this little volume of the Chautauqua Series. Mr. Joy has been peculiarly successful in his effort to give a clear, succinct account of the "history of twenty eventful centuries," within the small compass of a single volume of popular size. It is by no means a bare dull outline. Condensed as it is, the author has made it a living story in which the development of English liberty and of the sturdy English character stand out as the main themes.

The style is clear and forceful. The salient facts of history are grasped and presented in particularly happy manner. The many foot notes are so prepared as to stimulate the reader to further study, while the library references at the close of each chapter are calculated to direct that study into proper channels. The illustrations are well selected and abundant.

We would commend the work not only to beginners in the study of history but to all who may wish a bright convenient hand-book for study reference.

EDGAR GRIM MILLER.

Walks and Talks in the Geological Field. By Alexander Winchell, LL. D. Late Professor of Geology and Palaeontology in the University of Michigan. Revised and Edited by Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago. 1898. pp. 353.

This edition of Prof. Winchell's *Walks and Talks* has been prepared by Prof. Starr for the use of Chautauqua readers, though cutting out some portions of the original work, it preserves the principal material and largely in Prof. Winchell's own words.

The subject of Geology has deservedly grown in popularity, both because of the intense interest and also because of the many daily applications which can be made of its principles.

To present this subject to the general reader in such a manner as to

give him a clear insight into the facts and the conclusions of the science is not an easy task. Yet this work is an excellent example of the proper method of presenting a natural science to the general reader. Beginning with facts easily observed and describing them in such a manner that their salient points may be properly understood, the author proceeds to show the relations these facts of observation bear to each other and to other sets of facts and then shows how general principles can be formulated.

As special examples of this mode of suggestive treatment mention may be made of: The Hillside Spring and its Work, The Mud Flat, The River Gorge, Imprisoned Heat. There are many others equally good.

The author discusses disputed topics in a clear impartial manner, for example the condition of the interior of the earth, the character and significance of the life of the early Cambrian, the specialization of life forms, primitive man. &c. On all the topics of geology the modern views are carefully presented, clearly distinguishing between speculation and conclusions well grounded on facts. In this proper scientific manner the field of geology is gone over. The reader cannot fail to derive great advantage from using the book as is designed by the author—namely to read and as a result to go and see what nature will tell him, that is to walk in and talk with nature.

The reader's attention however should be called to the fact that the first several chapters contain references to facts concerning the general drift deposit which does not occur south of middle Pennsylvania—though occurring on the coast as far south as Long Island.

As future editions of the book will no doubt be called for the publishers should introduce other illustrations of the same excellent quality as those used and thus greatly enhance the value of this publication —which can be heartily recommended to all careful readers. Giving a reliable statement of geological science and suggestive to those who wish to have a clearer knowledge of God's work in the material universe.

E. S. BREIDENBAUGH.

Europe in the Nineteenth Century. By Harry Probt Judson, LL. D. Heard Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago.

This volume belongs to the "Chautauqua Reading Circle Literature," and so is written in popular style. But it is not superficial. It is more than a record of events; it presents a philosophy of events, and so is real history. The title of the volume is "Europe in the Nineteenth Century," but the Europe of the Nineteenth Century can be understood only in connection with the mighty political and social upheaval that began in 1789. And so the French Revolution, with its widely ramifying influences, forms the starting point of the volume. The political and social transformations that came out of the tremendous popular upheaval are traced, and the forces then set free are shown, after

a period of depression and reaction, again breaking out all over the continent in the uprisings of 1848. How a sense of the value and worth of the individual has wrought for the overthrow of oppressive institutions and feudal survivals, bringing in the better age of increased personal, political and social freedom; how the striving after national unity has resulted in a united Germany and a united Italy; how this feeling is at present complicating the political problem for Austria, with its heterogenious peoples; how it is working among the Balkan states, presenting strange possibilities of national combinations in the event of a disturbance of the balance of power,—all these things and many more are told, and a very interesting narration they make. The story of English development in this century, with the causes that have made it to differ from that of the continental powers, is given due prominence. For a hand-book presenting in brief, compact form the history of Europe in the nineteenth century, we know of nothing more readable and really instructive than this volume. M. H. VALENTINE.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, CHICAGO AND LONDON.

History of the People of Israel. By Carl Heinrich Cornill, Ph. D., S. T. D. pp. 300, cloth, $1.50.

This volume purports to give a history of the chosen people. It is in reality a reconstruction of the history of these people. The author begs his readers "to forget here all recollections of Bible History," which we must surely do if we would accept what is spread upon these pages. The learned writer affirms that "the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament do not claim to be history, but books of devotion." The words "legend" and "tradition" occur with painful frequency. The author knows nothing of a "promised land." It was the house of Joseph that crossed the border river, "taking advantage of the unusually low water in the Jordan," and that captured Jericho. The miraculous element is entirely eliminated, the wonderful interpositions of God in behalf of his chosen people are passed over in silence. Jehovah, the covenant God of Israel, had apparently but little to do with the founding and developing of this nation. The author regards "Abraham a historical personage," for which concession we are profoundly grateful, but the names in connection with Abraham, such as Joseph and Israel, are personifications, and so on to the end. The book is written for lay-readers and is an admirable translation from the German. But we cannot recommend it, for it is not what it claims to be, a history of the People of Israel. T. C. BILLHEIMER.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Luther, the Reformer. By Charles E. Hay, D. D. pp. 201. 40 cts.

This is one of the Lutheran Hand-Book Series, and is a most admirable little volume, not alone in its mechanical finish, which is perfection but also in the style and treatment of the author. The design of the

volume prescribes its scope. It is intended to be merely a sketch of the life of the great Reformer, bringing into view only the salient events and changes in Luther's career, the distinguished associates with him in the reforming work and, succinctly, the great moral and spiritual achievements of his career. The book is, therefore, especially fitted for use at the hands of youth and for such, of maturer years, as have not time for an elaborate and complete history, like D'Aubigne's, or Köstlins. We do not hesitate to say that in its peculiar field, this book is unequalled by any that has yet appeared, and should be in every Sunday School and Christian home library,

The subject matter is presented under three topics, viz: 1. *Preparation for Action*,—embracing the period from Luther's boy-hood to his call to the Wittenberg Professorship. 2. *Assertion of Principles*,—covering events from the nailing of the 95 thesis to the Diet of Worms. 3. *Practical Reformaton*,—from the period of the Wartburg Exile to the Reformer's sickness and death.

Considered in the light of its purpose Dr. Hay has accomplished his task with entire success. There is not a dry sentence or a useless parograph, or an uninteresting page throughout. The diction, simple, clear, direct, is sustained with admirable literary strength, and reveals, in the department of biographical sketching, a master hand. Our Publication Society, in bringing out this little volume, has rendered a real service to the Church, and the author reflects new credit on his own and the growing scholarship of the Lutheran Church. It is to be hoped that the enviable skill of Dr. Hay may be brought into requisition still further in this same series of Lutheran Hand-Books.

A. R. STECK.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Charles Porterfield Krauth, D. D., LL. D. Norton Professor of Systematic Theology and Church History in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia; Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. By A. Spaeth, D. D. Vol. I. $2.00.

We hail with delight this new volume of interesting biography. It contains facts of broad sweep and momentous interest. Charles Porterfield Krauth, whose life it portrays, was born, March 17, 1823, at Martinsburg, W. Va., and died in Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 2, 1883. He was one of the most distinguished men in the Lutheran Church of America. As scholar, writer, teacher, preacher and debater, he was brilliant and cogent, always winning the confidence and evoking the admiration of all who knew him, for his conscientious fidelity to the truth, and his unswerving loyalty to the church of his love. It is eminently fitting that such a noble man should have his biography faithfully recorded and extensively distributed, and we are happy to know that two volumes will bring to light the vast stores of knowledge clustering

around the career of this man who lived in an epoch-making period of the Lutheran Church of our land and who was himself a leader among the peers of his day.

The scholarly editor of these volumes is the Rev. A. Spaeth, D. D., a son-in-law of the sainted dead whose life is portrayed, and a man of national reputation. In the first and second chapters is found a condensed record of the noble ancestry of the brilliant scholar, and of his childhood, college and seminary life, covering a period of nearly twenty years.

The sturdy energy of his German ancestors is beautifully commingled with the graceful refinement of his French fore-fathers as we discover in these chapters, and he had in his veins by nature the fire of the orator as well as the warmth of the poet. The easy going happy days of his childhood and youth passed away like a dream and his real student life began after college days.

The six succeeding chapters record the experiences in pastorates at Baltimore, Shepherdstown, Martinsburg, Winchester, Pittsburg and Philadelphia. In these pastorates he was a model of integrity, propriety and industry; and by his attractive personal qualities and eminent pulpit ministrations very easily won a leading position in any community. The active and successful pastor was constantly engaged in collateral labors, delving deeply into history, theology, and literature until at length he became a most accomplished scholar and a man of erudition.

In the pulpit he was an eloquent preacher of the pure word of God, at Synods he was a conservative champion of the best type of Lutheranism, and in the realm of literature he was a polished master of his vernacular.

His private letters and public debates are more than Ciceronian in style and in his sermons he had the argument of an Augustine with the tongue of a Chrysostom. In his early ministry he was an enthusiastic revivalist of the type which magnifies the word of God and which avoids all sensational follies.

The portions of the book relating to the successful pastor's experiences are sometimes idyllic, then romantic, and anon ruggedly realistic, and must be read to be fully appreciated.

In the last chapter we touch upon storm centers, and centralization efforts. We here have the record of the first expressed desire for a more intimate union of the different synods of our Church as made public at Harrisburg 1818, the first appointment of delegates in Baltimore 1819, unto the organization of the General Synod at Hagerstown in 1820.

No men were more deeply interested in the welfare of Lutheranism in this country than C. P. Krauth and his father, and the correspondence between father and son, given in this volume on the various phases of organization, doctrine and life as then existing, is one of the best contributions to Lutheran Church History given in this decade, because it

comes with the force of an original document. The student of Church History will in this chapter find facts of inestimable value and should have the volume for that reason alone.

The pious desires, suspicious apprehensions, volatile tempers, spontaneous effusions, catering conciliations, and sometimes bitter vituperations of private letters or public speeches, all lie naked to the eye here, and reveal men and things to us as they were, and not as at other times they seemed to be.

Where simple historical facts are given this contribution must always be authoritative , but where embellishments of the editor occur, where personal gloss is inserted, the record as in all other similar cases suffers loss of interest and of value. The "Definite Platform" is here exposed with the misguided author thereof, and that is what the honest investigator wants and must have, but inpugning the motives of a great and good man is a very serious matter, and belongs to the function of the man who philosophizes on history, rather than to the proper function of the true historian, and is a very vague and indefinite and uncharitable business.

While Symbololatry is as bad as Mariolatry, so is Symbol-mutilation nothing other than Ecclesiastical Treason: and while every right thinking man must look with sorrow and shame upon the effort made to supplant the immortal Augustana with the "Definite Platform;" yet is the day too late in the centuries, and too far on toward the perfect day, to charge these men with vain ambitions and sinister motives in their futile attempts to foist upon the Church an Augustana with the Augustana left out. Charity is better now than insinuation, and sometimes the volume does not do full justice to the General Synod or to its leaders. Taken all in all, the General Synod is dealt with fairly by the learned editor of this excellent volume, but it requires such careful reading to discover this, that not all can see it.

We owe Dr. Spaeth thanks for his efforts, and we thank him for helpful criticism, and must say that he is greatly appreciated as biographer, at the same time we are compelled to confess that we cannot accept all his suggestions.

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